

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



VOLUME XXIX

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1915



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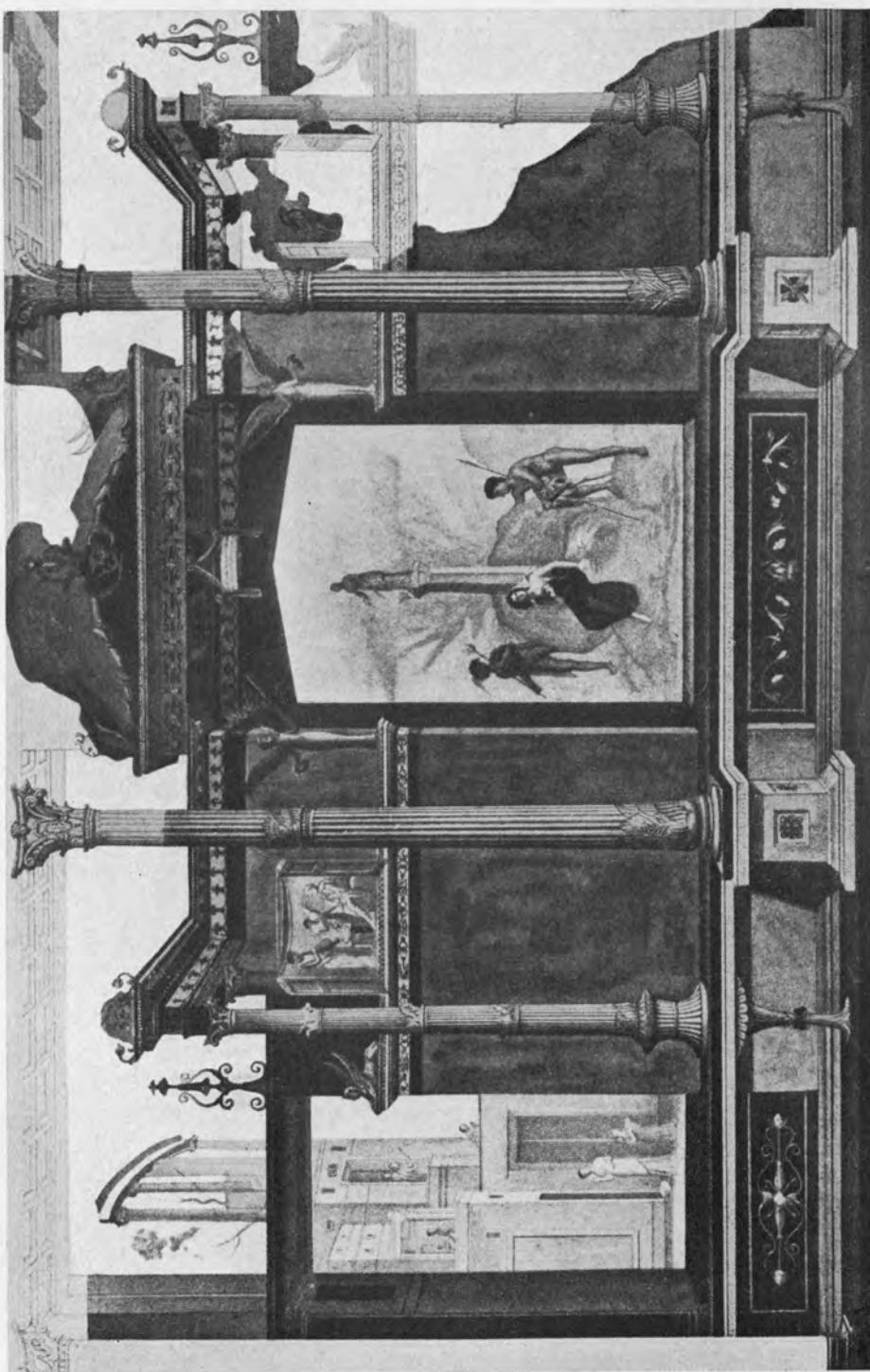
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THE HOUSE OF LIVIA.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1915

NO. 704

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AN AMERICAN RESIDENT OF FRANCE.

GRENOBLE, Nov. 12, 1914.

MY DEAR DR. CARUS:

I have read with interest your article on "The European War" in the October number of *The Open Court* and note your frankness in saying, "Should I be mistaken I wish to be refuted."

It is not with any hope of convincing you that you are mistaken that I write you, but simply as a friend desirous that you know exactly my opinion and my point of view, for I have given the question a great deal of thought.

You may think that my thirty-four years' residence in France has prejudiced me, but you must not forget that I was born and educated in America, and am still an American, while I cannot forget that you are an ex-officer of the German army and an ardent promulgator of "German culture."

I note that you criticize English and French papers, though you make quotations from them, when it serves your purpose, of what seem to me unquestionable fabrications.

Undoubtedly a large part of what we read in the daily press is pure fancy, but from my own experience in talking with the wounded, with refugees, and people back from the front, to say nothing of unimpeachable documents, I am absolutely convinced that there have been horrible atrocities, cold-blooded cruelties and flagrant injustice, to say nothing of wanton, needless destruction far surpassing what any journalist has been able to picture. But when we add to this the thousands of killed, the hundreds of thousands wounded and maimed for life, the millions of innocent sufferers, men, women and children, the billions of dollars' worth of property and business enterprise wantonly thrown away, it staggers one. What a "Great Illusion."

But this is not all. Think of the hatred engendered among civilized people, more extensive and bitter than any example you can cite in history. For if you correctly describe the enthusiasm in Germany, you must remember that in France it is the same thing. Here there are no parties, no discords, every man, woman and child believes they are fighting for their very existence; and it is the same in Belgium, England and Russia.

Now all this convinces me that we are witnessing the most momentous crisis in the world's history, only comparable with that of the long drawn-out Reformation. What will it lead to? I hope and believe to international and compulsory arbitration, *which is my dream*; especially do I hope for this where questions of honor are at stake, for I can conceive of no question of honor being justly settled when a rat terrier kills a mouse or even a tabby cat.

It is, as you know, a long and complicated story which has led to the present situation. Volumes have been and will be written on the subject. I will simply refer to one or two of the points whereon I differ from you.

But first there is one point, and I think in this we agree; perhaps nobody will be found to differ from us; and that is that Germany has built up the most marvelous army the world has ever seen. When war broke out it had reached its maximum strength in numbers, in discipline, in armament and preparedness for a sudden call. Never before was such a magnificent fighting machine conceived of.

Now from what I have read, heard and seen, it is my opinion that more marvelous still is the way in which Germany has disciplined everything, thought, science, art, industry and commerce, to one purpose, the greatness and power of Germany. Every man, woman and child is convinced of its incomparable superiority on all points to any other nation. By the way, a little logic should lead us to the conclusion, that during the present crisis the German press has been censored, and calumnies and untruths have been circulated with a system and thoroughness not possible by any other people. I say this with no sarcastic spirit. Were I a German I should likely be proud of it, for all Germans are; but as an independent I can only say that if you bar the military part of it, the rest would sooner or later be counterbalanced in other countries.

Militarism, pure and simple, or disciplined brute force, I consider fit only for savages, whether it be in Germany, France, England or the United States, and there is some of it everywhere; but

when carried to the extent Germany has carried it it becomes abhorrent and should be suppressed.

It is this military spirit, this confidence in their army and brute force that makes so many Germans unsympathetic. There is little doubt in my mind that what made the German people so enthusiastic over this war, was the universal conviction that they would swallow the French army at a gulp and leisurely chew up Russia without any serious resistance; and their sudden and intense hatred of England is only due to the fact that they think it interferes with their little pleasure trip.

You say the dream of your life has been a federation of "England and the United States centering about Germany" to insure the peace of the world. Possibly some people think that France England and Russia should be intrusted with the job, and I think their chances of success not less probable.

It is this conception of the incomparable superiority of "German culture" and German righteousness, giving her the right to dominate and direct the world, that staggers me. After all, is not Germany, as a world power, and a great nation, a mushroom growth of fifty years' standing? Has no other nation a culture, a history, men of worth? Can you not respect in others a spirit of independence and patriotism, even of national pride, however small that nation may be? And you would entrust the domination and control to one nation or group of nations. No, Dr. Carus, no nation ever has been or ever will be so near God as to be worthy of that mission, and I believe my dream nearer realization than yours.

Contrary to you, I believe Austria's ultimatum to Servia the immediate cause of this war. One man and one man only could have stopped it between the 28th and 30th of July, and that man is the German Emperor. That ultimatum and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium are the two dominating facts of the crisis. All your history going back to Cæsar, and all your precedents, carry no weight with me. The crisis is here and so momentous that it behooves humanity to cry halt, and in some way make the repetition of two such atrocities impossible. When that is done there is a possibility of the commencement of the realization of my dream, and not before.

I am not an Englishman, but all the arguments put forward to prove that England brought on this war, seem to me silly twaddle. It is my opinion that if Germany had had a diplomat of the caliber of Sir Edward Grey, the war would not have been entered upon as it was.

I believe the world has greatly changed for the better during the last hundred years, the mentality of the lower classes as well as of the upper has developed, but you would seem to think that Germany alone has progressed.

The majority of thinking Frenchmen, while proud of the genius of Napoleon, admit that what he represented was doomed to failure. Similarly I believe that in a hundred years from now German thinkers and historians will feel humiliated when they read that famous "Appeal to Civilized Nations" signed by ninety-three of the most illustrious savants of Germany. Among other things they say: "Without our militarism our civilization would have been annihilated long ago," and "The German army and the German people are one." Evidently they have a different conception of German civilization and German culture from what I should like to see them pride themselves in. These ninety-three German savants will not help much towards the realization of my dream.

The intellectual element in France is as enthusiastic over real "German Culture" as Germans themselves. Goethe, Beethoven, Kant, etc. will live even if Germany and every German living were blotted out of existence. There is no need of a German army or a German navy to impose them on people of real culture.

One may differ from others, but I see no reason, when convictions are sincere, why they should alter friendship.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN STEEL.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

While it is true that I was born in Germany and am an ex-officer of the German army, I claim emphatically that it is not without good reason that I am pro-German in this war. I took a positively anti-German position at the time of the Manila troubles, and I know that the larger number of German Americans were on the same side. I am not blind to certain German shortcomings, and I concede that many Germans present themselves to foreigners in a most unfavorable light.

I agree with Mr. Steel that the worst feature of the war is the hatred engendered between the various nationalities, and the worst hatred has originated where I lament it most, between Germany and England. I recognize that this hatred has been fostered in certain circles and in certain yellow journals; but it seems to me,

and facts confirm it, that in England this spirit has taken hold of the government, while the German government has done its best to come to an amicable understanding. Since England supported the Slavs and the French, popular indignation in Germany has so much increased that the Germans feel friendly toward the French and indifferent toward the Russians, but extremely bitter toward the English. It will be long before this hostility can be overcome. I have read in German papers that while the Germans in the field are on terms of hostile comradeship along the French lines, while they exchange little courtesies and under certain conditions abstain from hostilities, this spirit is absolutely lacking where the English are concerned, and a similar odium of the English has also been noticed among the French prisoners of war who express a strong aversion to their British fellows detained in the same camp.

Mr. Steel's view of German militarism seems to me strongly influenced by French and English representations of it. I know German militarism in its good aspect and all I can concede is that there are some blustering Germans who lack the necessary discretion and naturally make a very offensive impression upon foreigners; but I wish to insist that such unpleasant individuals exist in all nations, and I believe many Americans traveling abroad have often had occasion to feel ashamed of some of their fellow countrymen who have made themselves offensive when touring through Europe. The French as a rule are least blatant because wherever they make a display of national conceit it is done with such a child-like vanity that they appear amiable even in a display of their faults.

The dream of my life has indeed been an alliance between England, Germany and the United States, but I did not think the others should be "centered" about Germany. Smaller nations would form groups about each of the three. Mr. Steel has read the passage hastily, for what I said was that "if these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured."

Mr. Steel has given his conception of my view, and I will say that for different reasons I do not deem either the French or the Russians fit to sway the destinies of the world. Both are peculiarly liable to be prejudiced in their judgment of others. Neither can understand a foreigner; and I begin to fear that the British are little better in this regard. It is a great mistake to consider Germany's advance in the last fifty years as the whole of German history. The development of German strength is not a "mushroom growth," as Mr. Steel thinks. It is the slow development of a

healthy and vigorous race under most unfavorable conditions. The Germans were deprived of the results of their labor again and again, until, under the most dire stress of necessity, they developed what is now called militarism for the sake of self-defense. Now that they have become strong they are blamed for defending themselves and overthrowing their enemies.

I have never declared that the Teutonic race should be the sole arbiter of the world's history. On the contrary I have emphasized again and again that other nations, such as the French, and even such smaller ones as Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Norway, etc., have made most valuable contributions to the development of a world-civilization. At the same time civilization in these is not based on blood, that is, on the closeness of their relationship to the Teutonic people.¹ Please consider that France has constantly received a strong admixture of German blood, not only before Cæsar conquered Gaul, not only when the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Normans, and Alamans settled in Gaul, but also in recent times. Paris and other cities are constantly flooded with German immigrants, and the importance of this immigration should not be underrated.

I can only say that I differ as to the facts concerning Mr. Steel's statement that the German Emperor could have prevented the war by not standing by Austria against the regicide propaganda of pan-Slavism, vigorously and, I am sorry to say, ignominiously supported by Sir Edward Grey.

Together with this letter of Mr. Steel I am in receipt of a statement by Americans living in Munich who proclaim in most vigorous terms their support of the German cause on the ground that "England is *directly responsible* for, and must share the guilt of, this terrible war," saying that "at the most critical hour in the history of European civilization, England arrayed herself on the side of Serbian regicide and in the interest of Russian autocracy and barbarism."

¹ See for instance my explanation of "Germandom" in the December number of *The Open Court*, pp. 769-772.

NOTE ON THE EUROPEAN WAR.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

THIS note is not meant to blame those responsible for the war, nor even—usually a stage reached long after this process—to find out who were responsible or to investigate the causes of the war. It is enough to say that all the people of Great Britain are thoroughly convinced that they have come into this war for two reasons and two only. The first is an obligation of honor: an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium. They believe firmly, and on good authority, that the German statements that France intended to violate this neutrality, and that Great Britain would have meekly allowed her to do so, are false. The second is a love of liberty, and consequent hatred of militarism. To the outside world, Britain may possibly appear to be a country largely governed by a king or queen and an aristocracy of birth. This is not true. When a king of England thought he was appointed by God and consequently oppressed his people, the people bore it much longer than reasonable people ought, but at last they cut off his head. Long ago, when peers were respected far more than they are now, a Lord Ferrers, in a high-handed way, murdered a servant of his. He was tried and condemned to death. To show proper respect to the aristocracy, he was allowed to drive to the gallows in his coach and four, *but he was hanged.* Britain is a pleasant place: there is a court and gay ceremonies which cost a lot of money and an aristocracy which is toadied, and yet nearly all Britons are republicans; the rest are social democrats.

Then think how the British nowadays show that they know the value that others put on liberty. Look how properly South Africa and Australia have been treated lately. I think that all thoughtful British people would agree that *all* the British possessions will be made self-governing when they have shown themselves to be fit for it, even though it should cost the mother country some sacrifices. If

Britons and their nominal ruler had all been as sensible in the reign of George III, Britain would never have lost the United States. Britons do not believe that Germany has the ability, experience or broad-mindedness necessary for dealing with colonies. German ideals would, they think, be forced on German possessions as German military ideals are forced on the German people. And this brings me to the chief point of this note.

Let us consider one aspect of the war: the aspect of the possible spread of German civilization where Russian, French, Belgian or British civilization now is. Whether or no the necessity for this propaganda is, as General Bernhardt seems to think, a cause of the war, I am not concerned to inquire. If the Germans are ultimately victorious, the spread in question will certainly be an effect, and may possibly be an effect which is a fulfilment of an ideal that made the war seem a righteous one to the Germans. If so, the ideal is not worthy of the sacrifice of even a small part of a nation's honor or life or even prosperity. We can neither shut our eyes to the disgraceful brutalities that war must necessarily involve, nor to the fact that such brutalities are exaggerated by enemies and hidden or excused by friends. It is the custom of people to speak as if they were far more bloodthirsty than they really are. The British are usually supposed to be very reserved, and yet I have heard a wish expressed by a kindly old woman in an omnibus that a certain foreigner who attempted to shoot a policeman in London should be boiled in oil. Another story illustrates the essential calmness and good humor of the British disposition, in spite of alarming words. An American visitor was listening to a very high-sounding oration in Trafalgar Square. The speaker was referring to some one now dead and who was a prominent member of the English royal family. "E ought to be shot, the swine!", said the orator. The American visitor said in an awestruck voice to a policeman who was standing by: "There, do you hear that? What are you going to do about it?" The policeman just smiled: "Lor' bless you, sir," he said, "'e don't mean no 'arm." The policeman's view was quite correct.

It is nearly always misleading to draw distinctions between national characteristics; at the bottom all nations are very much alike. The ability of doing noble things in an emergency is common to all; the willingness to make a great sacrifice and to bear it through tedious years without making a noise about it, is not confined to any particular nation or group of nations. All nations are riddled through and through with vanity and snobbery. Indeed,

broadly speaking, snobbishness seems to be the main thing that differentiates civilized peoples from uncivilized ones. We all have a love of home and comfort. In the upper classes and among men and women of genius, a straining after ideals is often a more powerful desire than the wish for comfort; but martyrs, musicians, poets and scientific men are not the monopoly of Teutonic or Slav or Anglo-Saxon nations. I do not suppose that good humor is a peculiarity of one's own nation. The only things that seem to be possibly a national peculiarity are jokes; but even here inability to laugh at the jokes of other nations does not necessarily mean that the jokers of one's own nation are the only amusing jokers there are. Probably Americans and Britons have more or less the same sense of humor, and this may be due to their common origin. The two sayings about the war which appeal universally to Englishmen's sense of humor were both, if I am not mistaken, first said by Americans. One is: "Nobody seems to be on the side of the Germans except God, and we have only the Kaiser's word for that." The other is: "There is only one thing that the Germans could do which would be worse than the destruction of Rheims Cathedral, and that is its restoration." As further evidence that the American and English senses of humor are fundamentally alike, these two facts should be remembered: first, Mark Twain is appreciated in England; secondly, no American laughs at *Punch*, . . . and no Englishman does either.

Since all nations have a good deal of common ground on which to build up a friendship, it is necessary that each nation should use that understanding which discovers the lovability of the people one knows to make the thought of each nation well understood by all other nations. It is a great mistake to imagine that any of us can do merely with that part of the civilization of a particular people which finds expression in print, music or pictures; and this truth, which, as it happens, Americans have grasped more firmly and put into practice more fully than any other nation, I shall try to illustrate by considering shortly those contributions of Germany to civilization, with which I am acquainted. I think that, if one wishes to say anything of the least value, it is to be recommended that one should not stray out of the narrow domain of what one knows.

I shall then leave out of serious consideration the realms of art and most of the realms of science. Most of us know, with some reason for knowing, that almost the whole of the art of music is due to Germany, and that hardly anything in the arts of sculpture

and painting is due to Germany. In literature, it is a platitude that Germany stands far below almost every other civilized European nation. In philosophy, it is a debatable point whether the Germans can be put above the British: they can undoubtedly be put above all other nations. We come to the sciences.

In the first place, every one must admit that the bulk of the tremendously valuable work of the organization of research and reports of researches during the last fifty years has been done by Germany. In mathematics, physics, chemistry and other natural sciences, it is to German industry, German talent and German organization that we are indebted for abridged and permanent records of nearly everything that has happened in science over the whole world, and which otherwise would probably have been quite lost. Also—and what is far more important—there have been many eminent Germans who have supplied the ideas that other men write about. In mathematics during the nineteenth century, the work of German mathematicians like Gauss, Grassmann, Dirichlet, Riemann, Weierstrass, Steiner and Georg Cantor is certainly more important than the work done by the mathematicians of any other nation. In physics, any candid inquirer must admit that the most important work has been done by the physicists of Great Britain. If any of the physical works of that original and open-minded man Ernst Mach be examined, we shall find almost on every page warm and unstinting praise given to men like Maxwell, Kelvin and Joule. And Mach's praise is worth having. As a critic, he is just and penetrating, as witness his estimate of Dalton's achievements in his *Principles of the Theory of Heat* or of Newton's achievements in his *Mechanics*.

In a branch of science which is now very closely allied to mathematics—I mean modern logic—the part played by Germany is extraordinarily unimportant. It is true that one of the greatest of Germans, Leibniz, may be said to have originated modern logic, but the majority of his writings on it remained unpublished for more than two hundred years. The beginnings of it were rediscovered about the middle of the nineteenth century by two Englishmen, George Boole and Augustus De Morgan; developed importantly by an American, Charles Peirce; and developed less importantly and systematized in a work of incredible prolixity by a German, Ernst Schröder. I omit all lesser names. Then came the truly great work of a German, Gottlob Frege, which only began to be appreciated about ten years ago, and is not yet properly appreciated by any German logician or mathematician. Schröder, indeed, quite misunder-

stood the purpose of Frege's work. Later on came the work of the Italians, Giuseppe Peano and his school. Schröder misunderstood them and showed a miraculous obtuseness in asserting over and over again that he could not accept a distinction of ideas pointed out by Peano. Peano's distinction is quite easy to see when it is pointed out. At present the chief cultivators of modern logic are English, but important parts have been taken by Americans, Italians and Frenchmen. Germany has hitherto taken no part in one of the most important philosophical movements there can be, giving as it does definite information about the foundations of the exact sciences.

These lines have served to show, by a very important example, that if we confine ourselves to German science we miss a very important part of what has been done. There is not even an intelligent account of the principles of the exact sciences published in the whole of Germany. In this respect the Germans have shown unexampled obtuseness. This is not national prejudice, nor is it my intention to depreciate the noble work the Germans have done in many other branches of science. But I merely wish to express strongly my feeling that discovery of the truth is only to be reached by promoting the mutual understanding of nations. One of the features of the science of the last ten years has been the growth of international journals devoted to the discussion of scientific subjects. To this end both *The Open Court* and *The Monist* constantly contribute; and only by the help of a growth of understanding between nations and the perception that we are all really very much alike and all seek very much the same ends can a lasting peace be secured.

MR. JOURDAIN'S NOTE ON THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN the editor of *The Open Court* came to the conclusion that the present crisis in international politics should be discussed, he thought at once of having an article published which would represent the position opposite to his own. He himself, who has always been a strong and outspoken friend of the English, has taken the German position and has done so for reasons set forth in the October issue of *The Open Court*. There is scarcely anything gained by attempting to defend either Russia or France, for their motives in entering into the war are plain. We are interested to learn the reasons which have moved England to join Russia and France in this tremendous struggle.

For a number of years the Open Court Publishing Company has been in correspondence with Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a scholar of English training in close touch with the University of Cambridge, and we take pleasure in presenting on another page his "Note on the European War," but must confess that the amiable character of Mr. Jourdain has prevented him from speaking out his mind with special vigor, though he feels very strongly the justice of England's cause. We quote from a private letter the following passage: "For myself, the whole of the proceedings which led to the war seems to be to bear so strongly against Germany that I cannot believe that England can be considered as an instigator of the war or to have entered the fight through any but honorable motives."

In another letter Mr. Jourdain regards as the main reason of the war the difference between the English and the German people, saying that the English are superior to Germany in the development of individualism and have an innate dislike for German militarism. Mr. Jourdain has strong English sympathies, and I assume as a matter of course that the large majority in England feel as strongly as he, if not more so, that English politics are just. The editor of *The Open Court* himself feels just as vigorously that Great Britain

has done wrong, and if the people of England do not know why Germany feels so bitter against Great Britain, it is simply because they are not sufficiently informed about the secret treaties and the motives which have led the British cabinet to declare war.

Mr. Jourdain expresses the conviction of the English people as to the causes of the war as follows: "The first is an obligation of honor, an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium." Certainly it is an obligation of honor to Belgium to declare war, in view of prior promises and the inducements offered her to join the Triple Entente against Germany. If the documents found at Brussels and Antwerp which prove a secret understanding between England and Belgium are not falsified by the German authorities who claim to have them in their possession, the English were indeed in honor bound to come to the rescue of Belgium. But was it right to enter into this secret understanding? The English government did it, not the English people. The English people knew nothing of it and cannot be accused of having made these promises with France and Russia and afterwards with Belgium. I feel strongly convinced that the people would have objected to all of these entangling alliances.

In England the spread of democracy is apparent, not real. The English government has taken care to make the people believe in the prevalence of democracy among them, but democracy does not exist in fact. In Germany the people take a much greater part in politics and are a factor which the government must reckon with, while in England the opinion of the people can easily be ignored; in fact it is ignored and the masses of the people are absolutely indifferent to the foreign policy of the empire. Liberty in England is a fiction and only concerns the personal freedom of a man in his house—what he shall eat and drink and how he shall amuse himself, the laws which touch the price of bread, and labor questions. In imperial matters the people's interest scarcely goes beyond the question of home rule in Ireland.

I do not doubt the love of liberty in England. Nor do I doubt that every man there is free to pursue his business, and every farmer is master of his own fields and determines what he shall sow and what he shall do with his earnings; but he has no right, not even the slightest chance, to influence the politics of the country. He is kept in ignorance and is satisfied to be told that Great Britain is the freest country in the world.

The English hate militarism because they dislike the idea of service in the army. In my opinion it would be as good for the

English as for any other people in the world to serve in the army and be educated in strict obedience to duty whatever that duty may be, to learn something of manhood and be ready to come to the defense of their country. No doubt the English aspire to be gentlemen, and I must confess that great numbers of them become gentlemen, which makes it so pleasant to deal with them; but it would be to their own interest if they would attain to the higher ideal of becoming "men," and military service is a very practical method of imparting manhood to both the over-refined dude of the city and the awkward son of the farmer.

German militarism has been misrepresented in English periodicals all over the world. Above all, it is not known that German militarism makes the German people peaceful. It is one of the falsest statements to picture the Germans as aggressive and warlike. There is no German father or mother in the empire, nor any person of responsibility, who would not prefer to keep peace even at a sacrifice, for they know that their own sons, their own brothers, their own sons-in-law have to go to war to defend the country. It is a gross misstatement of the truth to represent Germany as going to war simply for the sake of waging war, either for glory, or in sheer aggressiveness, or for conquest. The present enthusiasm for the German cause is to be lauded the higher since there is no one in Germany who does not have to make sacrifices of the gravest kind. How many families have lost their only sons! and Germans of high culture, as young professors at the universities, are compelled to face the guns and sabres of the negro Turkos in the west or of the savage Cossacks in the east.

The Germans are fully convinced that it is England's policy that has encouraged both France and Russia to start the war, and only those who do not know the significance of the military institutions in Germany can expect that militarism should be abolished. If England possessed the same institutions of militarism as exist in Germany, the British government would never have dared to start the war, for the people would have censured it severely.

As to Mr. Jourdain's statement that the king of England is merely "nominal," I will say that the German emperor and king of Prussia has no more rights than the king of England, and infringes as little upon the liberty of the people. On the contrary, in case of war he cannot begin a war without the consent of all the people, including his political opponents, the social democrats who form about one-third of the *Reichstag*; and the idea that he is a tyrant who forces his people is utterly unfounded, for

the social democrats would not fight unless they felt the necessity of going to war. The Kaiser is not purely nominal; he has serious duties to perform. We may grant that he still regards himself as wearing the crown by God's grace, but whatever errors he may still entertain as to his divine rights, we must recognize that he is deeply impressed with his responsibility, and he interprets his office, thus held by the grace of God, as an obligation, a sacred trust, a religious duty, a right in which he is accountable to his conscience before God. Not even his enemies doubt that the Emperor is sincere, and that, however mistaken he may be in his views, he is honest and attends fearlessly to duty.

It is easy enough to ridicule the Kaiser for his frequent use of the word "God," and I would not deny that he lays himself open to criticism, but the impartial observer who has followed his life cannot but interpret this habit as the expression of a deep-seated conviction. The word "God" is no hypocrisy on the lips of the Emperor. It is a truthful expression of his attitude of heart.

Militarism has not been forced on the German people by the Kaiser, but by historic conditions, mainly by the danger which has threatened Germany from France, just as the origin of the German navy was due to the conviction that one of these days Great Britain would fall upon German, exactly as she has now done.

The German authorities saw the growth of the German mercantile fleet and encouraged it; knowing how Great Britain had dealt with Holland in former times, they felt that a navy was needed for the defense of their colonies. If they were wrong, was it not wrong for the British to reserve for themselves the right to have a navy? Never and nowhere has Germany shown any intention of falling upon English colonies as England fell upon New Amsterdam in North America and Cape Town in South Africa.

Liberty of speech as it exists in England, so humorously characterized by Mr. Jourdain in the permission given a violent orator to have his say in Trafalgar Square, is being tried in all Germanic countries, but there is a most serious other side, and England has naturally been forced now and then to restrict free speech, while Germany has learned to allow it. Yet have not the violent speeches of reckless orators caused much harm in the world? I will only remind our readers of the assassination of President McKinley, who was shot by a Slav that had been incited by violent anarchistic speeches to commit the deed. Who is the real criminal, the inflammatory orator who put the idea into the degenerate brain of Czolgosz, or the assassin himself?

Considering such incidents I do not blame a government for restricting free speech under certain conditions, and I remember that this was done in England at the time of the Boer war. At that time I was passing through London and attended a meeting of protest held in the club rooms of a liberal society, where the British government was denounced in the most violent terms. I tried to speak up for England and England's glory in preserving the ideal of liberty of speech, when I was hooted at and could not finish. The audience shouted, "There is no freedom in England!" and informed me that mass meetings had been broken up by the police; members of the club declared they had been ejected from meeting halls and bodily injured.

I have always spoken up for England. I like English people and enjoy their company. It is but natural that I have always justified their position when possible or at least made excuses for them against accusations that had some basis in fact. I have preached friendship for England in Germany and the United States and have encouraged the establishment of a Triple Alliance between the three countries in the interest of universal peace on earth.¹

I recognize the superiority of England in many points, especially in her successful methods of building up colonies which the Germans have yet to learn; I admire the executive ability of the English, and their far-reaching but often questionable diplomacy, in which the Germans are sorely lacking; and I have also unstinted praise for the English language, originally a Saxon (that is to say, a Low German) dialect which is unsurpassed in its simplicity of construction. But with all my admiration for the British I cannot help thinking that, like most of England's prior wars, the present war is not only a great wrong but a great blunder, for it will prove a dire calamity to Great Britain. How foolish it was for Edward VII to originate the anti-German movement at the time of the formation of the Triple Entente, was brought home to me when I saw in an American Sunday issue an article on the German family that has ruled England ever since the Hanoverian kings were called to ascend the throne. There in a cartoon stood Tommy Atkins, full page size, gaudy in his red uniform, holding on his hand a little figure of Lilliputian size representing German royalty on the English throne. Admiral Battenberg had to quit the service because he is of German descent. Why, the article said, should not George V follow him, on the ground that his grandfather was

¹ See for instance my address before the first congress of the *Verein aller deutschen Studenten*, published in the Proceedings of the society.

of German birth and his grandmother's family was imported from Hanover?

I will not enter into the details of Mr. Jourdain's exposition, although I differ from some of them, for instance his statement as to art, music and science. I believe that Germany ranks high in music, but the latest development in Russia ought not to be overlooked nor the prior merits of Italy. Germany is not the only country where music has been developed. On the other hand I do not believe that "hardly anything in the arts of sculpture and painting is due to Germany." I believe that Germany still ranks higher than France; and the sculpture in public places in England can scarcely be classed as art.

Germany has always been highly appreciative of the accomplishments of other nations, and I believe there is no country in the world where the latest books of merit of all countries are so frequently translated and so widely read as in Germany. Next to Germany ranks England, and I will further add that all the other Germanic nations rank very high and surpass the Romance nations considerably in many respects.

Certainly no one can regret the war more than myself, but I will add that according to a practical consideration of all the facts and, as far as that be possible, from an impartial standpoint, I blame England first of all for the outbreak. It is plain to me that England has created among English speaking people, the United States not excepted, an anti-German movement. England has founded the Triple Entente which, although it is not in the interest of England, allies England with two nations naturally antagonistic to her. Russia did not even discontinue her intrigues against Great Britain after the establishment of the Triple Entente, in Tibet as well as in Persia, Afghanistan and even India, but the men who hated Germany have set aside every other consideration for the sake of crushing Germany first. I believe that the ill-will created by the war among the different European nationalities is a great misfortune and will not so easily be set aside even after the conclusion of peace; and England will reap a very sorry harvest. That the French do not love the English became apparent in the treatment Sir Edward Grey's brother received from his fellow prisoners. The famous German chant of hatred proves that whereas the German fight against France and Russia it a sportsmanlike affair—a shot for a shot and a blow for a blow—England is blamed as giving a shot in the back. England has become the hated foe, and I fear it will be a long time before this sentiment can be outgrown.

I deem it highly necessary for the development of mankind that we have several great nationalities, and that in addition we have a number of smaller states which are independent and follow their own free government. The different nationalities complement each other, and the smaller states have frequently contributed very important ideas or interpretations of life to the development of humanity; and I will say that the German empire has practically solved the problem of having a strong union combined with individual development of the different small German states. The unity of the German empire has beyond any question been established through the political needs of self-defense, but the Bavarian considers himself very different from the Prussian, the Swabian again is different from his neighbor, the inhabitant of Baden, and likewise even the different provinces of Prussia cling each to its own peculiar individuality. In the same way this individualistic development in Germany is carried into the family life, and I have nowhere in the world found such a variety of character and of conviction as in the German fatherland.

I must insist therefore that the present characterization of German conditions in English, and often also in American papers, is very unfair, and, as it seems to me, due to an intentional misrepresentation in order to create a prejudice against Germany.

Mr. Jourdain concludes his article with an appreciation of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, and I have not ventured to remove it in order to let his article be as independent as I intended that it should be. If I had known that he would praise my work, I would have asked him to omit it, but as he has done so, I wish my readers would regard it as but a manifestation of our author's amiability.

In conclusion I will repeat that I am not anti-British. On the contrary, I am in a sense pro-British. But while I am a friend of the English, while I fully appreciate their good qualities, I have a decided and well-founded conviction that the British government is guilty of this war, that this war will not bring any blessings to Great Britain, in short, that it is against all the interests of the British empire, of Great Britain and of the English people. It will prevent the progress of civilization and the peaceful cooperation of the three most powerful countries of the world, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and is greatly to be deplored. It is not Germany that is guilty of the war, but the men who brought about the Triple Entente, an understanding which made it inevitable that England should feel in honor bound to inflict injury upon Germany—an injury which will recoil upon her own head.

SOCRATES.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Shelley referred to the great man we are about to study as

“Socrates, the Jesus Christ of Greece,”

nor was the English poet the first or the last to institute the comparison. The fathers of the church, when answering the sneers of paganism, cited the martyr of the hemlock beside the martyr of the cross; free-thinkers of yesterday and to-day have exalted his ethics and his mission in challenge to the Christian world and its prophet. He has been compared to Buddha and the religious reformers of the ancient kingdoms of Judah and Samaria. Yet, as we shall see, the historic Socrates was no religious zealot and founded no religion. The traditional figure is slowly but certainly undergoing modification wherever men have learned to distinguish Socrates from the men who walk either side or in front of him; the genuine voice is beginning to sound more clear as our ears separate it from Xenophon's confusing oratory and the insistent music of Plato. And now is there to be any longer reason for numbering Saul among the prophets? Has the instinct of the generations been wrong altogether? I think not. Socrates, in a sense that would justify honorable mention of his name and fame in any work on religious leaders, proclaimed long before Paul the unknown God unto the Athenians.

Socrates concerns us from the point of view of religious leadership on several grounds: as a soul interested in the salvation of man, as a life witnessing the laws of the spirit, as the central personality of a great people, and as an historic contrast to other more specifically religious types.

Socrates was interested in the salvation of man. Salvation

shall be taken out of the vocabulary of the theologians where it has troubled the human race long enough: the salvation of man shall not mean any longer security on a day of judgment; nor even alone the loosening of these bonds of sin. It shall mean emancipation from all that hobbles or shackles the mind—emancipation from ignorance, uncouthness, stupidity, gloom, fear, and the whole interminable train of devils, among whom sin, though chief, is but one. The emancipators, the saviours, have been many: teachers in the village school, singers in the street, painters at the courts of kings, as well as prophets and poets on the mountain. What Socrates stood for in this multitudinous business of salvation will, I hope, be manifest to us in the sequel.

Socrates, as a life witnessing the laws of the spirit, is a proof of things beyond time. There is the universal, the transcendental implication in every man—in the farmer harvesting his grain against the winter snows, in the grimy machinist who sits in the night school, in the thief and the prostitute whose miseries, deducible from violations of the universal, hint at the implication no less. But there are a few men and women who have given majestic and imposing proof: they are the incarnations in that mythology which is our poor best interpretation of the truth and beauty of the divine something which sustains the world. Among them perhaps is Socrates. And in a humbler sense, too, he is beyond time. We of to-day have far enough transcended the pitiful helplessness of that old Greek world in turning nature to account for our own convenience. We have steamboat and railroad—we ride faster; we have telephone and wireless—we speak farther. But, though in devising these wonders we also be assisting in the emancipation of man, let us not deceive ourselves: the most vital matter is still not how fast we ride, but for what ends; not how far we speak, but to what purpose. The deepest problems are the same as then, and Socrates was perhaps nearer their solution than some of us.

He was the central personality of the Greek race, born in the fulness of time out of the folk and absorbed after death into the folk, the culmination of the old, the starting point for the new—besides the Olympiads, a numeral in the Greek calendar. If he suggests in this the founders of religions, there is also something of their potent eccentricity in the means he employed to drive his purposes home to his fellows—in his word of mouth lessons to chance individuals or groups and in his attaching devoted followers to his side. He was as primitive and vital in his relations to the Athenians as was Mohammed, declaiming his earlier surahs, to the

Meccans, or as was Jesus to the Galilean fishermen who marveled at his proverbs and stories. Pythagoras had founded a cult; Empedocles had boasted in sonorous hexameters—a medium itself betraying the inevitable remoteness of the man of letters—how,

“Crowned both with fillets and with flowering wreaths,”¹

he was followed “with his throngs of men and women” as he came “to thriving cities,” and was besought by thousands craving for oracles or healing words. But surely no other Greek so completely returned to that oldest and (where practicable) that most efficient pedagogy—the personal voice, gesture, and pause. The life of Socrates was one long conversation, as Mohammed’s was one long harangue.

Nevertheless, it is also for what he is not that I set Socrates here beside Buddha, the Prophet of Islam, and the rest; and his differing emphasis on the principal factors of life, his differing vision and temperament will serve to set in clearer relief those men who, to speak literally, called the race to prayer or proclaimed the acceptable day of the Lord.

II.

If Socrates were with us to-day, the shorthand reporter would soon have his pithiest sayings verbatim, perhaps publishing them subject to the sage’s own proof-reading. And the photographer would catch his characteristic poses, his broad face, his shabby mantle, his very stride; while the phonograph would respond with its infinitesimal and inerrant tracery to the modulations of his voice—for Socrates was a playful and curious spirit—and thus posterity might, merely by some care in preserving a few bits of dead wax and film, see his living image move across a screen or hear the old voice over and over, like one of the djinn in a magic box. Whimsical as this may seem, there may come a time, when once these marvelous inventions shall have been freed from their present associations as the fakirs of popular amusement, that serious and organized efforts will be made so to conserve such truly spiritual resources from the Heraclitic flux.

But the historic Socrates had not even the shorthand reporter. And how have we come by that which we have, and how far may we trust it? Plato makes Alcibiades say (in the *Symposium*, 32) that Socrates’s conversation was reproduced by other people, almost like the songs of a rhapsodist. A certain Simon, a leather-cutter, we are told by Diogenes Laertius, published memoranda of conver-

¹ See *The Fragments of Empedocles*, translated by William Ellery Leonard. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

sations held by Socrates in his shop. Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia* (I, 4), alludes to several collections of anecdotes about him; and in his *Apology* notes that others had written on the theme of Socrates's defense and death—among whom, besides Plato, we know the names of Lysias and Demetrius. Tradition speaks also of Socratic conversations by Æschines, and a few fragments of Antisthenes, Aristippus and other *viri Socratici* are still extant. Had we no other information than the items just cited, we should still be able to infer that men began early and continued long to put Socratic dialogue and anecdote on paper, like the followers of the rabbis and of Jesus. But did they put them down right? We are told that men in those days were in the habit of using the verbal memory to an extent unknown now—how the rhapsodists had Homer by heart, how redemption rose up in the Attic muse at Syracuse for whoever could repeat a drama of Euripides. But hundreds of actors and readers have as large a repertoire to-day; and in any case the verbal recollection of human talk is not the same as studying a part or a poem for recitation. Nevertheless, many ancient words ring very true; and scepticism must reckon with the alternative in denying historicity, say, to the beatitudes or the parable of the prodigal son.

Aside from the difficulty involved in our trusting implicitly the initial act of verbal recollection, we have to reckon with the spirit of the times. With the Gospel records are intermingled indubitably folk-legends, interpolations, and traces of theological bias. The Socratic record has problems of quite another sort: we must reckon with *the literary fashion*. Socratic dialogues became a literary genre; Socrates a dramatic figure in the service of the ideas of a number of men of letters. Again, carefully wrought speeches were a literary device in historical writing. Thucydides gives us the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, and, though he says (I, 22) of the men he quotes that he tries to reproduce the sense of what was spoken, Thucydides, the most scientific historian of ancient times, is here the Greek rhetorician. The set speech was a favorite adornment with Livy, and not until very modern days did it disappear from the pages of historians. In the classical world the distinction between history and rhetoric, between fact and artistic effect, was imperfectly understood. The significance of this will become clearer in connection with the brief examination of Xenophon and Plato that follows.

The *Memorabilia* appear to have been written in the quiet of an old age at Xenophon's estate at Scillus, a few miles from

Olympia—long after he had returned to Greece as the leader of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, some nine months following the execution of the master. He seems to have been a member of Socrates's little circle for ten years, though, if we may judge from his own writings (not to mention the significant fact that Plato does not introduce him among the speakers of the Dialogues), he was hardly one of its more speculative and clever personalities. Xenophon had something in him, bluff, adventurous, un-Attic, that took him off to the Orient as a soldier of fortune, or down into Sparta, away from the softer culture and the unstable democracy of the northern city. He was a veritable store-house of old-fashioned pieties and superstitions, as we see from the *Hellenica*, the *Cyropedia*, and the *Anabasis*, where oracles, dreams, thunder, earthquakes, and sneezing perpetually accompany the march of armies and the councils of chiefs. His ethics have a practical bias; and other questions of purely practical interest often engage his pen—horsemanship and "domestic science," though he writes with Attic clarity and ease. Such is Xenophon, without reference to the *Memorabilia*. We feel at once a temperamental limitation: Xenophon cannot readily understand and report Socrates—unless the historic Socrates be indeed the somewhat delimited individual that he too often does report. For the Socrates of the *Memorabilia* is now and then a good deal of a Polonius, and, if Athens possessed a Socrates not unlike him, it is a wonder, says Schleiermacher, that she was not emptied of her burghers in a week. Again, those portions of the *Memorabilia* which some critics have pronounced interpolations others have shown to be precisely the most like Xenophon in his other writings.

But the temperamental is not the only limitation. Boswell and Eckermann were vastly smaller men than Johnson and Goethe; and if Xenophon had had their objectivity and abnegation, he also might conceivably have builded better than he knew. A closer comparison of the *Memorabilia* with his other dialogues has a little shaken my naive faith, expressed incidentally in a former book.² The *Hiero* with its interlocutors, Simonides of Ceos and the Tyrant of Syracuse, is obviously and openly a literary fiction; the *Economist* and the *Symposium*, Socratic dialogues, are likewise literary fiction,—if only because in the former Xenophon quotes Socrates anent the expedition of the Ten Thousand, and because in the latter the scene is laid in a time when Xenophon was scarcely nine years old. Yet they have much the same atmosphere of verisimilitude that has

² *The Poet of Galilee*, B. W. Huebsch, New York.

long been the stock-argument for the documentary value of the *Memorabilia*.

It has likewise been urged against the work that it is a *Tendenzschrift*—a party pamphlet designed to refute either the criminal charges of the dicasts, or the philosophic one-sidedness of other biographers; saying to the former that Socrates was a good man and great, to the latter that Socrates was not merely a dialectitian rather a practical servant of his kind. In so far as this may be true, I do not see why the *Memorabilia* should be thrown out of court any more than *any* witness for the defense. Nevertheless it puts us on our guard against exaggeration, and adds one more complication to the problem.

The Socratic writings of Plato have not always been entirely misunderstood. Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, II, 23) quotes Aristippus as remarking in answer to a saying of Plato, "Well, our friend Socrates never said anything of the sort." Diogenes Laertius (III, 35) repeats the anecdote that when Plato read the *Lysis* to him Socrates exclaimed, "What lies that youth has been making up about me!" We know that if the Platonic Socrates is the real Socrates, Plato himself as an original thinker vanishes from the history of philosophy; for practically all the beautiful myths, all the flashes of intuition, all the sustained dialectic in the *Dialogues* come out of the mouth of Socrates. We recognize the dramatist, the unfolders of a system, the master of a studied utterance where the protagonist-Socrates is too clever and his adversaries rather too stupid and redeless for real life. There is no parallel in literature to the glorious impertinence of Plato in thus publicly masking great thought under a great name not his own. Even the independent Landor, in his *Imaginary Conversations*, tried to reproduce the point of view of his character.

Yet, as we think we get glimpses of the real man even in the perplexing pages of the prosaic Xenophon, so still more perhaps in the frank inventions of the poet-philosopher. As historically reliable, I believe, we may consider Plato (as indeed to some extent Xenophon) in (1) his references to Socrates's personal appearance and habits; in (2) some statements of a biographical significance, and (3) in the intellectual and moral character of the man. We would know from Aristophanes—whose relations to Socrates and to the sources for knowledge of Socrates I shall postpone to a later chapter—we would know also from the martyrdom to which he was publicly condemned that Socrates bulked large in the public eye. Plato could have had no purpose for dramatically misrepresenting

his person, life, and character. It was indeed because the historic Socrates was so great that Plato chose him for the spokesman of his thought and the hero of his drama. We know moreover, how strikingly Plato's dramatic sketches of other historical figures coincide with what we learn about them elsewhere, as the brilliant and irresponsible Alcibiades and the grotesque mirth-maker Aristophanes in the *Symposium*—the same politician described by Thucydides and the same comic poet whose very words we may still hear. Again, wherever Plato and Xenophon are in close agreement, as in some sayings and in the story of the master's conduct at the trial and in prison, we—believe. Finally I would make mention of that unconscious fusing of our impressions, that intuitive reconstruction in the imagination—a process which, though it be too subtle to trace, is not too subjective in a measure to trust.

Aristotle's references, scattered through the *Rhetoric*, the *Metaphysics*, and especially the three *Ethics*, touch only on the thought of Socrates. Their purport will concern us later. It remains here to note that though he often cites "Socrates" by a kind of literary shorthand where he means the Platonic Socrates (as in his *Politics*, often the Socrates of the *Republic*), he had other Socratics besides his teacher of the Academy on whom to draw—Antisthenes, Aristippus, Æschines—and that (at least according to Joël) he neither mentions Xenophon nor apparently uses him as source. His brief citations of Socrates, however much exaggerated in their philosophic implications by Joël, are too circumstantial, accord in thought too closely with the line of development among some Socratic schools, and bear out certain hints in Xenophon and Plato much too strikingly to be dismissed *in toto* as by Roeck.

We pass from the book back to the city and the man.

THE ATHENS OF SOCRATES.

I.

The fierce wars had been won. The destinies of the west had been established on a hill. Freedom, opportunity, personality were not to succumb to the crude and undifferentiated bulk of barbaric splendor and blind power fostered by Oriental routine. And these matters had been settled within sight of the city, and her people had borne a main part. Her old temples were ashes; her dead lay under the tumulus on the plain of Marathon and under the waves of the bay of Salamis; but the Persians were gone forever—from the broad prospect back to the Asian fen.

And now, with the querulous voice of Sparta already threaten-

ing across the Gulf of Corinth, the Attic folk gathered to an ominous festival of toil—men, women, and children, day after day, night after night—till from the debris of the old walls, from tombstones and temple-fragments, rose the larger ramparts of Themistocles. The fortification of the Piræus followed: impregnable harbor for an impregnable city, in a few years to be united to the same by the long walls of Pericles. Athens could with safety house the stranger and repair her high places.

But she would do more. Under the admiral Aristides she formed, against possible danger from the east, the league of the Ægean islands and the Hellenic towns of the Asiatic coast. Under Cimon, son of that Miltiades, she became in the boyhood of Socrates a maritime power. Meanwhile "ship-money" was pouring into the treasury at Delos. It belonged to the league. Pericles, statesman, patriot, imperialist, orator, controlled the Athenian assembly: "Let us build a more glorious Athens."

He bade rifle the treasury. He called to Ictinus and Phidias. Rangèd columns of costly Pentelic marble began to rise against the blue sky of Hellas on the Acropolis, and sculptured figures of ideal beauty took shape there under a hundred chisels, one of which may well have been held by the hand of the father of Socrates. Hordes of slaves laid the stone steps of the great portico that, from the base of the declivity just beyond the Agora and opposite the Areopagus, ascended the citadel. Between the Parthenon and the upper portals of the Propylæa now towered Athena Promachos, Athena Protectrix, colossal in bronze, the gilded tip of whose uplifted spear homecoming mariners saw from the sea.

And, in the vast Dionysiac theater, open to the heavens on the slope of the Acropolis farthest from the busy market-place, Æschylus, veteran of Marathon and Salamis, presented his *Oresteia* when Socrates was a boy of eleven. There too at thirty Socrates might have heard the singer of sweet *Colonus* and her child.

Then came the Peloponnesian war (431-404), the plague, the death of Pericles, the treachery of Alcibiades, the disaster of Syracuse, the defection of allies, the blockade of the Piræus, the Spartan camp before the walls, famine, surrender, subjection. Then in 404 was established by the victor the rule of Critias and the Thirty Tyrants, whose expulsion by the patriot Thrasybulus and his train the next year left the city under a coarse and reactionary democracy, ineptly calling for a return to the stern virtues of the men of Marathon. If there be anything to relieve the tragedy of the fall of this imperial city, it is that these same years gave to mankind the ripened

wisdom and character of him who, in becoming her chief citizen, became for after-times a chief citizen of the world.

II.

But the eye will turn from artistic background and political turmoil to certain phases of the life and thought unfolding through these days of glory and change beneath the temple of the Goddess of Wisdom on the hill. For Athena Protectrix was not carried off by Sparta, nor melted into chains and fetters by the Thirty; and the inquiring intellect of the Athenian succumbed neither to luxury nor to civic disaster.

It was awake in the Agora, where under the plane-trees or within neighboring porches and porticos, the citizen, whether in his busy hours he were an artisan in gold-work or ceramics, or importer of Pontic grain, or wine-merchant, or shipper at Piræus, or banker, or physician, or farmsteader of Attica, or keeper of bees on Hymettus, or pilot, or soldier, or public official—still found leisure for friend and stranger and for exchange of news and views. We of a colder zone, of a more secretive and sullen temper, and of a more competitive civilization, can scarcely grasp the educative function of the Agora, but unless we do we cannot understand Socrates.

This intellect was awake too in the social and political clubs, awake in that eminently Athenian institution, the dinner-party, where with the circling of the mixed wine from guest to guest, the entertainment was furnished not only by dancing girls and flutists and jugglers, but by that witty and imaginative conversation of the banqueters which suggested to several Greek men of letters an effective setting for literary dialogue and has since made the word "symposium" synonymous with enlightened discussion: awake, again, in the playgrounds outside the walls, where the young men wrestled and ran—the familiar gymnasia, lyceum and academia, which, girt by colonnades and halls, became meeting-places for rhetoricians and sages, and shortly the seats of the greatest Greek schools of philosophy, still known by those names.

But nowhere, at least outside the tradition of Socrates himself, have we a more useful hint of the level of the Athenian intellect than in the Dionysiac theater. I pass over as irrelevant here the creative originality that could invent the dramatic form, and the artistic imagination that wrought masterpiece after masterpiece. I pass also over the astonishing fact that any city could furnish year in and year out occupants for those thirty thousand seats as

spectators for such exalted art. It is as another phase of Attic talk that the Greek drama concerns us here. Compared to the hurly-burly of "Lear" or the romance of events in "Romeo and Juliet," there is no action. "All," says Grote, "is talk....debate, consultation, retort": talk, moreover, on human conduct, on right and wrong, and the purposes of gods, becoming, as we shall note more than once later, frank scepticism with Euripides.

The Athenian listened to others because he was interested in some new thing or thought; and when he spoke he desired to speak well, whether at symposium, or in law court, or assembly. He had both the speculative interest in ideas, and the rhetorical interest in form and effect. These two interests had been immensely stimulated by the arrival in the city during the earlier and middle years of Socrates of several teachers from the outlying Hellenic world, attracted professionally to the now maritime and thus cosmopolitan city, whose temper they understood and the opportunities among whose ambitious and curious youth they may well have surmised. They were in the main honest men, traveling professors of philosophy and rhetoric, independent of one another in conduct and opinion, and never, despite the sanction of modern usage, forming a school or cult. The Sicilian Gorgias of Leontini, who has given his name to a dialogue of Plato, came to Athens in 427, envoy of his native city (so close was then the relation between political activity and oratory), and the Athenians are said to have been captivated by his metaphors, parallelisms, antitheses, and other clever devices of style. He became the euphuist of the gilded youth. Protagoras, after whom another of Plato's dialogues is named, had come from Abdera. His interest was more in the (at that time new) problems of grammar and in argumentation. Like Gorgias, he served in the political world, being appointed by Pericles to draw up a code of laws for the new colony of Thurii, (as the philosopher Locke was to do later for Carolina). Such sophists instructed both in philosophy and in the arts of discourse. In the latter they aroused the hostility of the conservative by their attention to means and, as charged, by their indifference to ends, making for cleverness' sake the worse appear the better reason; in the former by their scepticism, Protagoras indeed being compelled to flee on account of a pamphlet questioning the existence of the gods, which was burned in the market-place (411). They were always in bad repute because they took pay, so naive and spontaneous was the Athenian's notion of the dignity of the professional educator and of systematized instruction. Yet they were the humanists and

encyclopedists of the fifth century, and Socrates himself is a greater sophist, as will appear in the brief exposition later of the philosophic antecedents of his method and ideas.

However, that the old religious beliefs are still living traditions at Athens during these years may scarcely be disputed. Anaxagoras is banished—because the sun *is* Phoebus Apollo, *not* a ball of fire. Alcibiades sets the town by the ears for mutilating the busts of Hermes and engaging in a mock celebration of the mysteries. Her envoys go to Delphi, the navel of the earth, to consult the Pythian priestess on affairs of state; her generals govern their military operations by the phases of the moon; Pericles himself is advised in a dream by Athene (if Plutarch is reporting correctly) of the plant wherewith he heals Mnesicles, one of the contractors of the Propylaea. Nor stand Parthenon and Erechtheum here above the throngs simply as museums of sculpture and halls for promenade. The Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, popular throughout Greece, are venerated as indicated above, in Athens; and in secret grove or hall the cult unfolds to the Attic neophytes, apparently by startling dramatic presentations, the fantastic doctrine of metempsychosis as its best hope of immortality, and inculcates primitive tabus against meat and beans, along with its finer ethics of purity and self-control. And, moreover, the Greek writers of the time, when they speak of God (Θεός), by their use of the singular imply not unity of the Godhead but indefiniteness, not monotheism springing from a higher knowledge, but the ignorance of embarrassment and uncertainty.

There is nothing for surprise that these things be so. Cicero, several hundred years later, it to fill a book, the *De divinatione*, with the grossest superstitions, not only chronicled, but very plausibly and energetically defended. Two thousand years are to follow in which millions in Christendom are to be good polytheists, with prayers and formulas for a Pantheon quite as complicated as that of Greece; years in which millions, not only in the uplands and on the heath, but in the great cities and centers of western culture, are to ring the temple bells in the thunderstorm against the witches, to read their fates by the aspects of the stars, to establish justice by red-hot iron, or to ward off diseases by uncanny specifics hung round the neck or carried in the pocket. And, if we can compass in imagination the whole human race—not only in its history but in its geography—watch the Buddhist cranking his prayer-mill, peep into the Indian's medicine-bag, hover on the outskirts of an African village during a ceremonial meal of human

flesh, confront the Australian fleeing in breech-clout from the pointed stick of death, count the Carolina negroes of an August night on their knees in the fields beneath the shooting stars, or steam into an American metropolis at an hour when fifty churches are simultaneously petitioning heaven for the conversion of a recalcitrant mayor, we must have borne home to us that, unto this present, superstition in one form or another—varying of course too in ethical content, but still from the point of view of the emancipated intellect, superstition—is all but a universal factor in human thought and practice. The folk-mind of ancient Athens reappears, as the folk-mind of the race, with gods and incantations and amulets differing chiefly as to name, in London and Paris and New York, though all the discoveries of science lie between. Down through time the ancestral clan of the enlightened has been the smallest organization on the planet.

Out in the southern Pacific, under the tropic of Capricorn, two thousand miles from Chili and a thousand miles from hithermost Polynesia, far off the beaten route of steam and sail, lies a small volcanic island, but a brown dot on the blue and green map of the world. It is the dwelling place of the dead idols of men. Colossal heads of bleak black stone, quarried by a populous and awful race that came no one knows whence, people its treeless slopes: some are still half carved in the pits never to be fully born of the primordial rock; some lie cracked and prone in the upper brush; others have rolled down to the narrow beach where the incoming tides are wearing them away; but many are standing erect, fantastic, austere, their gigantic necks firmly imbedded in the tufa and talus, with wide grim lips compressed, and with sightless eyes staring vacantly through times of solstice and trade-wind out upon the eternal seas. It is the dwelling place of the dead idols of men. For the men are gone. And then only do the idols die.

Down through the years the ancestral clan of the enlightened has been the smallest organization on the planet. Yet its forefathers, as we have seen, were not unrepresented at Athens. But they were not exclusively among the sophists, metaphysicians, and physicists. Thucydides, born in the same ward of the city with Socrates, though no sceptic in morals and one who lamented the break-down of the old religion, was an out and out rationalist as historian. Human nature through its thousand manifestations in individuals and communities, not the gods, had produced the events he recorded and examined; and he took little interest in prophecies of oracles and signs. And, though not an Athenian, even Herod-

otus (for all his proverbial credulity) had occasional rationalistic suspicions: those troubles in Thessaly were not due to Poseidon but to an earthquake, and the prophetic doves at Dodona were really only Egyptian priestesses. Euripides, influenced as he was by the rhetoric and philosophy of the sophists, represented his characters questioning the justice, even the existence, of the gods; and, as to life after death, that was matter of individual opinion, *le grand peut-être*, as Rabelais was to say many generations later, and, as to prophecy, "He who can reckon best is the best prophet"—just as God is on the side of the heaviest battalions. Euripides had not the Titanic energy of Æschylus, the thunderous, nor did he like Sophocles see life steadily and see it whole; yet he was a much more restless and inquiring mind, and threw out more questions than either—a fact which has, quite as much as his romantic sentiment, I believe, been a source of his greater popularity from the beginning. Critias in the extensive fragment of his drama Sisyphus (quoted by Roeck, pages 167-8) was a declared atheist—

"’Twas first some man
Who fooled his fellows into god-beliefs."

Aristophanes, however, who brought on the stage with such reckless irreverence the gods along with men, was as far from the sceptical spirit as the medieval inventors of the Mysteries who depicted God-Father clad in white gloves, and patriarchs of the Bible engaging in horse-play. The things were so sure that they could be handled with jolly familiarity. A different matter altogether was Lucian's ridiculing burlesque several hundred years later.

Aristophanes, indeed, the *laudator temporis acti*, satirist of Euripides and the encyclopedists, is, perhaps, our best testimony to the persistence and importance of the conservative element which, unsusceptible of being reasoned away by modern scholarship as something entirely formal, furnishes environment and setting for those few radical minds that give the age its peculiar intellectual interest, as the age of enlightenment—the Athenian *Aufklärung*.

But the enlightenment brought its dangers; and the folk clung to the old gods and customs not simply because it was in all things very superstitious but perhaps quite as much because it had the instinct of moral self-preservation. We must remember that the absurdest superstitions may house the sturdiest ethics and the most genuine religious feeling and that the destruction of the former is too likely for a time to turn both the latter out of doors.

Into this world comes Socrates.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

GREECE, THE MOTHER OF ALL RELIGIOUS ART

BY THE EDITOR.

IF revelation means the discovery of eternal principles we may justly declare that the Greek nation has been the medium for the revelation of art to mankind as well as the founder of science. The Greek style of literature, Greek methods of artistic representation, Greek modes of thought have become standards and are therefore in this sense called "classical." We stand on the shoulders of the ancient Greeks, and whatever we accomplish is but a continuing of their work, a building higher upon the foundations they have laid. This is true of sculpture, of poetry and of the basic principle of the science of thought, of logic, and also of mathematics. Euclid, more than Leviticus or Deuteronomy, is a book inspired by God.¹

Whatever the non-Euclideans may have to criticize in the outlines of Euclid's plane geometry, we must say that the author of this brief work is, in a definite and well-defined sense, the prophet of the laws that prevail in the most useful of all space-conceptions. By Euclid we understand not so much the author of the book that goes under his name, but the gist of the book itself, the thought of it, the conception of geometry and the principles which are embodied in it. In our recognition of Euclid's geometry we include his predecessors, whosoever they may have been.

The man who for the first time in the history of mankind conceived the idea of points, lines, planes as immaterial quantities, as thought-constructions or whatever you may call the presentation of pure figures and their interdependence, was really a divinely inspired mind. Whatever flaws there may be in Euclid's presentation of plane geometry as to parallel lines, the main outline of the book, the scientific conception of the underlying thought, is the

¹ By "God" we understand that superpersonal presence which shapes the world and is the standard of truth and right. See the author's book on *God; An Inquiry into the Nature of Man's Highest Ideal and a Solution of the Problem from the Standpoint of Science.*

revelation of an eternal truth, and such an outline was written in Greece.

But the same praise is due also to men of science in general, to the first formulators of philosophy, and to the founders of art, and it is no accident that the principles of all higher artistic productions go back to the Greeks.

I know very well that the Greeks had predecessors in Egypt, in Babylon, in Phenicia and perhaps elsewhere; that other nations developed along the same lines and reached similar, sometimes almost the same, goals, but the *ensemble* of all the arts and the very spirit of human ideals had nowhere, prior to the birth of Greek thought, found a better expression, and our own intellectual and artistic conceptions are practically Greek; our science is Greek, or, to say the least, it is a development which has risen from ancient Greek thinkers, among whom Aristotle is one main representative. All our philosophers were foreshadowed in ancient Greece. All our poetry and art is an off-shoot from Greek poetry and art, or at least has been profoundly influenced by it; the most significant productions of our art have their root ultimately in Greek prototypes.

Our religion too is Greek. We are accustomed to derive Christianity from Judaism, but that is a mistake. Judaism had an influence on the development of Christianity, and a Galilean whose religion was Jewish was selected as the universal Saviour; yea the Jewish literature, called the Old Testament, has been recognized by the Christians as inspired. Nevertheless the dominating and essential thoughts of Christianity are Greek.²

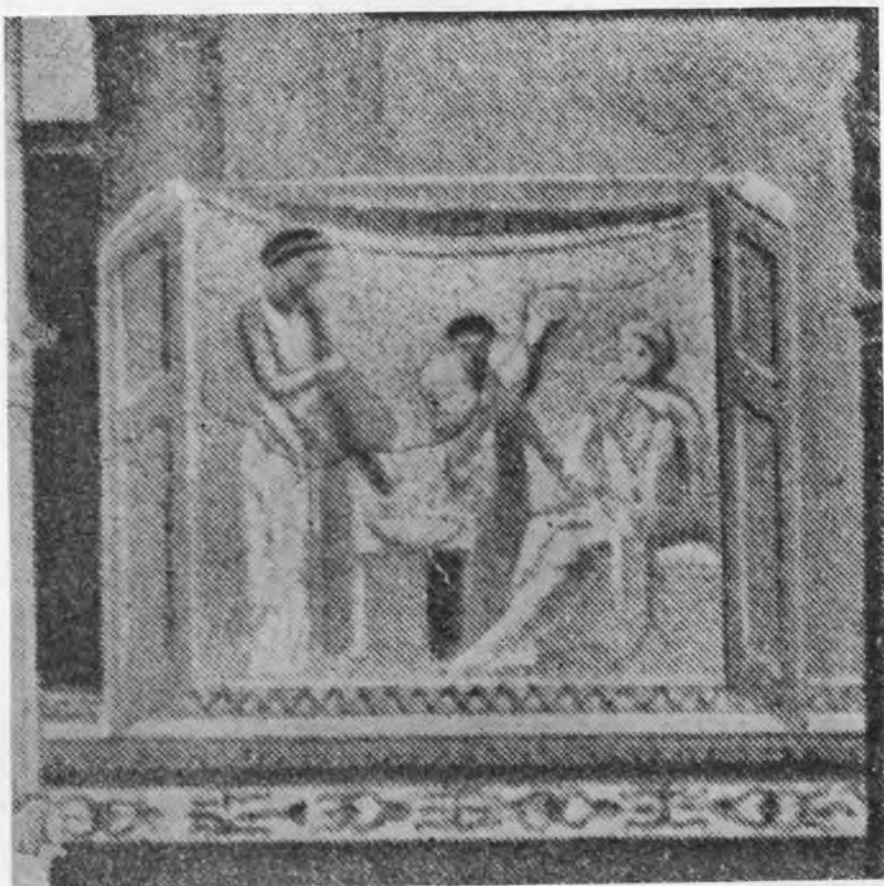
Christian art likewise, is Greek. Just as the figure of the good shepherd goes back to Greek lamb-bearing shepherds and a calf-bearing Hermes,³ so the highest representations of saviours go back to the Greek conception of Apollo, the god of light and intellectuality. The figures of Buddha and Christ have their ultimate prototypes in conceptions of Greek artists, and so we must grant that Greek art has given to mankind the artistic formulation of its highest and best ideals.

About a year ago, in October 1913, I was sauntering through the ruins of the Palatine in Rome, and reached the place where the house of Livia has been dug out from the dust with which it had been covered for nineteen hundred years. We entered a small

² See the writer's book, *The Pleroma; An Essay on the Origin of Christianity*.

³ See the author's article on "The Nativity" in *The Open Court*, XIII, pp. 717-718.

atrium, apparently very secluded, and before us lay three rooms. Here Livia,⁴ the third wife of Augustus, lived, here she received her guests, here was the home of Augustus where he felt at ease in the most complete seclusion. There may still be seen the leaden pipes which served to carry water, the frescoes of exquisite workmanship on one wall and portions of the mosaic on the floor. The frescoes interested me. A large one on the left represents a



Fresco in Livia's House.

street scene; some women are knocking at a door while a few persons on a balcony above are looking over the balustrade to see who the callers are. Another picture, on the right, is the well-known scene of Io watched by the thousand-eyed Argus who is stealthily approached by Mercury. Neither subject is of special significance, but there is a third fresco, in the center, which shows an altar with a bright fire and on either side a female figure. At the

⁴ See the author's article, "The Religion of Ancient Gaul and Cæsar Worship, in *The Open Court*, XXIV, p. 743.

left we see a priestess standing ready to perform a sacrifice, and to the right a dignified matron seated comfortably in an arm-chair, while in the background a shepherd is carrying a lamb on his shoulders after the fashion of the Christian good shepherd. It is strange that this picture of unequivocal heathen provenience has not yet received the attention it deserves, and indeed the art photographer



GRECO-INDIAN BUDDHA FROM PESHAWAR (Gandhara).

has so far ignored its existence. Not even the large firm of Anderson has considered it worth the trouble to reproduce this little piece of art which, being exposed to the open air, is decaying rapidly in the moist atmosphere of rainy days.

In articles on the development of the Christ-picture⁵ we have learned that the older representations of Jesus as a beardless youth

⁵ Published in *The Open Court* for December, 1913, January, March and April, 1914. See especially the issue of December, 1913, pp. 716ff.

have originated from the custom of picturing Christ as the good shepherd, and the type of the good shepherd is a loan from pagan art. The pagan prototype, however, was not invented to represent the shepherd saving a lost lamb, but a youth bringing from the fold to the temple a sheep to be sacrificed. In this sense we must interpret the bas-relief on the so-called *Hermes Kriophoros*, a Mercury carrying a ram, and this too is the obvious meaning of the picture in Livia's house.

What a favorite *motif* the lamb-bearing shepherd was in pre-Christian times appears from the fact that it is found in the second century B. C. in the Gandhara sculptures of far-off India whither it had been imported by the Greek artists, the same who, in the service of the Yavana (i. e., Ionian) kings also chiseled the oldest marble statues of Buddha still extant, modeled after the prototype of the Apollo statues with the Attic topknot on the head and a halo about the face.

That Buddhist sculpture was imported into India by the Greek conquerors who followed in the wake of Alexander the Great, has, as we have stated in former articles in *The Open Court*, been pointed out by Grünwedel of the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, and other German scholars, and the arguments have been reinforced of late by M. Fouchet, a French scholar, who in one of his lectures at the Musée Guimet shows that the oldest Buddha sculpture has been found in Peshawar, the modern name of the ancient kingdom of Gandhara. Chinese pilgrims visited the town in the time when Buddhism was still flourishing, and the environs of Gandhara were crowded with monasteries and Buddhist monuments of all kinds. Excavations in recent times have brought to light a great number of Buddha statues, and there is no doubt that these statues were made by Greek artists imported by the Yavana kings.

We here reproduce the ruins of an old Buddhist monastery situated in a most romantic spot on the top of a mountain surrounded by ranges of other high mountains.

India was most accessible to invaders on the northwest, and it was here that the Greeks, and later on the Scythians, invaded the fertile valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. The coins tell the stories of the history of this part of the country, and from Gardener's collection of Indian coins M. Fouchet selects four pieces of money which show the successive conquests and the gradual trend of the country towards the supremacy of Buddhism.

The first coin shows on the obverse Alexander the Great; and on the reverse, Zeus, holding a scepter in the left hand and an

eagle on his right hand. It characterizes the Greco-Macedonian conquerors of India soon after the time of Alexander the Great, being Greek in style and indicating the ruler's religion also as Greek.

The Ionians change into Yavanas and become Indianized. The second coin, bearing the name of Demetrius, shows Indian influence in so far as the helmet of the king is made in the shape of an elephant's head, but the obverse is still Greek, showing Hercules with club in hand.

The Indianization grows stronger. The third coin is that of the famous king Milinda, the Greek Menandros, who appears to have



THE RUINS OF TAKHT-I-BAHAL.

shown a great interest in Buddhism as he is made the hero of a Buddhist book called *The Questions of King Milinda*, in which he praises and also endorses the views of the Buddhist patriarch Nagasena. We might almost believe that King Milinda had become a convert to Buddhism, but the coin before us shows Athena in full armor on the obverse, indicating that in his admiration for the Indian faith Milinda did not make such concessions to Buddhism as to cut off his official allegiance to the gods of Greece. In fact we find among the Gandhara sculptures a figure which closely resembles Athena, the favorite goddess of King Milinda, and we may assume that this indicates that while the king unreservedly

showed his admiration for the Buddhist faith, as described in the Buddhist book, the Buddhists on the other hand allowed his favorite goddess a place among religious works of art.⁶

Times changed again, and now we find the Indo-Scythians in possession of northern India. Greek rule was replaced by that of the barbarians of the Asiatic north, and among their kings we find Kanishka who in Asiatic pride calls himself the Shah of the Shahs. He is the immediate predecessor of Ashoka and appears on the fourth coin in barbaric dress, clothed in a kind of tunic; he is full-bearded while all the Greeks are shaved. At the same time we notice



INDIAN COINS.

(1) Of Alexander; (2) Of Demetrius; (3) Of Menander; (4) Of Kanishka.

the progress of the Buddhist faith, for the obverse shows a Buddha statue surrounded with two halos, one oblong mandala covering the whole body and another one of a circular shape surrounding the head. The inscription in Greek is $\text{BO}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$. King Kanishka reappears again on the reliquary of Buddha's tomb discovered at Peshawar.

The origin of the Buddha type from Greek ideas may be considered as firmly established, and later developments still show Buddha always with western features, while the saints of Buddhism

⁶ See "Greek Sculpture the Mother of Buddhist Art," *The Open Court*, XXII, 306.

have been more freely modeled and show more the type of the Asiatic ethnology.

The Greek simplicity of the first Buddha statues was soon lost. Later Buddhas were decked more and more with Asiatic ornaments and suffered from Asiatic taste, but it is interesting to notice that ultimately the Buddha ideal is Greek, and we add that the Christ ideal has been derived from the same source, as can be proved by a juxtaposition of the two representations, where the original features of the Greek prototypes are not yet completely wiped out.



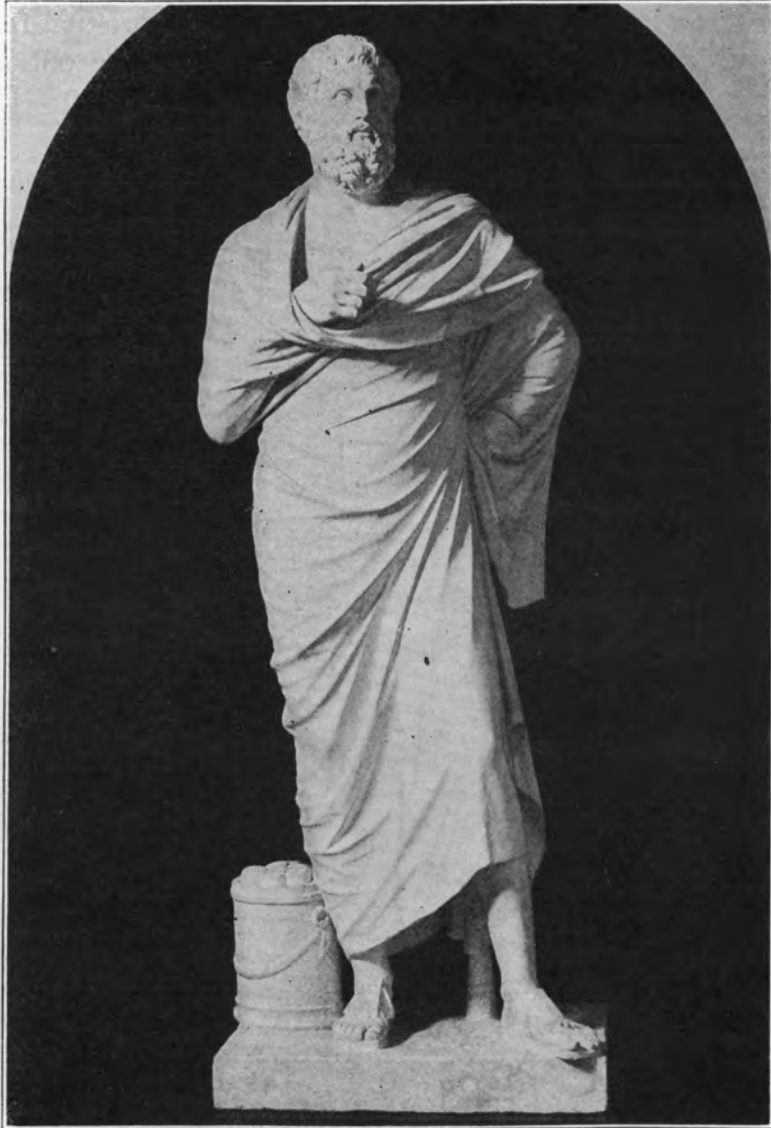
GRECO-CHRISTIAN CHRIST AND GRECO-BUDDHIST BUDDHA.

M. Fouchet, in his lecture on the Greek origin of the Buddhist image, places side by side a Christ statue and a Buddha statue, which both have been derived from the type of a Greek figure, commonly called Sophocles, or "the orator," and the similarity in attitude of this noble piece of work to the Buddha and Christ statues is obvious.

In comment on the two statues we will say that the Indian

treatment shows a great lack of proportion in so far as it shortens the lower part of the body and thus gives the impression of a stumpy figure, while the Christ figure exhibits a better proportion of the limbs.

One important difference between the two Saviour ideals is explained by a consideration of Buddhist traditions, which are



THE ORATOR.

older than Buddhist art. The Greek artist has done his best. He has changed the lump on the head, supposed to be indicative of the higher intelligence of the Enlightened One, into a knot of hair such as Greek youths used to wear and as appears on the head of

Apollo, the Greek prototype of Buddha, the god of light and the leader of the Muses.

The halo was used in the Alexandrian period in Greece for the purpose of representing the gods of light in paintings, but it did not appear in Greek sculpture. So we may assume that its presence in the Gandhara statues of Buddha presupposes previous painted pictures, in which a halo was more appropriate without undue violence to the principles of art. The Greek sculptor would probably not have represented it if it had not been imposed upon him by the common recognition of haloes in Buddhist imagination. So we may very well assume that the Gandhara marble statues of Buddha are not the oldest prototypes, but presuppose a religious school of painters whose works were not substantial enough to be preserved.

Whether the painted Buddhas were produced by Greek artists can no longer be determined, but it is probable. We may fairly well assume that the halo was a Greek invention, and that the Greek painters who introduced it into India were imported by the same Greek conquerors who imported the Greek sculptors.

Christianity owes much more to Greek civilization than the early Christians were inclined to concede. We know that Christianity originated in opposition to Greek paganism, and there can be no question that it came as a protest against polytheism, the worship of idols and pagan sacrifices, but for all that Christianity accepted the fundamental Greek ideas and also the moral aspirations of ancient Greece. Whatever we owe to ancient Israel, and especially to Judah and its development of a religious monotheism, we must not be blind to the fact that the main elements of our civilization were in their outlines first developed among the Greeks, and we note among them the conception of the Logos idea as the second God, the divine mediator as a means of creation, and the moral aspiration toward a love of one's enemies.

KING ALBERT'S POLICY.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is strange that although Belgium's policy is well known in Europe and the questionable character of Belgium's neutrality is recognized by Sir Edward Grey himself, yet in this country Belgium is persistently made the main reason for keeping up a propaganda against Germany and condemning her as the most faithless and barbarous of nations. Almost all my critics fall back on Belgium and treat the discoveries in the Brussels archives either as inventions or as of no significance. Nor have our daily papers been sufficiently unprejudiced to publish the facts which speak loudly against British policy.

One of the most important documents discovered by the Germans in the Brussels archives is a letter written by Baron Greindl, Belgian ambassador at the court of Berlin, who claims that in planning to enter into a close alliance with the Triple Entente and open its country to a British army for the purpose of proceeding against Germany, the Belgian government has violated the laws of neutrality and has thereby exposed herself to the danger of surrendering her fortresses to her foreign friends whom he deems not less dangerous than the Germans. The letter reads in part as follows:

"From the French side danger not only threatens us in the south, by way of Luxemburg, but also along our whole common frontier. This assertion is not based on conjectures alone; we have positive support for it. An encircling movement from the north forms without doubt part of the scheme of the *entente cordiale*. If that were not the case, the plan to fortify Flushing would not have raised such a hue and cry in Paris and London. There the reasons have by no means been kept secret, why it was desired that the Schelde should remain without defense. What they wished was to be able to transport English troops to Antwerp without hindrance, i. e., to create with us a basis of operation for an offensive movement against the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and then

to compel us to fall in line, a thing which would not have been difficult, for in handing over our national stronghold we should have deprived ourselves, by our own foolhardiness, of every possibility of resisting the demands of our questionable protectors, once we had been so unwise as to let them in. The overtures, as perfidious as naive, of Colonel Bernardiston at the time of the conclusion of the *entente cordiale* have shown us plainly how the matter really stood. When, eventually, we allowed ourselves to be intimidated by the pretended danger of a closing of the Schelde, the plan indeed was not given up, but so altered that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed on the Belgian coast but at the nearest French ports. For this we have as witness the disclosures of Captain Faber which have been contradicted just as little as the reports in the newspapers, by which they were confirmed or supplemented in individual points."

We will not here condemn Belgium for breaking her neutrality, for to remain absolutely neutral under such circumstances is very difficult and actually prevents the self-assertion of a small nation. Belgium had been intended as a buffer state. It was established for the purpose of separating the frontiers between France and Germany and its establishment was mainly in the interest of England whose policy is well described in the recent article of Field Marshall Earl Roberts in the *Hibbert Journal* of October, 1914.¹

England naturally has an interest in the coast of the continent facing her own shore and has always been anxious that it be retained in the hands of a weak nation. An invasion of Belgium is felt by English statesmen as an invasion of English territory, and we must understand that this feeling is a sort of Monroe Doctrine to Great Britain. This explains why the English could go to war in defense of Belgium.

Upon the whole England has always favored the smaller countries on the continent and has always been the enemy of whatever power took the lead in continental politics. Originally the neutrality of Belgium was aimed against France, but since the establishment of the German empire the tables turned and it was intended to be used against Germany. But just here lies the equivocal nature of England's attitude. She wished to use Belgian neutrality against either France or Germany, but did not intend to respect it herself; this two-faced policy is positively proved by the documents found in Brussels and is plainly indicated in Baron Greindl's letter.

¹ Quoted in the December number of *The Open Court*, pp. 761-762.

King Albert is apparently an ambitious monarch. King Leopold, his uncle, had a keen mind and enriched himself as well as enlarged Belgium by the acquisition of African territory. Experts in international law have considered that this step threw doubt on the old neutral character of Belgium or even entirely disposed of it, and this view was shared by no less an authority than Gladstone. King Leopold's policy induced Gladstone to establish a new treaty during the war of 1870-1871, which was to last for one year after the close of the war. A correspondent of mine who prefers that his name be omitted, writes to me as follows:



KING ALBERT AND HIS STAFF.

"It has often occurred to me that very little explanation has yet been offered as to the real reason for Belgium's siding with the allies. They must have had more motives than just plain neutrality. Is there anything in the fact that the throne of Belgium personally owns such large tracts in Africa that, had the throne been neutral in spirit, they would have been endangered by the English and French? Might it not be a purely selfish motive which induced the king of Belgium to join with the Allies, believing that he would thereby avoid losing his estate, which I understand is the largest in the world?"



THE QUEEN OF BELGIUM AND HER CHILDREN.

Of whatever value, or lack of value, the old treaty concerning Belgium's neutrality may be, King Albert has certainly not respected it. He has been on very friendly terms with England, and this in itself is certainly commendable; but he has also shared the view of the British government which regards Germany as the main foe of English supremacy on the seas and is expressed in the formula, *Germania est delenda*. He did not doubt that Germany could easily be crushed between France and Russia. He seemed fully confident that Belgian forts could resist invaders for an indefinite length of time and could not be taken except at an enormous loss of life, and so he saw no danger in joining the Allies. He even ventured so far as to extend his own influence over the other small powers by proposing to establish an alliance among them of which he was to be the leading spirit. This in itself was also a breach of neutrality. Like the English he regarded the neutrality of Belgium as a protective measure against Germany; he saw in it a privilege, not a duty.

The alliance between the small states, however, fizzled out because Holland, which was the very first one approached, became suspicious of its purport and hesitated to join. And since Holland was more important to Belgium than Denmark, Sweden or Norway, and since the latter were influenced by Holland's misgivings, the whole scheme was abandoned.

We do not know what part Albert will play in the future, but it is certain that he is a unique character not to be underrated. His wife, too, is a distinguished woman. She is the daughter of that Bavarian prince, Rupert, who studied medicine and practised among the poor just like any other physician except that he would not take fees. He lived like a civilian, and, among his children, the present Queen of Belgium was brought up like a professor's daughter.

We will repeat in extenuation of King Albert's mistakes that it is by no means an easy matter to play a truly neutral part; and while his ambitious plans for an alliance of the smaller states failed, he has cut a dashing figure in recent history, and has shown sufficient energy to overcome even the traditional antipathy against royalty in democratic Belgium. He has never been so popular as now in times of war, and his popularity has spread into France so that in the present dissatisfaction with the republican government isolated voices have been heard which would welcome him to the throne of France.

AN AMERICAN SYMPATHIZER WITH GERMANY.¹

MY DEAR M.:

I have your letter expressing your astonishment and dismay at learning that my sympathy is with the Germans in this conflict, and giving what you allege to be "incontrovertible facts" that challenge the soundness of my position.

You charge:

1. "That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

2. "That to give support to them is to 'glorify the hideous doctrine that might makes right.'"

3. "That any impartial consideration of the official documents submitted by the various contending parties must convince any one that Germany could have prevented this war had she sincerely wished to avoid hostilities at this time."

4. "That the cause of free institutions and of civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win."

You point to the fact that no newspaper of any character or influence in the East pretends to conceal its sympathy for the allies, and that, of all your acquaintances, save those connected with Germany by ties of blood or marriage, you know of no other

¹The writer of this article prefers not to have his name mentioned, for reasons which need not be set forth in detail; but for the benefit of our readers we state the following facts concerning his identity:

He is of pure Anglo-American extraction and has neither direct nor indirect relation to Germany either in his own ancestry or that of his wife's family. At the same time he is of high social and professional standing in his native state, his father having served in the Court of Appeals and in other public services of the state for over thirty years. He himself holds high rank in the legal profession, so that by heredity and training he is well equipped to be impartial.

His reasons for writing his views are explained in a personal letter to the editor as follows: "I and my wife and daughters are among the few persons of English descent in ——— whose sympathies have been with the Germans in this conflict. My wife and my daughters found themselves beset on every side by their friends and acquaintances whose sympathies were not with the Germans. The arguments that they most frequently were called upon to meet

person who takes the side of Germany, except J. S., whom you "have regarded for several years as being unbalanced."

Accept my assurances that I am prompted to write you now, at some length, not because of any anxiety at being seriously classed by you among the mentally deficient, but solely because I believe that the intimacy which has characterized our friendship for so many years entitles you to know why I sympathize with the Germans, whilst the vast majority of our friends and acquaintances can only see the other side.

To begin with, I feel confident that the difference in our viewpoints may be largely explained by a failure to agree on the facts, or inferences to be deduced from the facts.

I.

Take your first allegation, namely:

"That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

This statement I believe to be in the main correct, but I fail to see why the Germans should be condemned for this situation. The reason the German military system has threatened the peace of Europe is because the Germans have made it so efficient that, together with their navy, they have upset the balance of power in Europe, which the other European governments, and more especially that of England, have sought to maintain with so much concern ever since the battle of Waterloo. The German military system has threatened the peace of Europe not because of its existence as a military system, but because the other powers of Europe have come to see that it is the most efficient probably in the world to-day. France, Russia, England, each has a military system, but none of these nations has been willing to make the sacrifice in time and money necessary to bring their respective military establish-

were those set out on the first page of the manuscript, and the article was prepared with a view to fortifying them in their position, and enabling them to advance arguments to meet the contentions of their acquaintances. The article has been thrown into the form of a letter to make it more colloquial, and in the hope that thereby it would be more readily grasped and understood by the average person."

Friends of the author of this letter who were impressed with the clearness of his judgment urged him to make public his statement of the case, and it was in this way that his manuscript reached *The Open Court*.

We do not doubt that there are many of our readers who will be glad to receive from a purely American source a fair and unbiased statement of the case for Germany written by a man whose scholarship and training fit him for judging the merits of both sides of the case.—EDITOR.

ments to the point of excellence that has been reached by the Germans.

In addition, each of these nations has, of course, a naval establishment. The policy sedulously followed by England with respect to her naval establishment for years has been that it must be equal in power and efficiency to that of the combined fleets of any other two powers in Europe. This policy England has followed simply because no other state in Europe was strong enough to challenge her right. When, however, the strength of Germany on land and sea is descried looming higher and higher on the horizon by the other military powers,—they see protection by alliances, offensive and defensive, that would have been wholly unnecessary had they each set for themselves the same standard of efficiency that the Germans have striven for so successfully in the last forty years.

Now, I submit that it is not only the inherent right but the paramount duty of every sovereign state to maintain such military and naval establishments as its people may deem necessary for the proper protection of their interests on land and sea. This right has been accorded to France, Russia and England without question. If the German military establishment had been characterized by the morale which characterized the Russian army prior to its conflict with Japan, had its naval establishment been characterized by the morale which is generally held to characterize that of Russia and France at the present time, nothing would have been heard in regard to the danger to the peace of Europe, so far as Germany is concerned.

Is it right then that Germany should be penalized for having applied successfully the doctrine of efficiency to her military and naval establishments, when the other powers have been unwilling to make the sacrifices to the same end; and if the balance of power in Europe has been upset as a result, should she be destroyed?

Whilst I agree with you that her military system has threatened the peace of Europe, I cannot admit that that threat has been accompanied by any act of aggression on her part up to the time of the outbreak of present hostilities.

The development of her military and naval establishments has gone hand in hand with a commercial development and expansion that has been unequaled in modern times. The German people have excelled in peaceful pursuits under conditions that find no parallel, not even in this country, and whether they succeed or not, I confidently believe that the efficiency which they have striven for

will be the goal set by the other progressive nations of the world.

By this I do not wish to be understood to mean their military system in detail. What I do mean is that other nations will be taught that if they are to give a good account of themselves when their rights are challenged, they must see to it that their military and naval establishments are efficient.

In this sense, and in this sense only, I agree that the German military system will dominate the world until such time shall arrive when some method can be substituted for deciding international disputes, other than that which has hitherto been employed, namely, the arbitrament of arms.

I cannot, therefore, see any menace in the persistence of the German military system for the future, unless you ask me to subscribe to the doctrine of those well-intentioned but misguided persons who demand that armies and navies shall from now on be abolished. On the contrary, I hold that by enforcing a system making for efficiency Germany will, in the end, win the lasting gratitude of those nations that at the present time spend enormous sums of money on their military and naval establishments without getting results in any way commensurate with the same.

Did you see the editorial in the New York "Evening Sun" of November 5th, on the defense of Kiao Chau? For fear you did not let me quote the following:

"British statesmen and journals have delighted to tell the world that Great Britain is making war to save the German people from militarism, to bring independence to the oppressed Teutons. Was there ever a more complete, a more crushing answer to such cant than that supplied by Kiao Chau, by the response of the Germans of the East to a call not to battle but to disaster, to a summons not to possible victory, but to inevitable defeat and destruction."

So much for German militarism.

II

Now, as to your second charge:

By this, I presume, you refer to the violation of Belgian neutrality. I do not permit my sympathies for the misfortunes of the Belgians to obscure the view of the general question relating to the violation of their neutrality.

Conceding that Germany was a party to the treaty of 1839, through the signatory participation of Prussia, and conceding the adherence of Germany to the Hague declarations as to the in-

violability of neutral territory, I am not prepared to grant that she was bound to respect the neutrality of Belgium in the face of *military necessity affecting her national safety*. National safety is the supreme law of the world. No nation can bargain away irrevocably its sovereignty in the form of a treaty or by any other instrument that has ever been devised. Such a treaty is binding only so long as the sovereign powers signatory to it are willing to be so bound. Its force and effect is, as the lawyers say, simply and solely *in terrorem*. At least two sound reasons can be advanced to support this contention. One is that to which I have adverted, viz., No nation has the power or right to bargain away its sovereignty, so as to bind posterity for all time.

It seems curious that there should be so much public misapprehension on this subject, and it all comes about because people have confused a treaty between sovereign nations with a contract between individuals. A treaty between nations is essentially different from an ordinary contract between individuals, and yet there are certain things that even an individual cannot make the subject of a binding contract.

The principle that a state cannot bargain away its supreme rights is the same in its fundamental concept as the principle recognized and enforced in private municipal law,—that an individual cannot bargain away his supreme rights.

You could not, my dear M., bargain away your right to live, or to engage in a lawful, gainful pursuit to enable you to live, by the most solemn instrument ever devised by a Philadelphia lawyer. It would be at best a mere “scrap of paper.” So with this treaty respecting Belgium’s neutrality. This treaty could not bind the Germans under circumstances which affected their national safety.

Now, I do not mean to beg the question; I hear your protest before you even voice it—the question is, did the military necessity exist? Frankly I cannot say. How can any one, until all the facts are disclosed?

I am willing to suspend judgment until all the facts are in our possession, which an interrupted communication with Europe and especially with Germany, apart from other reasons, make it impossible now to secure.

The second reason for supporting the contention that nations are not bound irrevocably by treaties to which they are parties, is this:

Nations frequently enter into treaties under the compulsion imposed by the military supremacy of the other powers to the treaty.

A nation can hardly be irrevocably bound by a treaty which it is forced to sign. This principle also finds its analogy in private municipal law. As you well know, no one is bound by the terms of any agreement which is signed under the compulsion of superior physical force.

This last reason, I must admit, cannot be availed of by any signatory power to the articles of the Hague Convention. It can hardly be claimed that they were entered into under the compulsion of a superior physical force. I do hold, nevertheless, that no state has the power to make a binding agreement, even through the instrumentalities of a Hague Convention, that will result in imperiling its national safety.

If the doctrine that the safety of the state is the supreme law of the land is to give way, and admit of denial, as is now contended for in some quarters, I can only say that it has never been questioned before, and Germany can hardly be held censurable for regarding it in full force and effect when the demand was made for peaceful passage over Belgian territory.

I accordingly submit that entrance into France through Belgium cannot be regarded *ipso facto* as unwarranted by the Germans, nor as an assertion of the doctrine that "might makes right."

If the military necessity affecting her national safety existed, I contend that not only was it the right, but the supreme duty of Germany to violate Belgian neutrality, despite any treaties that may have been previously entered into by her or on her own behalf, and despite any views to the contrary which may now be entertained as the result of a newly awakened attitude toward international obligations.

III.

I now come to the third contention. This has to deal with the so-called "White Papers."

The only value of these official documents, to my mind, is in disclosing the occasion and the immediate events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities. If one is to fix the responsibility for this war, one must be familiar not only with the *occasion* but also with the *causes* which brought it about. There exists much confusion in the public mind between the *occasion* and the *causes* of the war. It is not sufficient to fix the blame for the *occasion* of a conflict of this kind. It seems to me that every fair-minded person in dealing with the question of responsibility must have respect rather to the *causes* than to the occasion. Now, if the causes of the war be

analyzed, it will be found that a train of events had been set in motion many years ago which had gathered such momentum that they could be no longer controlled.

It is well-nigh impossible with this titanic conflict at its height to project oneself sufficiently into the future to view the situation as it will appear to the historian of to-morrow, and yet, unless one is willing to set aside one's predilections in favor of one side or the other, and to strive to assume an attitude of strict impartiality, no sound judgment can be reached.

Much hostile criticism was directed at the Kaiser, at the outbreak of hostilities. Many persons blamed him for the war. It was claimed that the German people were the victims of an oppressive military system fastened upon them by selfish class legislation; that they did not want war and were reluctant to fight. The argument was that, as the Kaiser declared a state of war in Germany, it was equally within his power to have refrained from so doing.

In the publication of the White Papers of England and Germany persons have found what they consider satisfactory proof of the charge that the Kaiser must bear the blame for the outbreak of hostilities. I am convinced that the historian of the future will not fix the blame for this war on the Kaiser, nor find in him either its cause or occasion. When the secrets of the several chancelleries shall have been disclosed the cause of the war will be found in a sequence of events beginning, perhaps, with the victory of Germany over France in 1870 and culminating in the ambitious projects for Servian hegemony in the Balkans, and the murder of the successor of Francis Joseph in June last.

United Germany has been employed during these forty-four years in developing its resources and expanding a marvelously active and successful overseas commerce, only to find herself completely isolated by an alliance offensive or defensive between the three most powerful nations of Europe, who have viewed with suspicion and apprehension for many years her development into a great power on land as well as on sea. Rightly or wrongly it had become an obsession with the German peoples that these powers were prepared at the first favorable opportunity to attempt to accomplish by force that which they had long wished for and frequently attempted by moral suasion, viz., the curtailment of her power to fight on land and sea. The Germans had come to believe that, if their national destiny, whatever it might be, was to be achieved, it must be by the arbitrament of arms taken up in defense of their national integrity. These, briefly, are the main causes leading up to the war.

Now, for the occasion:

I hold that the conviction existed in Germany that in furthering the aims of the Serbs in the Balkans, Russia had formulated plans which must inevitably bring disaster to the dual monarchy on the death of the aged Francis Joseph. Through Russian machinations the break-up of Austria-Hungary had been tremendously promoted by the removal of the Crown Prince. The immediate question for Germany to decide was whether she should espouse the cause of Austria-Hungary, which demanded that for the preservation of the integrity of the dual monarchy a mortal blow be struck at Serbia's pretensions; or wait until these pretensions should assume a yet more definite form of hegemony in the Balkans and thus risk being deprived of the assistance which her ally was in a position to give at this time.

Austria was in duty bound to seek reparation for the blow aimed at her by a counter blow calculated to smash the plans that had been conceived against her sovereign and territorial integrity. Should she hesitate to do this, she must face with certainty the progressive and successful development of the plans secretly formulated against her by Serbia, and fomented and promoted by Russian diplomacy. Strike she must, or be stricken in turn.

Under these circumstances, I submit that it was not only incumbent upon Germany to support her ally's position, but equally necessary to her own safety.

If you entertain the idea at this stage of the conflict that this is not the war of the German people, but is the war of the Kaiser, let me call your attention once more to the editorial in the *Evening Sun* (New York) from which I have already quoted:

"It is no longer possible for any but the wilfully blind to mistake the fact that it is not the machine that is making German armies potent in an attack still continuing. The songs of the boy conscripts of 1914 are but the echo of the songs of those other boys of 1813 and 1814 who freed Europe from Napoleon and saved Germany from complete subjugation. It is inconceivable that there should remain a single person who could honestly believe that the German phenomenon which fills Europe to-day is less than the complete, solidified, fused resolution of a whole nation."

People have commented, with a sneer, on the fact that the life of a Crown Prince should be of sufficient importance to bring on a world-war. It can hardly be necessary to point out to you that under any existing form of government, whether republican, monarchical, imperial, absolute, or otherwise, the person who, for the

time being, is the head of the government is an integral part of its sovereignty, together with all other persons designated by law in immediate succession. No self-respecting power, hoping to retain its voice in the council of nations, can permit its ruling head or his immediate successor to be assassinated by a citizen of another power without taking such steps as it may decide are necessary to vindicate the principle of sovereign integrity.

No, my dear M., this is not the Kaiser's war, nor is the Kaiser either the cause or the occasion of it. The causes I have briefly referred to above. The occasion will be found in the brutal murder of the successor to the aged Francis Joseph, and Russo-Servian designs upon the integrity of Austria-Hungary.

IV.

Finally, you claim that the cause of free institutions and civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win.

I yield to no one in paying ungrudging tribute to the debt which we all owe to England and to France as well, for what they have done to advance the sum of human happiness in the largest sense in which that word can be used. The science of government, the security of life and property, the advancement of learning, the development of art, scientific research—all the countless things that go to make life worth living, in this year of grace 1914;—the leaders in thought which they each have produced, the deeds of valor with which the history of these peoples is replete, none of these things I forget or overlook.

But if you ask me what nation in Europe to-day stands in the forefront of progress, and whose welfare means more to the immediate civilization of the world, and the free institutions, which are the most precious possession of that civilization, I would say unhesitatingly, Germany.

I contend that the great questions of the future, not immediately connected with national defense, with which we will be most concerned, are those relating to the distribution of wealth and the socialization of industries. These are the problems with which we are struggling in this country, which have caused England so much disquietude, and which will surely sooner or later vex France.

Let us not forget that the best social legislation of the age is that which has been devised and first put in practice in Germany. Germany is but another word for *efficiency*.

In letters and science, in the arts, in governmental activities, and especially in legislation designed to promote so-called social

justice, she is the leader in the world to-day. Her destruction would be an incalculable loss to the world.

If we are to have progress we must have creative work.

I presume you will admit that those individuals make most for the progress of any community who are engaged in creative work. It is equally true that those nations are doing most for civilization whose activities at the moment can be characterized as creative.

England and France have not been for the past two decades leaders in creative work. Their places have been taken by the United States, by Germany, and by Japan. In this sense England and France have exhibited unmistakable signs of decay, England perhaps more than France. Ever since the battle of Waterloo she has lauded it over Europe and the world; sated with power and the riches that come with power, she sees her place, hers the foremost in the seats of the mighty, challenged by a young and lusty power. That the coming of age of this young state spells disaster for her she senses with unfailing accuracy, resulting from years of experience in world affairs. Confident in the supremacy of her naval arm, but unwilling or unable to strengthen her military arm, she accommodates her quarrels with her age-old enemies and strengthens it with the support of the Latin and Slav. Thus she girds herself to readjust, if necessary through armed conflict, the balance of power, which has kept her supreme in the affairs of Europe for a hundred years, and to dictate peace in terms which will secure to her a quietude that for her advanced age, her reduced vitality and her yearning to enjoy the fruits of an active and phenomenally successful youth and middle age, seem so greatly to be desired.

England faces the setting sun, Germany faces the rising sun. These, dear M., are some of the reasons that persuade me that the cause of free institutions and of civilization are safer in the keeping of Germany to-day than they are in that of England and France.

I have not mentioned Russia. I know your views too well to find it necessary to answer any claim advanced in behalf of this young and powerful barbarian to be the champion of free institutions and of civilization. As to the little yellow fellow, whose ambition is to be the Britisher of the Orient—well, we shall see what we shall see!

As ever sincerely,

E. P.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND OF BOS ET ASINUS.

It is not always possible to trace back the legends which have clustered around the life of Jesus, to their sources. I believe, though, that I have succeeded in finding the origin of the legend of *Bos et Asinus*, and it might surprise some of my readers to learn that a wilful or at any rate ignorant corruption of the biblical text is responsible for this legend. The prophecy that the Messiah was to be born *in medio duorum animalium* is to be found in the breviary in the *Responsorium* to *Lectio vi.*, *In ii. Nocturno*, *In Circumcisione Domini* and is ascribed by the author of the Alsfeld Passion play of the year 1501 (verses 4859-4862) to the prophet Habakkuk. While engaged on my essay on the prophet scenes in the medieval religious drama¹ this pseudo-biblical prophecy caused me great trouble, for I was unable to find the passage in the Bible to which it might be traced back. In this German essay I had undertaken to find the corresponding biblical passages for the prophetic sayings in the medieval German church plays. The Vulgate version of the Book of Habakkuk does not contain these words. Prof. Wilhelm Meyer in his book *Carmina Burana*² also calls attention to this pseudo-biblical passage in the Alsfeld play and traces it back to a medieval pseudo-Augustinian sermon, *Contra Judaeos et Paganos*, XIII. The passage, however, is much older and was already contained in the Itala translation of the Bible from where it was brought over through the prayer-book into the mystery plays,³ and rests on a false vocalization of the unvocalized Hebrew text. The Hebrew word corresponding to the Latin *amorum* (*shānim*) can, if unvocalized, also mean *duorum* (*shenāyim*). The passage in the second verse of the third chapter of Habakkuk, which should have been and was rendered by the Vulgate *in medio annorum vivifica illud* was translated by the Itala as *in medio duorum animalium*.⁴ The word *animalium* came from the misreading of the text by the patristic translators who, in their great zeal to find a christological prophecy in each and every word of the Old Testament writings, read *chaiioth* (= animals) instead of *chaiiehu* (= revive it). The Vulgate has restored the old text, but this corruption is still to be found in the Roman breviary and has given birth to the legend of *Bos et Asinus*.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN, PH. D.

¹ Josef Rudwin, Ph. D., *Die Prophetensprüche und -sitate im religiösen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*. Leipzig and Dresden, 1913.

² Berlin, 1901, p. 50.

³ Cf. my essay "Zum Verhältnis des religiösen Dramas zur Liturgie der Kirche," *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1914, pp. 108-109.

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Septuagint, which may have greatly influenced the Itala version, is also a patristic interpolation, if we do not wish to discard altogether the tradition which ascribes this Greek version to Alexandrian Jews who lived before Christ.



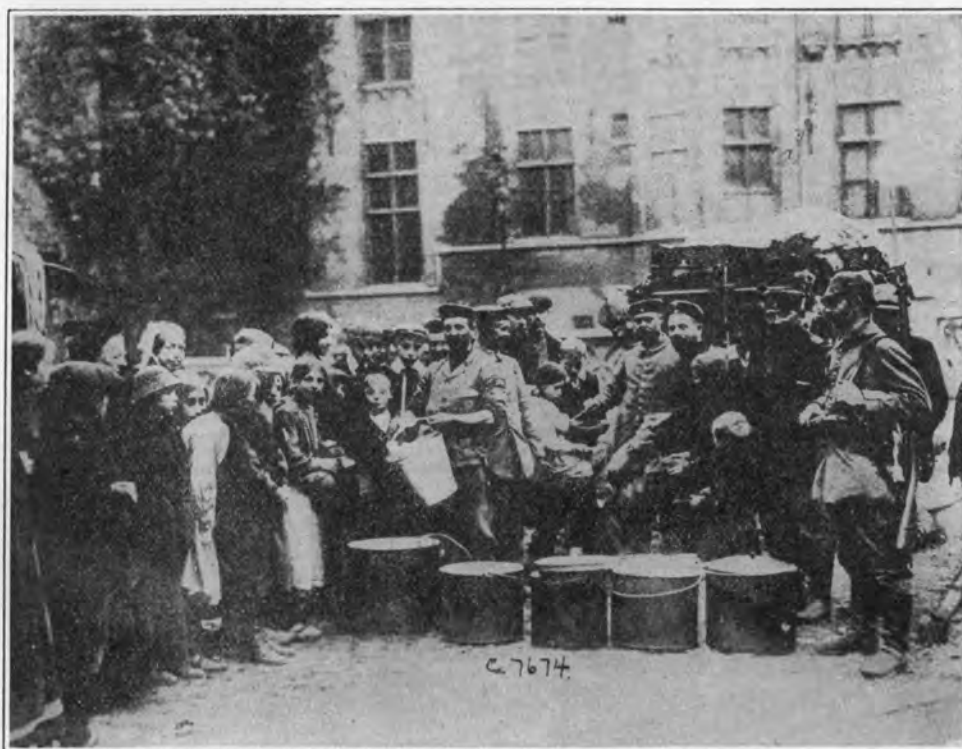
GENERAL VON HINDENBURG.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

It is difficult to procure illustrations directly from the theater of war, because all parties, both allies and Germans, are fearful of spies who might use snapshots for hostile purposes, but we have succeeded in procuring a few photographs which we take pleasure in presenting to our readers.

First of all we reproduce a portrait of General Hindenburg who displayed unusual talent as a strategist against superior numbers in checking the onrush of the Russians and was raised to the rank of prince in appreciation of his services. He has become the popular military hero of Germany.

Brussels has always been a gay city, and has frequently been called "Little Paris," though it is even more pleasant than France's brilliant capital



THE GERMANS IN BRUGES.

because of its greater seclusion. We learn from Genoa papers that since the fields of battle have been removed from Belgium, Brussels has resumed its old life. Theaters are open and well attended, and the *cafés dansants* are frequented as usual. At the same time, however, poverty still prevails because there are not enough laborers to supply the factories, and German authorities suspect that the soup kitchens now established by Germany are rather a hindrance to the reestablishment of the old industrial state than a benefaction to the destitute. We here reproduce two pictures of scenes where food is being given to the poor in Belgium. One shows German soldiers distributing food to the poor inhabitants of Bruges in the *Grande Place*. The other shows



GERMANS DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO THE BELGIANS.



LORD ROBERTS INSPECTING RECRUITS IN LANGLEY PARK, ENGLAND.

Captain Martins at the left, the German commander at Malines, who personally took upon himself the relief of the poor of the town.

Our next picture carries us into the ranks of the British where the late Field Marshal Earl Roberts is seen inspecting the colonial recruits of the British army. It is probably the last snapshot obtained of the veteran commander. It seems to us that the appearance of the new troops is not very favorable. When passing through the streets of London one is impressed with the fine figure of the British guards, but here the men seem to be undersized and underfed, merely "food for powder" as Falstaff says.

PRECONCERTED ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ALLIES.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

In the report of Baron Greindl to the Belgian government [quoted above, page 42] we have the key to the explanation why Holland, some years ago, decided to fortify the mouth of the Schelde at Flushing, a decision which caused such a great outcry in Paris and London. Holland had apparently got wind of the fact that England, disregarding Dutch neutrality, intended to bring supplies and war material to Antwerp on the Schelde. This would of course have brought about reprisals on the part of Germany, something which could have been avoided only by Holland seeing to it that its neutrality was defended not only on paper but with armed forts.

Captain Faber is the same member of Parliament who was angrily reproached by Sir Edward Grey with "political alcoholism." This happened after the Morocco-Congo agreement between France and Germany in November, 1911. At that time the question was discussed whether England had had any intention of attacking Germany during the last chapter of the Moroccan crisis. English politicians who were irritated over the final outcome of the matter, which they considered had been weakly handled and to England's disadvantage, gave vent to their vexation at a dinner by letting out the secret that the plan had been to transport an English army to Belgium and fall on the right flank of the German army. It also became known at this time that there had been differences of opinion in the English government, some being for war while others were against it, and that finally the declaration of the admiralty that it was unable to guarantee unconditionally the safe transport of the troops in the face of the German fleet, was perhaps the deciding factor in there being no decision for war. These revelations, of course, aroused public opinion in Germany not a little. Sir Edward Grey was very much provoked at the disclosure of the plan, and gave assurances that there was no truth in it whatever, calling those who spoke of it and believed in it "political alcoholics." But perhaps there is some truth in the old saying, *In vino veritas*. Thus writes Dr. P. Rohrbach in No. 43 of *Die Hilfe* (October 22), a publication edited by Dr. F. Naumann, member of the German Reichstag.

The same writer also compares an article in the *Westminster Gazette*, the British official organ, with some notes from St. Petersburg on a conference of the Russian naval staff. He points to ten documents which the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has published in its second edition concerning an Anglo-Russian naval agreement made last summer. Mr. Grey made the announcement in June that "there is no naval agreement and no negotiations

are going on in regard to such between Great Britain and Russia." Several weeks before, in May, the following minutes were recorded at the quarters of the Russian naval staff: "Proceeding from the fact that an agreement between Russia and England is desirable regarding the cooperation of their marine forces in the event of war with France participating, the conference reached the following conclusion: 'The contemplated naval convention shall regulate the relations between the Russian and English forces at sea; therefore an understanding is to be arrived at regarding signals, special ciphers, radio-telegrams and the mode of intercourse between the Russian and English naval staffs. The two staffs shall also regularly make mutual communications regarding the fleets of third powers and their own fleets, especially regarding technical data, recently introduced machinery and inventions. Following the example of the Franco-Russian naval convention, there shall also be brought about a regular exchange of opinions between the Russian and English naval staffs concerning matters which interest the marine ministry of both states.... The Russian interests in the Baltic demand that England confine as large a part as possible of the German fleet to the North Sea. In this way the overwhelming superiority of the German fleet to the Russian would be offset, and perhaps a Russian landing in Pomerania be made possible. To this latter end the English government could render a signal service by sending, before the commencement of war operations, a large number of merchant ships to Baltic ports, that the lack of Russian transport ships might be remedied.... Russian ships should be allowed, with the consent of England, to use English ports in the English Mediterranean as a basis, just as the French naval agreement allows the Russian fleet to use as bases the French ports in the western Mediterranean.'"

CRITICISM.

One of the critics of *The Open Court's* editorial position on the European war stated that every nine out of ten Americans are pro-British in their sympathies in the present war; but judging from letters received and practical results in the way of subscriptions and renewals to *The Open Court* the very opposite of this statement is true. I have published every criticism which contains pro-British sentiment, but if I were to publish pro-German replies I should not find room in the magazine if I doubled the size of the regular edition.

One of these anti-British critics advises me to omit the word religion from the cover of *The Open Court*, because, he says, religion is wrong and science is right, and that science teaches one to fight his way and not to be trodden under foot. For this reason he sends in his subscription, saying that *The Open Court* is not so "silly" as he had expected it to be.

I will say, however, that religion is by no means the entanglement of ancient superstitions which hold man in subjection. Religion is the world-conception which we hold, and its application to practical life is called ethics, and the basis of our ethics is science. If science teaches us that life is a struggle for the survival of the fittest we must learn to be the fittest, and to be the fittest is sometimes not possible without severe struggle. It is wise to avoid war, and we do so by trying to live peaceably with our fellow creatures. We sometimes consent to terms in which we make concessions that would be

less costly than war, but there are times when there is simply no alternative except surrender and submission on the one hand or war on the other, and it is such a case which presented itself to Austria-Hungary and Germany at the beginning of the present war.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE OLD WORLD IN THE NEW. The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People. By *Edward Alsworth Ross*, Ph. D., LL. D. Illustrated by many photographs and a frontispiece by Wladyslaw T. Benda. New York: Century Co. Pp. 327. Price \$2.40 net.

Professor Ross is at his best in this thorough and fearless investigation of the American problem of immigration. He first discusses historically and industrially the original elements that had gone to make up the American people when it first became a nation. Then a full chapter is devoted to each important racial element which has been added since then, the Irish, the German, the Scandinavian, the Italian, the Slav, the eastern Hebrews and the lesser immigrant groups. Professor Ross treats for each racial group the time and occasion of the successive emigrating waves, the distribution of the group in this country, and its contribution intellectually, temperamentally, morally and politically to our social, industrial and national life. Then follows a general discussion respectively of the economic and social effects of immigration and the relation of immigrant peoples to our political institutions. It is clear that Professor Ross believes that something must be done permanently to lessen the great influx from southern and eastern Europe (temporarily, of course, the European war has put a stop to it). In reply to the protest of employers of labor that immigrants are an industrial necessity because "Americans nowadays aren't any good for hard or dirty work," our author cites the strenuous life of the extreme west and northwest, and adds: "The secret is that with the insweep of the unintelligible bunk-house foreigner there grows up a driving and cursing of labor which no self-respecting American will endure." The reason that the character of our immigration has changed so that "the confessed illiteracy of the multitudes coming from southern and eastern Europe is 35.8 per ct. as against 2.7 per ct. for the dwindling streams from the north and west," Professor Ross states as follows: "The streaming in from the backward lands is sensibly converting this country from a low-pressure area into a high-pressure area. It is nearly a generation since the stress registered in the labor-market caused the British workingman to fight shy of America. It is twenty years since it reached the point at which the German workingman, already on the up-grade at home, ceased to be drawn to America. As the saturation of our labor-market by cheaper and ever cheaper human beings raises the pressure-gage, we fail to attract as of yore such peoples as the North Italians and the Magyars."

The great danger socially is in the way of lowering our standards. This is shown in the success of yellow journalism, in the slowness with which the woman's movement is gaining ground in the east, and in countless other ways. The hope that the second generation will be sufficiently Americanized to overcome the present defects is contradicted by the increasing influence of the parish schools.

"When, now, to the removal of the second generation from the public school there is added, as is often the case, the endeavor to keep them away

from the social center, the small park field-house, the public playground, the social settlement, the secular American press and welfare work in the factories, it is plain that those optimists who imagine that assimilation of the immigrant is proceeding unhindered are living in a fool's paradise."

In the last chapter, "American Blood and Immigrant Blood," Professor Ross is very earnest in his warning. He thinks the proportion of lower races will get so overwhelming that the result to the Americans as a nation will be loss in good looks, loss in stature and physique, loss in moral standards, loss in natural ability and intellectual vigor. We commend the book to the thoughtful consideration of those who sanguinely regard it to be the mission of America to furnish a haven of refuge to all the lowly and oppressed of earth.

p

THE MIRACLES OF JESUS. A Study of Evidence. By *E. O. Davies*, B. Sc. New York: George H. Doran Co. Pp. 240. Price \$1.25 net.

This work is the 1913 "Davies Lecture" under the Davies foundation of 1893 of Liverpool in the interest of the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist" denomination. In the first part of the book the author assembles the evidence for the alleged facts and in the second part discusses the physical and moral impossibility and possibility of the miracles in the Gospels and their antecedent probability. The conclusion arrived at is: "That if the miracles attributed to Jesus in the Gospels are believed to be 'events which cannot be explained from the totality of intramundane factors,' then, on the assumption that the fundamental postulate of Christian Theism is valid, and that Jesus was a direct personal representative of God on earth, the evidence in support of those miracles is sufficient to justify the belief that they happened, speaking generally, as recorded."

p

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *Theodore Wehle*. New York: Fenno. Pp. 199.

This brief outline of the history of the people of Israel is a strictly historical treatment, with "neither a religious nor irreligious bias," of one of the most important nations of ancient times. The results of the most painstaking and recondite labors of Old Testament critics are here summed up in a concise and popular form, and nothing of importance is omitted. The book will provide a most valuable compendium for the collateral reading of Bible classes, and is equally valuable for the historical departments of secular schools.

p

The October, 1914, number of *The Open Court* (page 601) contains an error in a quotation from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the author of the passage quoted refers to the British breach of Portuguese neutrality as "an unfortunate precedent." Through some slip *The Open Court* reads "important precedent." There is not much difference in meaning, but the British author's regret at the occurrence is more strongly expressed by the word "unfortunate."



THE PARTHENON IN ITS PRESENT STATE.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1915

NO. 705

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THE PRESENT PROSPECT OF CHINA.

BY GILBERT REID.

THERE are two policies in dealing with the affairs of China which are mutually antagonistic, the one known as the "open door" policy or that of equal opportunity, and the other that of domination and ultimate possession by some one outside power. Somewhere between, but more akin to the latter, is the policy of combination on the part of several, to retard the advance of others and to gain the control of China. In the political combination, to China's ruin, some one power will be supreme, all others will be pawns.

The policy of the open door has been professed by many powers, even by those who have been keen for more. To advocate such broad, fair, considerate and soothing conduct on the part of outside nations is good diplomacy. To consider one's own national interests is practical politics. In the former, China is always consulted; in the latter, never. In the former, one or more foreign nations leave it to China to work out her own salvation, agreeing to present no hindrances. In the latter, they take it upon themselves to preserve the peace, or the integrity, or the independence of China, and look to China for profuse expressions of gratitude.

These antagonistic conceptions as to the way China should be treated did not really come into being till after China was defeated by Japan in 1895. China's defeat opened the eyes of the world as to her comparative weakness. She lost in prestige and also in money. She began to borrow money, first to carry on the war and then to pay an indemnity to Japan. Ever since, China has become more and more hampered and throttled, while Japan has become strong like a giant and free like the birds of the air.

Hardly had the China-Japan war come to an end, when Chinese officialdom, the older as well as the younger men, confessed the need of reform. At first nearly every outside nation watched the pulsations of life with a degree of sympathy and admiration. China's failure to accomplish at once all that she professed or desired soon aroused contempt on the part of the strong, and with this came the open declaration that internal reform could come only by outside interposition. Spheres of influence, or spheres of interest, were the talk of the day on the part of Great Britain, France, Russia and Germany. Japan was silent; she was abiding her time. Some, like Lord Charles Beresford, after being fêted by the Chinese, spoke of the break-up of China. A mild, if not drastic, dismemberment of China was freely discussed in Europe, without thinking of the probable effect on Chinese susceptibilities.

From experiences which the writer enjoyed during a part of the years 1897 and 1898 in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Russia, he must acknowledge that while the general sentiment was on the side of spheres of influence in China and possible dismemberment, there was an open mind to the reasonableness of the opposite theory, namely that China's sovereignty should be maintained and that she should be helped or advised in reforms which she herself should decide to initiate.

In 1899 Mr. John Hay, being transferred from the ambassadorship at St. James's court to the position of secretary of state at Washington, proposed to all the governments having relations with China common support of the policy of equal opportunity with maintenance of China's independence. No government dissented. In 1900 and after, this policy was reiterated by the government at Washington and received stronger confirmation by all the great powers. The Boxer cataclysm had shown the futility of all dismemberment theories.

In the very midst of the siege of the legations, on July 3, 1900, Mr. Hay urged the powers to "seek a solution which might bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve its territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed by treaty and international law, and safeguard to the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire." Mr. Hay's high politics have been called the politics of the Golden Rule.

For these fourteen years but little has been heard of spheres of influence, and no nation desirous of influence has been so imprudent as to talk any longer of the break-up of China. The most

that has been done has been to insinuate that some one else was plotting this break-up.

The United States has continued to advocate the Hay doctrine with no diminution of sentiment. To use force for the carrying out of the doctrine—practical politics—has been contrary to the spirit of our people and is also inconsistent with the very idea of equal opportunity for helpfulness to China. Thus if China is going to have her integrity preserved America alone cannot be relied upon to see that it is done. *All the powers on an equal basis and in an equal spirit must work for its consummation.* The present war has knocked this beautiful idea in the head.

Equality of opportunity, equality of influence and equality of helpfulness have no meaning when any one outside nation is dominant or even predominant. *The only predominant influence in China should be China.*

Up to the present the predominant influence in China, at least among outside nations, has been Great Britain. Even when theorizing in her most persuasive tones for fair play and equality to all, she has unconsciously affected the predominant attitude. This war has brought much into the light of day. Woe to the man who thinks differently from an Englishman, whether such a one lives in "merry England" or out here in foreign communities of the Far East! Down with the nation that is a rival of Old England!

An Englishman, writing from Bristol to the New York *Evening Post* as far back as August 29, used these words:

"Our London papers contained report yesterday that 'Ninety-ninths of Americans were on our side' in this great European war. Britons are deeply grateful for such warm sympathy and encouragement on the part of our American cousins. Once we have swept the Germans from the seas, our navy will command the vast expanse of the ocean, and our great mercantile fleet, augmented by captured ships, will do the carrying trade of the world. Our merchants and manufacturers will control the markets of Africa, South America, China, India, Japan and Russia. Britain should be permitted to reimburse your government to the amount of one-half of the cost of that magnificent work, the Panama Canal, and unite with you in protecting and keeping open this great waterway."

How stands Britannia in China? Has any German, any American, yea, any Japanese or Russian or Frenchman, in days gone by, been so impudent as to claim first place? From descent my prepossessions are for Britain, but I also study the facts. No sooner did the war, like electricity, come flashing into our midst, than war was

made not only on German militarism but on German trade, German culture, German character. Some of the shot fell into the American camp, unless speedy escape was made into the loving embrace of the temporarily loving allies.

But Britain's predominance in China, it is said, is hers by right, as it is o'er all the waves. The claim has been sound. In 1842 and 1860, whatever the name of the wars, whether called "opium war" or some better name, England (as she was called in those days) took the lead. Long before Prussia became Germany, Hongkong was made English with no thought of restoration to China. Not even now is there such a thought. After Prussia became Germany and leased Kiaochow, England, not to be left behind, leased not only Weihaiwei but Kowloon Extension opposite Hongkong, 400 square miles or more.

The British business houses in China have never relished a competitor worthy the name. They made no tirade against such interlopers till the war gave them a chance. German competition has been taken meekly, all the more when German firms were pushing English goods. Still the shoulder has been shrugged and considerable thinking has been done. The American competitor, and the Japanese too when real enterprise began to be shown, affected badly the easy flow of the stream of fortune which the English had opened up. Still, so long as German merchants spoke English and sold English goods, and American houses had English agents, and Japan was an ally, there was nothing as yet to fear, Great Britain was still predominant. So long as no one disputed this, she was friendly to all. In certain lines of goods (opium) the British, if India and Bagdad may be included, have succeeded by rare persistency and with ever-growing favor to hold their own. Thus in some things the British are actually dominant.

Even in educational matters German technical schools have caused some worry. Lord William Cecil, to consummate his Oxford University scheme at Hankow, has had to stimulate latent English generosity by pointing out the greater energy of Americans and Germans in China. Latterly both English and American missionaries have taken fright at a German scheme, suddenly disclosed, for uniting commercialism and missions, in a mistaken conception of the modern American policy. Such things only show that British influence has heretofore been first, and for it to become second anywhere is intolerable if not unthinkable.

Life in any treaty port in China has been predominantly British. Every one of course speaks English. The American at least tries

to do so, "with variations." The variation will always prove an impediment to *entrée* into good society. For an American to speak either French or German is merely an accomplishment. To know Russian is to be an exceptional linguist. This being the case, it is axiomatic that the English people as well as language are predominant. The newspapers too were English until a piece of impertinence was perpetrated by an American, and the *China Press*, published in Shanghai, entered on its weary existence. The Shanghai Club, the Race Club, the Country Club, the three popular clubs of Shanghai life, all breathe English atmosphere. Other clubs are permitted, but they are looked upon as subsidiary or insignificant. Other ports are less favored with such large popular clubs for the élite. In those places language, etiquette, ideas, religion, are also all determined by the predominating English factor.

The average American in the treaty port, who wants to come in with the band wagon, is more English than American. To go with the current is for the American to speak, feel, think, hope, believe and pray as does his first cousin of Anglo-Saxon stock. To agree with the Anglo-Saxon's second cousin, the Teuton, is in time of emergency an impossibility, unless reasons to substantiate are irrefutable. The average American coming to China, be he merchant or missionary, instinctively lines up with the British portion of the community. The prepossession is nothing if not for Britain. In times of crisis as the present, when Britain's predominance throughout the world is put to the test, to venture an opinion other than that to which the predominant element has given its stamp, is anathema, marenatha. A good word for the Germans, even as they are in China, deserves martial law. Not to speak the good word for the English and their part in the drama does not merit martial law; a social boycott is sufficient.

In all this we have only spoken of Britain's purpose to be predominant. She has hardly dared to demand from China or other powers the lofty position of dominance. Other aspirants to the predominant place have come forward both in the political and commercial life of China, and more than once have they appeared too threatening. Outside of Manchuria the greatest menace has come of late from Germany. Thus the war has proved a veritable God-send to Great Britain; the chance has come and been eagerly seized to crush the dangerous rival.

As for China the eradication of this German rival is not viewed altogether as a blessing. Germany was a kind of check on too great onesidedness on the part of other powers. Now by the

elimination of Germany China finds herself in the hands of the five allies, the new political combination composed of Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan and Belgium. Anything that a neutral nation like America can do to help China is realized as almost futile in the face of this combination. China thus views the future with feelings of trepidation. Both one-sided domination and dismemberment have heretofore been warded off by the presence of a strong and active competitor like Germany. For the future the question is, whether the old policy of the open door can be maintained, with America's pious blessing, or whether the five remaining powers will again advocate between them China's dismemberment, or whether Japan will succeed in becoming dominant as well as predominant and treat big China as she has treated little Korea.

In any case the *predominance of Britain in China is gone* as is that of Germany; it now passes to another, and that other the reader will surmise is Japan.

AN ANSWER TO THE "EUROPEAN WAR."¹

BY M. JOURDAIN.

ONE of the leading characteristics of *The Open Court* is that it is really open to discussion, and it is in keeping with the very liberal views of Dr. Paul Carus, a German by birth and sympathies, that I am allowed to discuss and dissent from his views upon the European war published in the October number of *The Open Court*, and with other articles in the same number. Dr. Carus's article (pp. 596-646) deals by sections with questions that have arisen in connection with the war; and following his arrangement, I propose to summarize his arguments and, so far as they seem to me misleading, to question them. The first section is:

PANSLAVISM.

After a summary of the characteristics of the Slav races and the well-known disunion of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Editor turns to the incident of the assassination of the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria and his wife at Sarajevo, on June 23, 1914. There was, he says, no public sympathy throughout Europe for the crime; and yet we read: "No crime has ever aroused deeper or more general horror throughout Europe; none has ever been less justified. Sympathy for Austria was universal. Both the governments and the public opinion of Europe were ready to support her in many measures, however severe, which she might think it necessary to take for the punishment of the murderer and his accomplices."²

The opinion of the Russian, French, and German governments

¹ We publish this article from England as the most comprehensive reply to the editorial position that we have received.—ED.

² Throughout this article I have used for convenience's sake the cheap reprint of the English White Paper (which also includes Sir Edward Grey's speech of August 3, and other matter) entitled *Great Britain and the European Crisis*, London, 1914. I shall refer to this as *G. B. and the E. C.* Here the reference is to the introductory narrative of events, p. iii.

was that the Servian government was not to blame for the crime, but that Serbia must investigate and put an end to the propaganda which had apparently led to it. Sir Edward Grey advised Serbia to show herself moderate and conciliatory.³ Unless it were proved that the Servian government had connived at or incited to the crime; or unless the Servian government were to conduct an investigation in such a way as to screen the conspiracy, there was no reason for declaration of war, or a punitive expedition against Serbia. A declaration of war on Austria's part on the ground that she "did not trust the Servians to be impartial"⁴ is absurd.

The first open step on Austria's part was an ultimatum delivered at Belgrade, requiring an answer in forty-eight hours. The ten demands involved the suppression of anti-Austrian newspapers, literature and propaganda, the suppression of nationalist societies such as the Narodna Odbrana; the dismissal of officers and functionaries "guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian government reserve to themselves the right of communicating to the royal government" (of Serbia), participation of Austrian officials in judicial proceedings in Serbia, the arrest of two individuals compromised by the results of the magisterial inquiry at Sarajevo; the prevention of illicit traffic in arms across the frontier, an explanation of anti-Austrian utterances by high Servian officials, and finally the immediate notification of the enforcement of these measures. In addition, a prescribed statement was to be published by the Servian government in the official journal, condemning anti-Austrian propaganda and regretting the participation of Servian officers and functionaries therein.⁵ A summary of the secret trial at Sarajevo was annexed to the ultimatum, giving the bare findings, with no corroborative evidence.

As Sir Edward Grey wrote to Sir Maurice de Bunsen,⁶ he had "never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character." The demand for the participation of Austrian officials in judicial proceedings in Serbia was "hardly consistent with the maintenance of Serbia's independent sovereignty if it were to mean, as it seemed that it might, that Austria-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Serbia."

³ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

⁴ *Open Court* for October, 1914, p. 599. In future the letters *O. C.* will denote that issue of *The Open Court*.

⁵ *G. B. and the E. C.*, pp. 3-9.

⁶ British ambassador at Vienna.

The Editor admits that this "sounds very fair."⁷ It is, in fact, unanswerable; and no other line of action would be possible even in the imaginary case he adduces, "if the Prince of Wales had been assassinated and some little nationality on the moral level of Servia were for good reasons suspected of having helped in the deed, plotting renewals of the crime so as to endanger the British government and its royal family." I do not think that an Englishman would have his sense of justice warped by national considerations.

Before the expiration of the time-limit of the ultimatum, Servia returned to Austria a reply amounting to an acceptance of all the demands,⁸ subject on certain points to the delays necessary for passing new laws and amending her constitution, and subject to Austria-Hungary's explanation as to her wishes with regard to the participation of Austro-Hungarian officials in Servian judicial proceedings. "The Royal Government must confess that they do not clearly grasp the meaning or the scope of the demand made by the Imperial and Royal Government that Servia shall undertake to accept the collaboration of the organs of the Imperial and Royal Government upon their territory, but they declare they will admit such collaboration as agrees with the principles of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations."⁹

This reply went beyond anything which any power—Germany not excepted—thought probable.¹⁰ This was the more remarkable as the time-limit of the ultimatum was as unnecessary as insolent. The impression left upon the mind of Sir Maurice de Bunsen was that the note was "so drawn up as to make war inevitable." "This country," he writes, "has gone wild with joy at the prospect of war with Servia and its postponement or prevention would undoubtedly be a great disappointment."¹¹ In this temporary blindness of a people, the Austrian ministers were borne along on a wave of violent enthusiasm, in which they said themselves that they would be dislodged from power if they did not accede to the popular demand for the punishment of Servia.¹²

⁷ *O. C.*, p. 599.

⁸ *G. B. and the E. C.*, pp. 22-27.

⁹ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 25. Servia concluded by proposing, in case the Austro-Hungarian government were not satisfied with the reply, "to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of the international tribunal of the Hague, or to the great powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Servian government on March 31, 1909."

¹⁰ "German secretary of state has himself said that there were some things in the Austrian note that Servia could hardly be expected to accept." *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 29.

¹¹ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 27.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. vii.

As Servia consented to dismiss and prosecute those officers who could be clearly proved to be guilty and had already arrested the officer referred to in the Austro-Hungarian note, it is not correct to speak of "Russia's protection of assassins."¹³

Equally incorrect is the statement by the Editor: "That England rushed at once to the support of the methods of Panslavism is incomprehensible except on the assumption that England favored the plan of a most stupendous war in which Germany's prosperity, her manhood, her civilization, would be buried under the armies of the invading Russ."¹⁴

The British government's attitude was that she had no interest in the Balkans except the consolidation and progressive government of the Balkan states. Sir Edward Grey's concern in the Austro-Hungarian note and the reply of Servia was "simply and solely from the point of view of the peace of Europe. The merits of the dispute between Austria and Servia were not the concern of His Majesty's government."¹⁵ Sir George Buchanan, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, telegraphed (on July 24) that "direct British interests in Servia were nil, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion."¹⁶ British intervention in the European crisis only followed Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality on August 3. As the Austro-Hungarian note was presented to Servia on July 23, and war was declared by England on Germany on August 4, England's intervention cannot be described as hurried or determined by the action of Russia.

The Editor proceeds to praise the German emperor as the prince of peace. "The Kaiser," he writes, "is a peaceful man. If any one deserves the Nobel peace prize it is he. Since his ascent to the throne he has preserved the peace of Europe, often under the most difficult conditions. The bellicose party of Germany has often been disgusted with the Kaiser's policy and called him William the Pacific."¹⁷ It is perhaps premature to assume that the German emperor is the sole cause of Germany's attitude;¹⁸ but turning to his acts and utterances, *is* it peace that he proclaimed so loudly in the days before the war? Was the author of those won-

¹³ O. C., p. 599.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ G. B. and the E. C., p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷ O. C., p. 600.

¹⁸ In December 1910 he sent his portrait to the minister of education with the significant motto, *Si volo, sic jubeo*. The words of the minister completed the quotation. On May 4, 1891, at a Rhenish banquet, he said: "There is but one master in the country; it is I, and I will bear no other." In a speech at Königsberg, May 25, 1910, he wrote: "Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views and opinions of the day I go my way"—an attitude which might lead to breaches of the peace.

derful Wardour Street phrases of "the mailed fist" and "shining armour" so pacific? In a speech of his delivered on March 1, 1900, on the completion of a fort, he said: "I christen thee Fort Haeseler. Thou wilt be called upon to defend the *conquests* of Germany over the western foes." Seven months later, in celebrating Moltke's birthday, he expressed a desire that "thy staff may lead Germany to further victories." The man who could proclaim that "nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of Germany and the German emperor" cannot be the most pacific of European sovereigns. That the English people had some just cause for uneasiness in the past may be seen from a very courageous and temperate article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 29, 1911: "We shall be obliged to admit that the distrust on the other side of the English Channel is not altogether unfounded. If we had to listen to such utterances from the mouth of a foreign sovereign, we too would become restive and take thought for the strengthening of our line of defense. At present we can only ask England not to take so seriously the utterances in question, since we have long ago had the experience that great words are not followed by great deeds. We know that the Kruger telegram, the challenge to the yellow races, the speech at Damascus, the trip to Tangier, the sending of the "Panther," and so on, were only outward gestures which remained without any corresponding consequences. This is one of the weakest points of our foreign policy. We say to England again and again: 'The German nation is absolutely peaceably-minded, and wishes to live on terms of peace and friendship with England just as much as with all other nations.' This makes no impression on them, since they answer us: 'We are glad to believe that the German nation is peaceably-minded, but the German nation does not make German policy. Her policy is made in a quarter which is absolute, irresponsible, and incalculable; and for that reason we attach merely a Platonic, and never a practical, value to the national professions of peace.' What answer are we to make to that?"

"Who can believe," writes the Editor,¹⁹ "that Germany wanted a war of such dimensions, that she provoked it or ventured into it for lust of fame or with an expectation of conquest? What can she gain?" The answer to this is twofold. Firstly, there has existed an aggressive war literature in Germany which has no parallel in any other country. Von Treitschke condemns perpetual peace as the "dream of weary, spiritless, and exhausted ages," while Bern-

¹⁹ O. C., p. 600.

hardi, echoing Treitschke, speaks of war as "an indispensable factor of culture, in which a truly civilized nation finds the highest experience." In the latter author's works war with France and Russia simultaneously is hopefully anticipated, for "in one way or another we must square our account with France.... This is the first and foremost condition of a sound German policy.... France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path. A pacific agreement with England is, after all, a will-o'-the-wisp which no serious German statesman would trouble to follow. We must always keep the possibility of war with England before our eyes and arrange our political and military plans accordingly." As Bernhardt (who died in 1913) was a prominent German general, high up in the general staff, his aspirations have a certain degree of authority. And apart from militarist writers, every traveler in Germany has come face to face with what Sir Walter Raleigh aptly calls "the cheerful brutality of their political talk."²⁰ "I remember meeting," he adds, "with a Prussian nobleman, a well-bred and pleasant man, who was fond of expounding the Prussian creed. He was said to be a political agent, but he certainly learned nothing in conversation.... The error of the Germans, we were told, was always that they are too humane; their dislike of cruelty amounts to a weakness in them. They let France escape with a paltry fine, next time France must be beaten to the dust. Always with a pleasant outward courtesy, he passed on to England. England was decadent and powerless, her rule must pass to the Germans. 'But we shall treat England rather less severely than France,' said this bland apostle of Prussian culture.... The grossness of the whole thing was in curious contrast with the polite and quiet voice with which he uttered his insolences." It is impossible not to draw the conclusion that war with Russia and France was expected, one might say desired, by an influential party in Germany. That she did not desire a "war of such dimensions" is quite evident from the bids for English neutrality.²¹ Yet she inevitably drew England into the war by her violation of the neutrality of Belgium; and both Austria and Germany were quite aware of the fact that the note to Servia might lead to a European war. The German White Book informs us that the Austrian government informed the German government of their "conception" of the situation and asked their opinion. The White Book comments as follows:

"With all our heart we were able to agree with our ally's esti-

²⁰ *Might is Right*. Oxford pamphlets, 1914, p. 12.

²¹ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 45.

mate of the situation, and assure him that any action considered necessary to end the movement in Serbia directed against the conservation of monarchy would meet with our approval.

"We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Serbia might bring Russia upon the field, and that it might, therefore, involve us in a war, in accordance with our duty as allies."²²

In the second place, Germany showed no wish to work for peace when the key of the situation lay with Berlin. While Russia, France and England initiated and supported peaceful measures, the German chancellor claimed that none should intervene between Austria and Serbia.²³

The remaining arguments of the Editor that the causes of the war are "the French lust for revenge"²⁴ and "England's determination not to allow Germany to appear on the field of commerce as her rival,"²⁵ and "the anti-German policy of the British government"²⁶ are more conveniently treated of under the sections on the "Foes of Germany" and the "English Point of View." The statement that "Germany has been cut off from the rest of the world" is hardly correct, as the German official wireless is sent out and is published daily in the English newspapers, while German newspapers can be easily obtained.

A BREACH OF NEUTRALITY.

The Editor claims that on the part of England Germany's breach of neutrality on Belgium was only an official pretext for the war, "not the real and ultimate motive." This certainly does not represent the attitude of England towards the neutrality of Belgium or Holland. Their independence had been for centuries considered as one of the strongest means for securing peace in Europe, as their position and conformation rendered them the natural battlefield of Northern Europe; of this their troublous history is sufficient proof.

"If it was made impossible for great powers to invade them war would become increasingly difficult and dangerous. With the growth of the idea of a fixed system of international law founded on treaties the neutrality of Belgium had been devised as a permanent safeguard to this end. As such it had been consecrated by two international treaties signed by all the powers, and recognized by two generations of statesmen."²⁷ As Sir Walter Raleigh says, it

²² German White Book, p. 4.

²⁴ *O. C.*, p. 600.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. viii.

²³ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

was a matter of common knowledge in England that one event would make it impossible for England to remain a spectator in a European war,—that event being the violation of the neutrality of Holland or Belgium.²⁸ There was never any secret about this and it was well known to many people who took no special interest in foreign politics. The stress laid upon the importance of Belgian neutrality in speeches by Lord Granville in the House of Lords (August 8, 1870) and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons (August 10, 1870) is emphasized again in Sir Edward Grey's speech in the House of Commons on August 3 last.²⁹

The wrong done by Germany has no parallel in the instances of earlier breaches of neutrality quoted by the Editor.³⁰ The only recent instance quoted is the landing of British troops in Delagoa Bay at the beginning of the Boer war. Portugal is an old ally of England, and conceded permission to the British consul at Lorenzo Marques to search for contraband of way among goods imported there, and accorded free passage to an armed force under General Carington from Beira through Portuguese territory to Rhodesia.

"The Portuguese government exposed itself to no international difficulty through allowing a belligerent, whose final victory was certain and of necessity entailed total suppression of the conquered belligerent, to cross its colonial territory,"³¹ and this incident cannot be compared with Germany, one of the guarantors of Belgian neutrality, invading Belgium when that country, conscious of its duty, was "firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means."

The earlier instances of breaches of neutrality instanced are the seizure of Capetown and the annexation of Dutch colonies. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was seized by England in time of peace, in 1664;—a discreditable action, but this and other political measures of the seventeenth century are no precedents for us to-day. Late in the eighteenth century, when the organization of the united Netherlands was abolished, and they were transformed into the Batavian republic, in close alliance with France, the Dutch participation in the wars of the Revolution naturally brought with it the enmity of England, and the seizure of all the Dutch colonies by the English.

Further, the Editor writes that there is no use discussing the atrocity of a breach of neutrality "because it is an acknowledged principle that in case of war the natural law of self-preservation

²⁸ *Might is Right*. Oxford pamphlets, 1914, p. 6.

²⁹ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 93.

³⁰ *O. C.*, p. 601.

³¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. XIX, s. v. "Neutrality," p. 477.

demands of every power the completion of the war that has arisen or is about to arise, with the utmost dispatch and by the easiest method. In the present case the Germans have carried the war through Luxembourg and Belgium because that was to them the straightest and safest way of attack."³² It is significant to recall here that von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German imperial chancellor, in his speech to the Reichstag on August 4, while laying stress on Germany's "state of necessity," confesses openly that the invasion of Luxembourg and Belgium is "contrary to the dictates of international law," a wrong committed.

"It is true that the French government," he said, "has declared at Brussels that France is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as her opponent respects it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for the invasion. France could wait, but we could not wait. A French movement upon our flank upon the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. So we were compelled to override the just protests of the Luxembourg and Belgian governments. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through."

The Imperial Chancellor, was, we see, unaware of this "acknowledged principle" of the Editor's. As Mr. Lloyd George has said, "treaties are the currency of international statesmanship," and it is obviously to the interest of each country to see that such international treaties are valid not only in peace (when nobody proposes to break them) but also in war. An apology advanced by the Editor is that Prussia and Germany had signed the neutrality treaty of Belgium, the present German empire not then existing, and Germany need not respect the treaty "under conditions so obviously changed." Prince Bismarck in 1870, when there was war between France and Germany, "confirming his verbal assurance gave in writing a declaration which he said *was superfluous in reference to the treaty in existence*—that the German confederation and its allies would respect the neutrality of Belgium." Bismarck here speaks not of Prussia but of the German confederation, representing the German empire of to-day. The present conditions appear closely parallel to those of 1870, and it was for such an event as a Franco-German war that the neutrality of Belgium had been devised as a safeguard. The Editor considers an important

³² O. C., pp. 601-2.

change in the conditions was created by "the suspicion,"³³ the "probability" of a Franco-Belgian *entente*. "Suspicion" in the German mind is not sufficient to justify such a breach of international law. No serious evidence is advanced of a Franco-Belgian *entente*, while, on the other hand, we have the French government's assurance that it would respect the neutrality of Belgium in answer to Sir Edward Grey's inquiry:

"The French government is resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other power violating that neutrality, that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defense of her security, to act otherwise. The president of the republic spoke of it to the king of the Belgians, and the French minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian minister of foreign affairs to-day."³⁴ France could have no object in alienating the sympathies of England by violating Belgian neutrality, and Belgium on her side (August 1) intended to maintain her neutrality to the utmost of her power.³⁵ On August 3³⁶ she even refused the five French army corps offered her through the French military attaché for protecting her neutrality against the Germans, and did not "propose to appeal to the guarantee of the powers."

In face of these facts we must discount unsupported stories such as that French officers were present prior to the declaration of war, in Liège, that "Lord Kitchener was in Belgium two weeks before the war began,"³⁷ if the letter of the staff correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* in London is to be accepted. The presence of English and French officers in Belgium before the Germans invaded that country has been officially denied by the Belgian government. Assuming that England and France planned how they would act if Germany did precisely what she has done, "to say that it was a violation of neutrality for England and France to plan an advance how, if necessary, they would perform the duties put upon them by the treaty establishing Belgian neutrality is to insult the intelligence."³⁸ A German plan of campaign against the United States of America has recently been published, which has not yet caused that country to attack Germany on suspicion of hostile intentions.

³³ "We do not know all the secret occurrences of European politics, but the *probability* is that the Belgians had agreed to allow the French to march through Belgium.... *Mere suspicion* of a Franco-Belgian *entente* is sufficient to attack France through the Belgian frontier." *O. C.*, p. 602. The italics here used for emphasis were not in the original.

³⁴ *G. B. and the E. C.*, pp. 93-94.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³⁷ *O. C.*, pp. 602 and 603.

³⁸ *The Nation* (New York), October 29, 1914.

The argument that it was "preferable to the Germans to anticipate the French move and take Belgium first" errs like the German manifesto "To the Civilized World" in assuming an unproved and improbable French violation of Belgian neutrality. But even granted that this contention were true, what does it amount to? That Germany hurried to violate a law before some one else could do so; and "if anybody was going to murder Belgian neutrality she was going to be first at the job."

"A stray notice in the *North German Gazette*," "later reports," "a newspaper clipping" from a German paper, cannot be considered serious evidence. Information supplied from these doubtful sources is on its face doubtful. The statement³⁹ that large deposits of ammunition were stored by England in the fortress of Maubeuge before the continental war, is officially denied. The giving of wide publicity to absurd stories such as the "later reports" that "some Russian officers had adopted the custom of carrying on their persons the fingers of their slain enemies, both male and female" is to be deprecated. Stories of atrocities are circulated by all the combatant nations without exception; and it is impossible to accept any without a careful preliminary investigation.

The Editor quotes from the *Independent* (September 21, 1914): "On August 1 the British Ambassador was asked a second time whether England would remain neutral in case Germany respected the integrity of France and also her colonies. Here England again said she must be free to act." This correctly summarizes Sir Edward Grey's earlier communication (July 30) in which a similar proposal⁴⁰ is declared unacceptable. "For France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a great power and become subordinate to German policy."⁴¹

It is difficult to see where the Editor has gained "psychological insight into the manner in which the Russian minister induced Sir Edward Grey to join the French-Russian alliance. The English had supported Servia in diplomacy, and the Russians hinted that after all the English would not be credited with making good by joining the fight,⁴² and it seems that the Russian suggestion helped to bring the English into line."⁴³ The suggestion that England

³⁹ Published in *Gil Blas*, February 25, 1913.

⁴⁰ Except that in this case the French colonies were not safeguarded.

⁴¹ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 55.

⁴² For the discussion of England's attitude during the Schleswig-Holstein complication (*O. C.*, p. 604) see below section on the "Foes of Germany."

⁴³ *O. C.*, p. 604.

acted from mere pique is naive and unsupported. The facts are that on July 24 and 25 M. Sazonoff, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, pressed Great Britain to make a declaration of solidarity with Russia and France, adding that "unfortunately Germany was convinced that she could count on your neutrality." On July 29, Sir Edward Grey outlined to Sir F. Bertie, British ambassador at Paris, a conversation with the French ambassador in London, in which he says clearly in what circumstances England would not intervene,⁴⁴ i. e., not in a dispute between Austria and Servia, nor in a dispute between Russia, Servia and Austria. Even if "Germany became involved and France became involved, we had not made up our minds what we should do; it was a case that we should have to consider."⁴⁵ We see Sir Edward Grey moved by English interests and obligations.

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW.

There has been a commercial conflict between England and Germany,⁴⁶ two great manufacturing countries; just as there has been a struggle for markets between England and America. But the latter struggle has not led to war, and the relations between the two countries have never been better. Commercial rivalry is not, therefore, the only cause of our recent alienation from Germany; but, as the Editor rightly points out, "propaganda." But while he draws attention to the anti-German propaganda in England (relatively small) he omits to refer to the enormous and influential anti-English propaganda in Germany. The Editor points to an article in the *Saturday Review*, September 11, 1897,⁴⁷ as the first expression of anti-German policy in England, but the violently anti-English utterances of Treitschke date as early as 1874. Later, the German professor Karl Lamprecht seized upon the Boer war to demonstrate to Holland that England is the enemy; and Bernhardi is also anti-English. Now while in Germany the feeling against England has raised in the past a crop of aggressive professors, lectures and books, in England the feeling against Germany did not lead to dreams of conquest but to fear of invasion; of the "German peril." Instead of *Germany and the Next War*, we had *The Englishman's Home*. Even to-day, in the midst of war, the English press references to Germany are temperate when compared with German references to England.

⁴⁴ *G. B., and the E. C.*, pp. 9, 16.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴⁶ *O. C.*, p. 607.

⁴⁷ Reprinted in *O. C.*, pp. 577-579. There is, however, no reason to suppose with the Editor that the article was "inspired by the British government" (*O. C.*, p. 607).

A third factor in the creation of national hostility was the matter of armaments, especially the navy. The English case for a predominant navy is England's insular position, which renders her liable to starvation directly she loses command of the sea; the immensely larger size of her mercantile marine, which needs protection; her colonies, and the fact that she maintains but a small army. In the competition in armaments it is worth noting that on the eve of the Hague conference of 1888, Mr. Goschen announced that if the other naval powers should be prepared to diminish their programs of ship-building, we should be prepared on our side to meet such a procedure by modifying ours; the German government replied, by Colonel von Schwarzhoff, their delegate at the conference, with a scornful speech. At the second Hague conference in 1907, the British proposal to consider a concerted arrest of armaments was politely shelved, the German delegate, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein refusing to discuss it. The question of total disarmament has not been raised, and we cannot tell whether she would "abolish her militarism if her neighbors, the French and the Russians, would disarm, and if the English would sell their navy as old iron,"⁴⁸ but she has certainly refused on several occasions the invitation to slacken competition in armaments.

THE GERMAN CAUSE.

There is very little to discuss in this section, in which patriotic poems are quoted. In the concluding paragraph, however, a list is given of indefensible and partly-defensible English wars,⁴⁹ such as the Opium war in China, and the Boer war of the Transvaal.⁵⁰ All nations, unfortunately, have some blots in their accounts, but especially Prussia, from the day of Frederick the Great's brazen theft of Silesia to the cold-blooded quarrel with Austria in 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 which was contrived by Bismarck down to its precipitation by the falsified Ems telegram.⁵¹

THE FOES OF GERMANY.

An accusation is made against England of stirring others to

⁴⁸ *O. C.*, p. 608.

⁴⁹ *O. C.*, pp. 612-613.

⁵⁰ "Was the Boer War undertaken for the protection of English homes and English liberty?" asks the Editor (p. 613). Certainly it was, though the English liberty and English homes were in the Transvaal. The fact that it was a foreign government that interfered with their rights did not minimize the responsibility of England.

⁵¹ In October, 1892, Bismarck said to Harden: "It is so easy for one who has some practice, without falsification merely by omissions, to change the sense. As the Editor of the Ems despatch. . . . I should know. The King sent

war and keeping out of it herself,⁵² "making other nations carry on wars intended for her benefit."⁵³ As an illustration of the first policy the attitude of England during the Schleswig-Holstein complication is quoted as follows:

"In 1864 England encouraged Denmark to resist Prussia and Austria on account of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Danes relying on English assurances, refused any compromise, the result being that they lost their duchies. A Danish friend of mine expressed himself very vigorously in condemning British statecraft, saying that the warfare of Prussia was square and honest, but the attitude of England was unpardonable."

Though some of England's diplomacy in the past has been both weak and blundering, her action in this affair compares favorably with Germany's. The succession to the duchies received international sanction by the protocol of London (May 8, 1852), signed by the five great powers and Norway and Sweden. In 1863, Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg, son of the prince who in 1852 had renounced the succession to the duchies, next claimed his right on the ground that he had no share in the renunciation, and assumed the government under the style of Duke Frederick VIII. With "this folly," as Bismarck termed it, Austria and Prussia would have nothing to do. It was clear that they, as signatories to the 1852 protocol must uphold the succession as fixed by it, and that any action they might take in consequence of the violation of that compact by Denmark must be so "correct" as to deprive Europe of all excuse for interference. "From the beginning," Bismarck admitted later, "I kept annexation steadily before my eyes."⁵⁴ On December 28, a motion was introduced in the Diet by Austria and Prussia calling on the confederation to occupy Schleswig as a pledge for the observance by Denmark of the compacts of 1852. This was rejected by the Diet, and Austria and Prussia thereon decided to act in the matter as independent European powers (January, 1864). "Had⁵⁵ the Danes yielded to the necessities of the situation, and withdrawn from Schleswig under protest, the European powers would probably have restored Schleswig to the Danish crown, and Austria and Prussia as European powers would

it me with the order to publish it either completely, or in part. After I had summarized it by deletions, Moltke who was with me exclaimed: "*Vorhin was eine Chamade jetzt ist eine Fanfare.*" *Zukunft*, October 29, 1892, p. 204; and December 3, 1892, p. 435.

⁵² *O. C.*, p. 604.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 613.

⁵⁴ *Reflections*, Vol. II., p. 10.

⁵⁵ I quote here the resumé of the question in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Schleswig-Holstein Question," 11th edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 329.

have no choice but to prevent any attempt upon it by the Duke of Holstein. To prevent this possibility, Bismarck made the Copenhagen government believe that Great Britain had threatened Prussia with intervention should hostilities be opened, though (he admitted) as a matter of fact England did nothing of the kind. The cynical strategem succeeded; Denmark remained defiant, and the Prussian and Austrian forces crossed the Eider." This explains the fact that Denmark is in favor of England to-day, and anti-German in its sympathies.

There is no evidence that England used Japan for the purpose of humiliating Russia.⁵⁶ The talk of inveterate enmity between England and Russia is by no means justified. The *entente* with Russia is an indication that English and Russian policies were not irreconcilable. As to national sympathies, England is quick to appreciate the qualities of that "profound and humane people."

The Editor describes the French as theatrical and vain, unsteady and lacking "the serious insistency of their Teutonic neighbors,"⁵⁷ and dominated by the idea of "revenge." "The French are blinded by their vanity, their vaingloriousness, their narrow-minded hope for revenge. Like big children they became an easy prey to the British king who ensnared them to fight the battles of Albion." The Editor's French type reminds one of the comic Frenchman of fiction. But how are we to explain the fact that the German army has moved backward from the Marne, and has vainly attempted to break through the lines of their vain, decadent and vainglorious enemy? The French idea of revenge is circulated by Germany, but little has been heard of it in France in recent years. There is evidence that French statesmen looked on war with Germany as one of the greatest evils that could befall a nation, and the events of 1905 and 1911 are a proof that she was prepared to pay a price to avert the ill-will of Germany. As French statesmen speak of the launching of five threats of war against them by Germany since 1870—the first in 1875 when Moltke wished to bleed France white, the fifth in 1911—it is hardly to be expected that the French should have adopted the point of view that "the real interest of France would naturally lie in an alliance with Germany. . . . this has often been recognized by Germans, but the French are blinded by vanity and their narrow-minded hope for revenge."⁵⁸

The war has come; the French who know their history no doubt remember the war of 1870-71. Of this war in which Napoleon III was a mere puppet in Bismarck's hands, the Editor writes,

⁵⁶ *O. C.*, p. 613.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 613-615.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

"Was not the cause of the war the unjustifiable demand that the king of Prussia should humiliate himself before the French emperor? He should beg pardon for a Hohenzollern prince of an entirely different line because the Spaniards had offered to the latter the crown of Spain."⁵⁹ Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was advised by Bismarck to "abandon all scruples and accept the candidature in the interests of Germany," and as "a red rag to the Gallic bull." Prince Bismarck worked the German press to inflame opinions against France. On the evening of July 8, the French ambassador Benedetti reached Ems under instructions to ask King Wilhelm to secure the withdrawal of Prince Leopold. The King wrote privately to Sigmaringen; on the 10th, Prince Karl Anton, father of Prince Leopold, said it was too late to draw back, but on the 12th, Prince Leopold actually withdrew, and the news was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Benedetti received orders to demand an undertaking from King Wilhelm that the candidature would never be renewed. The old king refused but added that he had no hidden designs, and had reason to hope the question was closed. The German ambassador in Paris sent to Ems for approval a draft note stating that the king of Prussia had meant no offense to France. Though irritated, the king sent an aide-de-camp to Benedetti to report that he had received the official withdrawal from Sigmaringen and approved of it. The aide-de-camp added that Benedetti might come to the station at Ems to salute His Majesty on his departure for Coblenz. As Benedetti bore witness at Ems "there was neither insulter nor insulted." Bismarck, as is well known, falsified the telegram summarizing the conversation with Benedetti; and this "news" made public rendered the continuance of peace impossible. This was not an affair in which French diplomacy shone, but what of the Prussian?

With regard to the conditions of peace after the French defeat, the Editor writes that the surrender of Alsace and a small piece of Lorraine was demanded for rounding off the lines of Germany's defense, and "incidentally it was remembered that the people of Alsace were Germans, that Alsace had belonged to the German empire, and its people even in the year 1871 were still speaking German,"⁶⁰ therefore the French should not resent this settlement.

This account avoids the cruelty of the annexation of these provinces by Germany. Though largely German in speech and race their inhabitants were for the most part passionately attached to France. In accordance with the Treaty of Frankfort the in-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 615.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

habitants were allowed to choose between French and German nationality, but all who chose the former had to leave their country. Some 50,000 did so before October 1872 and settled in France. Even after this exodus, when in 1874 the provinces were enabled to elect members for the Reichstag, they sent fifteen deputies who delivered a formal protest against the annexation and retired from the House, they formed no party and took little part in the proceedings except on important occasions to vote against the government. Gortchakoff gave warning that the annexation would leave a wound that would long be a menace to Europe, while Bismarck is reported to have said "one does not mutilate with impunity. To take Metz and a part of Lorraine was the worst of political blunders." It will be seen from this account of the feelings of the two provinces, that the cases imagined by the Editor, of England clamoring for revenge because the United States were once English colonies, and Spain clamoring to regain Gibraltar, are not parallel.

It is difficult to see why the English alliance with Japan (which has for some time been recognized by the powers as a civilized power), is condemned⁶¹ by the Editor, while Germany's alliance with the oriental and unspeakable Turk is welcomed with enthusiasm at Berlin. To the German mind Japanese intervention is cowardly, the Turkish glorious.

JAPAN.

The action of Japan has been so correct that no reasonable American paper shows a trace of Mr. Randolph William Hearst's notorious scare on this subject⁶² in the *Chicago American*. The conclusion is so grotesque that it needs no comment or refutation. "The attitude of Japan and her procedure against Germany is a warning. Might we (i. e., America) not overnight have a war on hand on account of the secret treaties between Japan, England and Russia in which Mexico and the South American republics would join just for the fun?"

ANTI-MACCHIAVELLI.

The Editor quotes a few clauses from the testament of Peter the Great, who ruled from 1689 to 1725, "to show our readers what it means to support Russia and how little any one can rely on Russian faith."⁶³ The dates alone make this contention pre-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 618-619.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

carious; one could as soon attribute to M. Poincaré the ruling ideas of Louis XIV, or to King George V the methods and aims of James II. To counterbalance Peter the Great's "testament" the Editor draws attention to Frederick the Great's *Anti-Macchiavelli*,⁶⁴ issued by Voltaire at the Hague in 1740, and containing not Frederick's own ideas but a reflection of the generous French philosophy of the eighteenth century respecting the duty of sovereigns, which may be summed up in the sentence: "The prince is not the absolute master but only the first servant of the people." It is however worthy of note that the great Frederick who joined in the partition of Poland was no believer in honesty in politics. Of statecraft popularly called Macchiavellian I have found the most remarkable expressions in German authors such as Bernhardi, who in speaking of Germany's future⁶⁵ war with France, says "As soon as we are ready to fight, our statesmen must so shuffle the cards that France shall appear to be the aggressor,"⁶⁶—a sentence that might have been written by the ingenious author of *Il Principe*.

MODERN WARFARE.

This section attempts the defense of the German army by stating: (1) that German "atrocities" in Belgium did not take place; (2) that the Belgians committed atrocities against Germans. With regard to the first contention it may be pointed out that the only official inquiry, the Belgian, produces a vast mass of evidence from sufferers and eye-witnesses; while the round robin of the five American reporters⁶⁷ only comes to this, that these five gentlemen, after spending two weeks with, and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, were "unable to report a single instance unprovoked." This is quite possible with regard to the districts seen by them, but obviously does not cover the whole country of Belgium. The German official statement that "the only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity, and to create examples which by their frightfulness would be a warning to the whole country" seems by its wording to allow for atrocious treatment of the civil population.

The destruction of Louvain, whether the civil population fired upon the Germans or no, has shocked all neutral countries. The Editor gives the German official report⁶⁸ (published in Berlin,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 621.

⁶⁵ *Germany and the Next War*, published in 1911.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁶⁷ Quoted in O. C., p. 620.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 632-633.

August 20), as disposing of "all the Belgian fables," while he describes the Belgian account as improbable and lacking verification.⁶⁹ The utmost that could be said is that the two accounts are inconsistent; and neither side gives "verification." It cannot be said that the German version disposes of the Belgian, any more than that the Belgian disposes of the German, as far as evidence is concerned, though one may have a clear idea as to which story is the more probable. It is not correct to say that "to reproach the Germans for burning Louvain is the more unfair as under the same circumstances every other army would have done the same";⁷⁰ as the English, French and Italian press has repudiated such measures. The execution of a certain number of Indian rebels as a definite punishment of the guilty cannot be compared with the German treatment of Louvain, Termonde and Aerschot, in which many innocent civilians, women and children perished. In the suggestion that Belgians have been guilty of "the most heinous crimes of battle-hyenas," and that many people have been captured who found a pastime in torturing German soldiers,⁷¹ no proof is adduced; and as far as the evidence of hospitals is available the *Vorwärts*, investigating this question, found there was absolutely no foundation for these imaginary "atrocities."

The final "atrocities" charge made by the German emperor⁷² to President Wilson, is that French and English troops make use of dum-dum bullets. Such accusations are easy to make, and no verification is attempted on the German side; that is, the German emperor merely states that "after the capture of the French fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dum-dum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French government. Such bullets were found not only on French killed and wounded soldiers but also on English troops." The German case was that the government supplied large quantities of these bullets, and the German legation in Berne invited all and sundry to go and see the dum-dum bullets in their possession which had, it was said, been taken from French and British soldiers. The *Journal de Genève* sent Herr Meyer von Stadelhofen, the well-known Swiss rifle champion, who also carefully scrutinized these bullets in the German legation. He reported:

"I noticed first that the transformation had been effected with the help of rudimentary tools, such as a file, a saw, or a

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 628. The Belgian account was issued to the British press on September 15 by the Press Bureau.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 634.

punchoon; secondly, that of these five bullets no two were cut in the same place, the mark of the instrument having been sometimes made nearer and sometimes farther from the nose of the bullet; thirdly, that the scooping-out was not done in the middle of the bullet; fourthly, that the metal had been recently worked, for the lead was still very bright."

His conclusions, therefore, are that obviously these bullets were not altered by mechanical means, and that they were not altered at the time or under the conditions referred to in the German note handed to him. To put it plainly, the statements of this note are not borne out by the examination of the bullets with which it was accompanied, while, to put it still more plainly, the famous dumdum bullets were made in Germany, or, at any rate turned into dumdum bullets there. Herr Meyer von Stadelhofen then asked whether the secretary of the Berlin foreign office had sent the German legation in Berne any medical evidence testifying to the use of dumdum ammunition, to which the answer was "No," an explanation being added, about which an army surgeon's opinion would be highly interesting, that "German doctors consider that it is virtually almost impossible to know whether a wound is or is not due to a dumdum bullet, owing to the fact that modern bullets have such a rotary movement that they often cause wounds similar to those produced by dumdum bullets, especially when they do not strike quite direct, as is frequently the case."⁷³

Corroborative testimony directly controverting the use of dumdum bullets by the allies is that of Dr. Häberlin, a member of the Zürich medical association, who acted as a volunteer surgeon in various military hospitals in Arlen (Grand Duchy of Baden) and Ludwigsburg, and reported he never heard anything of a dumdum bullet wound. I have given prominence to these reports of neutrals, but the memorandum issued from the War Office, dated October 7, denies the use of dumdum bullets by English troops. There is, the report runs, clear evidence that Germany has not confined herself solely to the use of unobjectionable ammunition. Her troops both in Togoland and in France have been proved to have used bullets with a soft core and hard thin envelope, not entirely covering the core, which type of bullet is expanding and therefore expressly prohibited by The Hague Convention. Such bullets of no less than three types were found on the bodies of dead native soldiers serving with the German armed forces against British troops in Togoland in August, and on the persons of German European

⁷³ Quoted in the *Morning Post*, October 30, 1914.

and native armed troops captured by us in that colony. All the British wounded treated in the British hospitals during the operations in Togoland were wounded by soft-nosed bullets of large calibre, and the injuries which these projectiles inflicted, in marked contrast to those treated by the British medical staff amongst the German wounded, were extremely severe, bones being shattered and the tissue so extensively damaged that amputation had to be performed. The use of those bullets was the object of a written protest by the general officer commanding the British troops in Nigeria to the German acting governor of Togoland. Again, at Gündeluh, in France, on September 19, 1914, soft-nosed bullets (i.e., those in which the lead core is exposed and protrudes at the nose) were found on the dead bodies of German soldiers of the *Landwehr*, and on the persons of soldiers of the *Landwehr* made prisoners of war by the British troops.

One of these bullets has reached the War Office. It is undoubtedly expanding, and directly prohibited by the Hague Convention.

MILITARISM.

In this section the Editor makes a useful distinction between two uses of the word militarism.⁷⁴ With the training of a large proportion of the citizens of military age for military service, which is the practice of nearly every country in Europe, few English critics find fault; though hitherto England, standing outside the European system, has contented herself with a small professional army. The French are also "the French nation in arms."⁷⁵ The militarism that is condemned by England and France is not only "the disease of militarism contracted by some members of the officers' corps at Zabern,"⁷⁶ but the political condition characterized by the predominance of the military class and its armed doctrine. It was against this subordination to armed doctrine that Theodor Mommsen warned his constituents at Halle: "Have a care, gentlemen, lest in this state which has been at once a power in arms and

⁷⁴ *O. C.*, p. 636. Militarism, according to the *New English Dictionary*, is "the spirit and tendencies characteristic of the professional soldier, . . . the political condition characterized by the predominance of the military class in government and administration; the tendency to regard military efficiency as the paramount interest of the state."

⁷⁵ Before the war the French army, with 84 per cent of competent men called up, was even more "a nation in arms" than the German army with only 53 per cent of such men called up.

⁷⁶ *O. C.*, p. 636. It is hardly correct that militarism in this sense "has never been worse in Germany than in other countries."

a power in intelligence, the intelligence should vanish, and nothing but the pure military state should remain."

GROWING MILITARISM.

Whether a peace party will make an end of armaments⁷⁷ in the future or whether militarists, the men who believe with Moltke that universal peace is "a dream and not a pleasant dream," is an academic question suitable for a debating society, and from its nature insoluble at the present moment. Other contentions in this section are that Germany has been converted from a friendly to an inimical nation, which has been dealt with already, and that in Germany warfare has developed into a science.⁷⁸ "The German army is a school in which German youths are training to be good soldiers and the German staff is, also a school in which officers are instructed in strategy. There is not a Moltke to lead them, but Moltke's spirit guides them all. Should one of them die to-day, even if he occupy the highest rank, there are dozens who can take up his work." Strategy is not the monopoly of the German general staff; and the German operations on both fronts have hitherto shown small signs of serious strategy. In the west there was the occupation of Belgium and, while the way to Calais and Dunkirk lay open, the rush to Paris. Then the retreat from Paris, a defeat on the Marne; and—Calais is now the objective! In the east, an advance toward Warsaw and a strategic retreat with heavy losses. Some of the army's defects in war were foreseen by a critic of the manœuvres in 1911 when the military expert of the *Times*⁷⁹ gave warning that "the German army has seen less of modern war than any other which stands in the front rank. The contempt which it displays for the effects of modern fire, and professes to hold for armies of naval states with which it may come in conflict can only be set down to ignorance." But the end tries all, and it is not wise, as the Editor points out, to discredit the enemy.⁸⁰

ILLUSTRATIONS.

At the close of my examination of the Editor's statement of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 639-640.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁷⁹ "There is nothing in the higher leading at the manœuvres of a distinguished character, and mistakes were committed which tended to shake the confidence of foreign spectators in the reputation of the command. . . . The German army, apart from its numbers, confidence in itself and high state of organization, does not present any signs of superiority over the best foreign models and in some ways does not rise above the second rate." *Times*, October 28, 1911.

⁸⁰ The cheerful brutality of Mr. Winston Churchill's speech at a recruiting meeting at Liverpool in which he used the following words: "If the German

Germany's case I wish to draw attention to some of the illustrations in the October number of *The Open Court*. As a pendant to the serious damage to Rheims cathedral the Editor gives a photograph of the Castle of Heidelberg, and the same juxtaposition of the two buildings has occurred to German purveyors of picture postcards. No one defends the ravage of the Palatinate in 1688, but as I have pointed out we do not draw our precedents from the reign of Louis XIV. With reference to the three views of Nuremberg, the Editor writes: "It is almost forgotten that according to newspaper reports, the first bombs were not dropped over Antwerp or France or England, but from French aeroplanes on this city of old German art." "Newspaper reports" (exclusively in German papers, by the way) are not sufficient evidence for this statement. It is inconsistent with the attitude of the French government, which withdrew the French army six miles from the frontier to prevent a collision before the outbreak of war⁸¹ and later protested against German bomb-dropping upon and bombardment of unfortified towns.

ENGLAND'S BLOOD-GUILT IN THE WORLD WAR.

The Editor's contribution to the discussion of Germany's case is by far the largest and most considerable of the papers in the October number. But there remain two papers to be considered. That by Professor Burgess⁸² reproduced from the *Springfield Republican* brings forward no point of importance, and its value may be gathered from the fact that he gives up a whole page to an account of a dinner at Wilhelmshöhe with the Emperor, including a list of the guests. Haeckel's contribution, "England's Blood Guilt in the World War," like the German appeal "To the Civilized World," is interesting as showing that German savants have not realized that assertion is not proof. We read:

"The parliament and press of the hostile Triple Entente, the English, French and Russian newspapers are endeavoring....to throw the whole blame upon Germany....Emperor William II has, in the twenty-six years of his reign, done everything within his power to preserve for the German people the blessings of peace.... Similarly, the other two members of the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary and Italy, have ever endeavored to preserve the precious

navy does not come out and fight, they will be brought out like rats in a hole" (Quoted in *O. C.*, p. 641) is also to be deprecated.

⁸¹ "The French troops have orders not to go nearer to the German frontier than a distance of 10 kilometers, so as to avoid any grounds for accusations of provocation to Germany." *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 69.

⁸² *O. C.*, pp. 587-595.

blessing of peace and avoid European complications. *Rather does* the whole responsibility for the outbreak of this world war fall on that mighty triple coalition the *entente cordiale*....

"In the splendid speech from the throne with which Emperor William II opened the German Reichstag on August 4 he *showed* the real causes that drove the enemies of our German empire to their insidious attack, envy of the prosperity of the dear fatherland," etc.⁸³

The method is that of a Free Kirk minister dealing with the difficulties of belief in the existence of John the Baptist: He began: "Some people say John the Baptist did not exist. (Very solemnly) He *did*! Having disposed of that difficulty...."

It is the spirit of the German appeal to the civilized world⁸⁴ with its many national trumpet-peals, each beginning "It is not true," sheer denial with no attempt at adducing evidence for the denial. The appeal might have originated in the Wolff bureau, not in the minds of savants. As the *Nation*⁸⁵ points out, "Nowhere is there any evidence of a desire to undertake an unbiased investigation of facts, logic is thrown to the winds, and we are treated to a flood of rhetoric and of unsupported statements.... It really seems as if some of the professors who have rushed into print to defend Germany's cause are doing it quite as much harm as the enemy." The appeal to the cultured world has destroyed the myth of German culture.

The rest of Haeckel's paper is notable only for a few mis-statements—such as that "Russia in the beginning of August declared war on Germany and Austria,"⁸⁶ whereas Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia on July 31,⁸⁷ at a time when negotiations were still proceeding between Russia and Austria,⁸⁸ and that England aims at a world empire, "the annihilation of the independent German empire, the destruction of German life and works, the subjection of the German people to British domination,"⁸⁹ a dream worthy of a German mind. The conclusion has a very unlucky prophecy, also

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

⁸⁴ This appeal was published by ninety-three German savants and artists. Among the signatures are Eucken, Haeckel, Freda, Humperdinck, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Lamprecht, Kaulbach, Dörpfeld.

⁸⁵ *The Nation* (New York), October 29, 1914.

⁸⁶ *O. C.*, p. 584.

⁸⁷ *G. B. and the E. C.*, p. 66.

⁸⁸ On July 31, "the Austro-Hungarian ambassador declared the readiness of his government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia." *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸⁹ *O. C.*, p. 585.

an outcome of German subjectivity, that Germany would find powerful allies among the nations that already bear England's unbearable yoke—Canada, India, Australia, Egypt and South Africa. Prophecy is of all controversial weapons the most dangerous.

TWELVE POINTS ASSURED.

The only important controversial points in the Editor's December article, "Lessons of the War," are summed up in the section "Twelve Points Assured," pp. 758-760. The Editor regards certain points as assured. Could he give any evidence that Russia "officially" supports a policy of assassination in Serbia (p. 758)? In the fourth paragraph he assumes that the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia is the result of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. We now know, thanks to Signor Giolitti's revelations to the Italian parliament, that the murder of the archduke and the indictment of Serbia's complicity, which figured so largely in the Austrian ultimatum, had little to do with the settled purpose of Austrian policy. In the middle of 1913 Signor Giolitti, then Italian prime minister, was informed by the Austro-Hungarian government that it contemplated immediate action against Serbia and reckoned on the support of Italy under the terms of the Triple Alliance. The Italian government replied that it could not regard the action indicated as constituting a *casus foederis*, which would never arise out of an aggressive act. This reply induced Austria-Hungary to postpone action. As the Austro-Hungarian policy was already set in 1913, it is absurd to speak of it as conditioned by the Sarajevo assassination in 1914. I have already dealt with further points such as the Belgian neutrality and Russian mobilization. In the case of Germany's "positive evidence that the Belgians had broken neutrality long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian soil," the English case is strengthened by Herr Dernburg's publication of the military convention between England and Belgium. The proposed help from England, it is definitely stated in this document, was only to be given *after Belgian neutrality had been violated*.

ENGLAND AND GERMANY IN THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR.

BY CHARLES H. CHASE.

I HAVE read the last three numbers of *The Open Court* with a good deal of interest and disappointment as well. I cannot understand how men as high intellectually, and, as I believe, morally, as the editor of *The Open Court*, Professor Münsterberg, and others of German descent can defend the German emperor in the present great struggle in Europe. To me it is incomprehensible how men can take such a position. My ancestors, mostly English, have lived in this country since 1631, but on both sides of my ancestral tree I have a large admixture of Dutch and German blood. I say this to indicate to all who read this article that I am in a position to be unbiased by near descent from any of the belligerents.

I wish to state what I believe to be deep-seated influences which have actuated both English and Germans in the present struggle. The English and Germans are the same people, of the same Teutonic blood, divergent only by the varying environment of the last fifteen hundred years. In England there has been a continuous struggle for liberty during all that period. To go into the causes which have made England the cradle of Anglican liberty, the highest and best in all the world, that which guarantees to every individual the right to do any and everything which will not interfere with the equal rights of his fellow,—to go into details respecting these causes, would require a volume. I can only say that Anglican liberty has been a development which has affected favorably every country where the English language is spoken, as well as every land over which the English flag floats. India and Ireland are only just coming into their rights; but the time is not far distant when they, too, will enjoy the same measure of Anglican liberty as is now enjoyed by the Scotch, the Welsh, the citizens of the United States, Canada, and the Boers of South Africa. Within

the few short years of English government these latest inheritors of Anglican liberty are, with few exceptions, well pleased with English suzerainty, which gives them greater liberty than they ever before enjoyed. England, too, has been a robber state; but the fangs of her absolutism have been drawn in the course of an age-long struggle. In her insular position what might have become Cæsarism, has through the ages grown beautifully less.

Cæsarism (or militarism as generally designated) has been the dominating influence of continental countries, age-long in France, Austria, Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia. In France, Italy, and other Romance countries there has been a gradual breaking away from Cæsarism; but in Russia, Turkey, Austria, and Germany we have Cæsarism in its unadulterated form, where the individual has no rights, no freedom in any proper acceptance of the term. The appeal to force in the duel is a fair indication of their ideas of honor. Here a soldier can run a civilian through with his saber, with impunity; the latter has no rights as against the former. In these countries every man is a slave to some one who is his overlord; except that the Kaiser, the Czar, the Sultan, the Emperor acknowledges no master but God, of whom he is vicegerent.

That the Kaiser and the Austrian emperor wanted this war, planned for it, there can be no kind of doubt for one who has investigated the ante-bellum conditions. The proof is to found in a thousand documents and volumes. When the Kaiser applied to the bankers for a war loan a few years ago, they protested that they could not float it; they were not ready. The Kaiser enjoined them with: "The next time I call I want you to be ready." Prussia's national egoism and egotism has been growing ever since she humbled Austria in 1866. These two great robbers joined three years before in wresting Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark. It was inevitable that they should fall out; for honor among thieves is ephemeral. The seven weeks of war in 1866 was provoked by Prussia, to take from Austria her share of the plundered territory. Prussia with her needle-gun was victorious. Then she sought a quarrel with her ancient enemy, France. The all too willing usurper emperor, Louis Napoleon, influenced by his empress, was equally anxious for the fray. France was humbled, and emperors in France became anathema. In 1874, Prussia was again possessed with the itch for war with France, too rapidly rising out of her valley of humiliation. But England and Russia warned Prussia; and the recently united Germany was not ready for a struggle with England and Russia. But for several years the most popular toast in the German mili-

tary ranks has been "To the hour," the hour when the wished-for struggle should come with her now inveterate enemy, England. England, mistress of the seas, England whose flag floated over one-fifth of the earth's surface, whose commercial trade was with every land and people, was a standing menace to Germany's advancement. She it was whom Germany must crush, in order to carry out the ideas of world empire by which Germany is to impress her culture upon the rest of the world.

In 1831 Hegel, the last of the great school of German idealists who dominated and led the thought of Germany, passed away. From idealism and the moral code taught by the great school of Kant, Fichte and their followers, Germany has degenerated into the crass materialism of Haeckel and the neo-Darwinians. The materialistic philosophies have dominated German thought for more than half a century. Might is the only right of her universities; and her ethics may be properly denominated "hog ethics,"—take what you want when you can, and don't be particular how you get it.

The teachings of her historian Treitschke, her philosopher Nietzsche, and her materialistic philosophers and scientists, led by Haeckel, are bearing their legitimate fruit. Germany has appealed to the sword, and she (at least her autocratic government) will perish by the sword.

Prussia and Austria have been properly criticized for their autocratic and arbitrary governments, which deny to the ordinary citizen any rights as such, his whole duty being to obey the powers that be in the state. Their people are intelligent, progressive, peace-loving, and liberty-loving; but the only force in these countries that makes for liberty is the socialist party. This party might have been successful in pushing forward the struggle for liberty, but for the crisis which enabled the militarists to bring on a general European war, the only thing which could put off the fall of Cæsarism, and that only in the event of German success. The defeat of Germany in the present struggle means the rapid decline and fall of Cæsarism, imperialism, militarism and autocratic government, by whatever name called.

The boasted culture of Germany has degenerated from the idealism of a hundred years ago to mere materialistic industrialism; her ethics from the intuitional axioms of right and wrong to a base system of energetics, which makes force, energy, the only criterion of human action. In the adoption of Darwinism most German philosophers out-Darwin Darwin. Darwin recognized at least three

factors of evolution, in his later writings more; but the neo-Darwinians recognize but the one negative factor which selects the stronger by the destruction of the weaker. The inevitable result of such a philosophy is to abolish all moral principles and to paraphrase the beatitudes, so well stated by Professor Cramb, as follows:

"Ye have heard how in old times it was said, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you, Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne. And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the poor in the spirit; but I say unto you, Blessed are the great in soul and free in spirit, for they shall enter into Valhalla. And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the peacemakers; but I say unto you, Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Jahve, the children of Odin, who is greater than Jahve."

I am driven to the conclusion that the most potent cause of the present war is the shift of Germany from idealism to materialistic mechanicalism (energetics) and industrialism. The common people of Germany are still untainted by this philosophic poison, and in them lies her hope. Both Austria and Russia are priest-ridden, and their condition is about that of England in the time of Henry the Eighth or earlier. Later claimants to absolute power in that country were either beheaded or driven from the realm. That is the course which events must take, rapidly or slowly, in Russia, Turkey, Austria, and Germany; and it is to be hoped that the present great struggle may bring about this greatly to be desired end.

FATE AND THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT almost appears as if Friedrich von Bernhardi had made the present war. No books of his have appeared until recently, and he was little known as an author before his death in 1913. One of his books, "On the Customs of War," was published in 1902, but it was merely an official statement of the German General Staff for public information. His main work, entitled "Germany and the Next War," which appeared in 1912 in the midst of peace, now sounds like a prophecy, and the contents of this book have been popularized in a still more recent book (published in 1913) entitled "Our Future—A Word of Warning to the German Nation." General Bernhardi was apparently an able general, and also a keen diplomat who had studied the history of nations, their wars, their rise and decline and ever-shifting positions in the world, to such an extent as to make him a most able judge of national development in the history of mankind. That he, a German general, should have proved to be a true German patriot is surely deserving only of commendation; that he was a good writer must likewise be counted in his favor; but if we are to consider him as a prophet, his rôle has truly been a terrible one, for his prophecy seems to have been almost fatalistic in its consequences. But I will add here that, as Herr Dernburg claims, Bernhardi's pessimistic utterances and his assistance in the movement for increased armaments were not approved by the German government, and caused his discharge.

In spite of his high rank in the army and his position in the General Staff, Friedrich von Bernhardi was little known in Germany. His warning, though in some places obviously directed against the peace policy of the Kaiser, was not specially heeded by the German people, and as an author he remained unknown to fame. Unfortunately, however, his second book was translated into English, the work being done by J. Ellis Barker who did not hesitate to change its title, "Our Future—A Word of Warning to

the German Nation," into the more alarming words, *Britain as Germany's Vassal*. This change is not just to the author, for there is not a word in Bernhardi's book which suggests the idea of making Britain a vassal of Germany. On the contrary it is a book, as Bernhardi himself says, of "warning to the Germans," and he claims that Germany stands at that point of her development where she has to decide for herself whether she will remain a continental power of secondary importance or whether she will continue her course of expansion and become a world-power possessing colonies, like England and the United States.

General Bernhardi recently undertook a journey round the world to gather impressions, and he passed through the United States; but though he had then finished his literary career, he was unknown. His presence here did not create even a ripple of excitement, and there are few who saw his name mentioned in the papers. He became famous only since the translation of his books created a stir in England; and an Englishman can well shudder with fear as he contemplates the need of Germany's expansion and the native vigor of her teeming millions demanding also their share of space on this globe. On the other hand, Bernhardi points out England's established policy of refusing to tolerate the growth of another naval power and of antagonizing whichever state happens to be the most powerful in continental Europe.

England and Germany have formerly been united by the closest ties of national relationship and the personal kinship of their rulers. For several centuries the English royal family has hailed from Germany, and has been related to the houses of Hanover, Saxony, Coburg and Prussia. The present King of England and the Kaiser are cousins. Queen Victoria was the grandmother of both, and if the laws of succession were slightly modified or some of the Queen's descendants had unexpectedly died, or had not been born, both thrones might be held by the same man.

The English language, a daughter of Anglo-Saxon speech, is practically a Low German dialect, and the Low Germans of the northern part of the fatherland constitute the dominant and, in military matters, the most efficient portion of northern Germany. The English people come from the territory where formerly Saxon or Low German was spoken, and the Lowland Scots are of the same race. The Saxons conquered the Celtic portions of Britain, and also Ireland, and though they form only about one-third of the population of Great Britain they have impressed upon the remainder their language and national character.

At present the inhabitants of Great Britain are about 45,000,000, but with a very far-sighted and practical policy they have succeeded in acquiring the most important inhabitable portions of the globe, such as southern Africa, Australia, Canada and India, and at the same time have possessed themselves of all important naval bases, chief among them being the Suez Canal together with Aden at the end of the Red Sea, and Malta, and Gibraltar.

England's position is practically that of ruler of the ocean, and with great foresight the English have always insisted on having the strongest navy in the world. In modern politics England has always opposed any nation likely to develop a powerful navy, and so it was perhaps inevitable that Great Britain should be arrayed against Germany notwithstanding her old blood-ties with that country, the kinship of their royal families, and all their common historical interests, and should side with her old enemy, France, and even with Russia, so dangerous to England everywhere in Asia. She has allied herself with these for the sole purpose of checking the more systematic and therefore more formidable advance of Germany.

The German danger was pointed out by an anonymous pen in two articles which appeared in the London *Saturday Review*¹ and which must be mentioned here because their underlying principles have guided English politics; they have led to the establishment of the Triple Entente, and they explain the plan of an English invasion of France through Belgium and the determination to have Germany crushed between France and Russia while England destroyed Germany's trade and starved the whole country into submission, a plan which it was expected would be very easy and one whose execution was urged while it was still feasible.

The English apprehension of the German danger was the real cause of the war; the Servian quarrel was only the occasion on which Russian eagerness to assert its Pan-Slavic ambition with the help of the Triple Entente grew bold enough to start the trouble, and the German breach of Belgian neutrality furnished England a pretext to join in the general fray.

In former articles I have defended Germany for standing by Austria in her determination to have the conspiracy of the regicide fully investigated, and I have also maintained that, in view of the fact that she was threatened with an invasion through Belgium, Germany was justified in attempting a passage through this no longer neutral territory. There is no need of re-opening the dis-

¹ See *The Open Court* for October, 1914, p. 577, and December, 1914, p. 719.

cussion on this problem. Since we know that England herself had intended to break into Germany through Belgium, Germany's action is perfectly justified. I assume that every one who wishes to investigate the situation with impartiality will familiarize himself with the documents discovered at Brussels, which do not admit of any other interpretation than that Belgium had joined with England and France in the project of an attack on Rhenish Germany. In connection with this we refer to the letter of Baron Greindl, at that time Belgian ambassador at Berlin, who warns his government against the danger to which such a step would expose them. England saw no wrong in breaking Belgian neutrality with Belgium's consent, but she angrily denounces Germany for breaking it without that consent.

Baron Greindl was a Belgian patriot. He did not want to have the Germans admitted to Belgian soil; he wanted to preserve the independence of his country. For this reason he deemed it dangerous to hand the Belgian fortresses and defenses over to the British and French who were more easily invited than disposed of when no longer needed. His warnings remained unheeded and now comprise a document testifying to anti-German intrigue. Another letter of a similar purport was written July 30, 1914, by M. de l'Escaille, the Belgian ambassador at St. Petersburg. This was also found by the Germans in Brussels and was published in the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*. M. de l'Escaille recognizes that the war has been unavoidable from the time that the war party at St. Petersburg gained the upper hand, and he concludes thus:

"The army, which feels itself strong, is full of enthusiasm and relies on great hopes based on the enormous progress that has been achieved since the Japanese war. The navy is so far from having realized the program of its reconstruction and its reorganization that it can scarcely enter into the matter of reckoning. It is probably there that the motive lies which gives such great importance to the assurance of England's support."

This expectation was expressed before the Germans entered Belgium. It is clear that England wanted to throw her full weight into the balance with France and Russia. The Germans asked twice whether England would remain neutral if Belgium were left alone or if Germany promised not to attack France by sea, or, if not, what conditions would satisfy her; but Sir Edward Grey refused to commit himself and so Germany could run no risk of a hostile attack through Belgium and saw no other chance to forestall her enemies. Even then she would have guaranteed

Belgian independence if Belgium had been willing to allow her passage through Belgian territory. It was the duty of Germany to protect first of all her own citizens and so she reluctantly decided to open the war by taking Belgium, otherwise the British and French trenches might now lie round Aix-la-Chapelle or Cologne.

The English make light of the discoveries of the *Conventions anglo-belges* at Brussels, and speak of them as "an academic discussion" relating only to "the event of Belgian neutrality being infringed upon by one of its neighbors," but to a reader of these documents there is no doubt that Belgium joined England and France with definite promises and made common cause with them. The documents prove a plan to attack Germany; they mention the possibility of an attempted march of German troops through Belgium only as one eventuality, not as the condition of the whole proposition.

The question that remains is simply a problem of the future. It is this: Will Germany continue to expand, or will England's dominating power crush it before its navy is large enough to rival her own on the seas? In other words, we stand before a crisis in history. The crisis is here. But the question is, were the diplomats of England wise in having it decided by war?—for no one who has studied the diplomatic events of the last days of July, 1914, doubts that England brought about the war. Can England much longer, either by war or peace, maintain her dominant position in the world? The truth is that, apart from her forty-five millions at home, she counts not more than twenty millions of whites in her colonies—Canada, Australia, South Africa and India—to defend her vast empire, and she has not even enough sailors to man her navy—which is not surprising when we consider the constant drain there must be to keep up to the two-power standard. England is a comparatively small country, her people are not as prolific as the Germans, and her hold on her tremendous colonial possessions is more or less precarious. Ought she not, under these circumstances, to have allied herself with some virile country such as Germany, and would not both countries have benefitted thereby?

The question has been proposed, whether England, Germany and the United States could agree to stand together for a peaceful development, and have questions of right or wrong decided by mutual agreement. Of course the basic question of mutual recognition of their respective spheres should be settled at the start. This would have been the ideal solution, and it is the one we have always advocated; but it seems that the distrust between the nations

has grown too strong to permit any friendly understanding between them, for English policy has recently been very determined to put a check upon any possible aggrandizement of German colonies or colonial life. The English have also been very much opposed to the increase of Germany's navy, and, on the other hand, the Germans have been just as determined not to allow any interference with the development of their military or naval power.

Germany would have preferred to continue a peaceful competition with England like that which prevailed before the war, and from her own standpoint this would have been the better course. Germany was noticeably gaining, and England seemed either unwilling to exert herself to outdo German trade and commerce, or unable to outdo it. War finally appeared to the British government to be the only chance of suppressing the German danger.

If two nations are actually unwilling to allow each other free development the result must be war, and in this sense we speak of the war as having been unavoidable. It is not a question of right, it is a question of might.

In studying the facts closely, and in trying to understand what the English and the sponsors of their policy mean by the "aggressiveness" of Germany, we conclude that it is Germany's unwelcome advance in population, in trade, in power, in influence, in wealth, etc., by which it may rival England. No wonder they deem it intolerable. The question is only whether it is wise to check their intolerable aggressiveness by war. I believe it would have been wiser to compete with Germany by adopting German methods and striving to outdo the Germans in their peaceful accomplishments, by imitating their schools, by fostering science and teaching the growing generation to apply themselves in a severer attention to the duties of life.

Another feature of modern Germany which the English find unpleasant is her militarism. They would much prefer to see her helpless. But this very institution of universal military service is the strength of Germany, and it is this that renders her invincible. It is Germany's backbone. If England wants to continue this war she will have to adopt universal military service, and she could not do better than imitate the much denounced German militarism as speedily as possible.

England has chosen the war, not Germany! England was unprepared for the war for she thought it would be an easy game. Her former wars have been easy, and this war too seemed as sure; and it was a matter of course to crush any power that threatened

to grow stronger and richer than herself. In the Triple Entente with all its secret implications and corollaries, they believed, lay their weapon for the isolation and strangulation of Germany. From the English point of view, however, I do not condemn them for the course they have pursued, for they certainly have ample cause for apprehension; and from the old standpoint of Macchiavellian statecraft there is no right or wrong in diplomacy. But even from their point of view their diplomacy has been grossly deceived; the Triple Entente will not accomplish what they hoped for; and the disaster which they have planned for Germany will recoil on their own heads.

The present situation appears like the work of fate. Similar conditions have repeated themselves in history. And is it to be wondered at that the Kaiser, though he did his utmost to preserve peace, should finally be forced into this conflict against his will? It is as if the German people had been compelled to come forth in all their might to show themselves worthy of becoming a world-power.

The Germans are naturally a peaceful people. Their much denounced militarism is positively a peaceful institution, for it means that every father, son and brother must fight the battles of his country. If England possessed this system the English people would have been considerably less vociferous in their clamors for war.

Germany has accepted the challenge, not for the sake of gaining a new and larger position in the world, but simply to maintain her old hold and to ward off the invaders to the west and the east. Here, however, appears a new factor in history. England has become the main enemy of Germany, and it will be very difficult, if possible at all, to eradicate the intense hatred which has suddenly arisen in Germany against their cousins beyond the channel.

A university professor whose only son and all of whose sons-in-law are in the field writes: "We pity the French and are sorry that the Belgians were so misguided; we regret that our men have to pit their lives against the Cossacks. But we feel a positive hostility toward the English. They have become the arch-enemy of Germany and we know that peace, an honorable peace, will be possible only if we succeed in humbling Albion. We shall probably fight against France and Russia only until we can establish ourselves on foreign soil in a secure defensive position, and then we will concentrate all our forces against England."

Another friend of mine, also a university professor, a scholar

highly respected also in English-speaking countries, writes as follows:

"Our losses on the battlefield, especially in the west, are terrible, but how is it with the enemy? We have to fight hard for every foot of territory we gain, but even if the struggle is slow no one doubts here but we shall win in the end; for there is but one enemy, and that is England. She is not only our enemy, but the enemy of mankind.

"You have not the slightest idea of the intense hatred against England which moves all Germany. Since documents have been found in Brussels proving a compact made between Belgium and England, a plan according to which Belgium would allow English troops to march through Belgian territory into the Rhenish provinces of Germany, indignation, wrath and contempt for British hypocrisy knows no limits among us. And yet the English government could take Germany's breach of Belgium's neutrality as a reason for declaring war, whereas the English and French had broken it long before.

"England is the instigator of the whole war and of all the unspeakable misery which has been brought not only upon innocent Germany, but also upon the allies themselves, the Belgians and the French. The most simple-minded man in the *Landwehr* and every peasant knows this to be the case, so that for centuries the deadliest hatred against England will remain the most sacred inheritance in every German family, to be handed down from father to son.

"And what will be the harvest of this terrible crop of hatred? Even if peace could be obtained now, this hatred will remain, and the thought of England as the cause of all this horror will not be blotted out in future generations. It will produce new seeds for future wars, and the representatives of the German people will always be ready to grant any number of millions needed for preparing attacks upon England. Our armies see the need of conquering the Russians in the east and the French in the west, but all their ambition burns for a humiliation of England, and *they will succeed!* Nothing is more apparent than the degeneration of that ruthless nation, and careful observers have noticed the several symptoms which show the lowering of their national conscience, of which every day brings new evidences."

The hatred of England which has suddenly developed in Germany is explicable only through England's sudden and unexpected declaration of war, an act which showed conclusively that Eng-

land had definitely determined that Germany's commercial and naval development should receive a crushing blow. Previous to the summer of 1914, there was not the slightest animosity towards England among the great majority of Germans. The report that the most popular toast in certain circles in Germany since the time of Edward VII has been *Der Tag* or *Die Stunde* (referring to the day or hour when Germany should finally settle accounts with England) is absolutely unknown to me, although I have been in Germany repeatedly and should certainly have seen something of this bellicose attitude had it existed. In certain quarters in Germany, it is true, there has always been an antagonism to England, but the idea of a war with that country has never been prevalent in military circles. Possibly such a toast may have been offered in the German navy, as might just as easily be the case in any other navy since England is practically the only possible opponent on the seas; but it certainly could not have been in general use in the army. Some one may possibly have witnessed such a toast in some corner, but, if so, it was certainly an exception and does not represent the general spirit before August, 1914.

Whatever my English friends have said in their accusations of Germany has only confirmed my conviction that Germany is right in being what she is to-day, and that the steps she has taken in self-defense are justified. One of my friendly critics ends his private letter with the following postscript: "When Germany shall have lost all her navy, all her colonies, all Polish Prussia, she will be greater than ever spiritually—greater in the things which made her great in 1813—and 1870 also."

I grant that Germany was great in the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Mozart, Beethoven, etc. Napoleon's armies were garrisoned in the country, and the people were impoverished by unendurable war-taxes; yet Germany was great, and accomplished things that will be immortal. It is this state of Germany that the English would like to restore, helpless but noble, poor but ideal, downtrodden by her invaders but famous for poetry and science. Such is the idea of my friend, Mr. Poultney Bigelow. Perhaps the historian of the future will declare that Germany in her greatest distress in 1806-1813 was greater than in her military glory and in the restoration of the empire in 1871; but, after all, I can not blame the Germans for taking steps to prevent the return of this humiliating state of purely ideal greatness. The Triple Entente was concluded to check Germany's growth, and the question now is not whether the Serbs

should or should not be allowed to assassinate the heirs to the throne of Austria, or whether the Belgians have or have not the right to allow the English and forbid the Germans to march through Belgium. The question is whether the Triple Entente can crush Germany, and I say they will not succeed.

As best, from the English standpoint, the war will fizzle out in a drawn state of hostility without reaching a definite decision. The hope in which the war was undertaken and which seemed so easy of realization—the hope that Germany could be crushed between the French and the Russians—will scarcely be fulfilled and becomes more and more improbable. On the other hand it becomes more and more apparent that Germany suffers less through her isolation than England, whose trade is also crippled through the war. On the one hand the Germans adapt themselves more easily to new conditions which really are not worse than a prohibitive tariff (so highly praised by protectionists in this country), and, on the other hand, England suffers as much, perhaps more, through this patriotic destruction of trade and in addition runs greater risks. Her domination in India, South Africa and Egypt seems pretty well established, but it may be shaken at any time, and if so, it will probably collapse. The war is a test of Germany, but it will prove equally a test of those who are responsible for the war, and above all of England. And it seems to me very doubtful whether England will stand the test. It is strange that my English friends do not see the question from this point of view.

Wars are not made by kings or emperors, nor are they made by the people. They come upon mankind like fate. They seem predestined. When they first break upon us they have a stultifying effect and all manner of insane hates are engendered; but as time passes on the wounds heal—though sometimes slowly, as for instance after the Thirty Years' War—new times and conditions arise, new generations come on, and, forgetful of the past, the development of mankind progresses along fresh channels. If mankind stood on a higher plane, if the leaders in European politics had commanded a broader vision, the war might have been avoided, but, as conditions were, it was inevitable. We inhabitants of the United States can only regret this struggle, for we are closely allied to both England and Germany, and we feel keenly the terrible losses on both sides. And for the outcome,—*nous verrons ce que nous verrons!*

THE LIFE OF SOCRATES.¹

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

I.

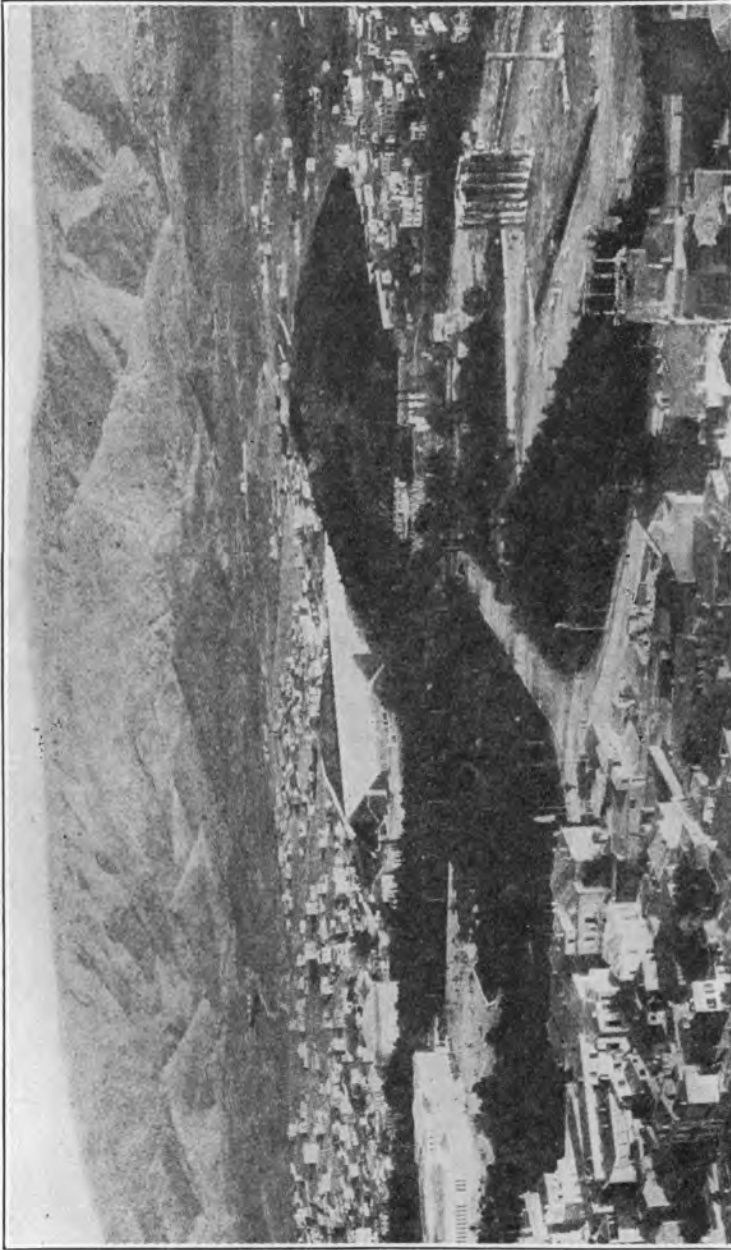
THE Athenian of whom I speak was born, according to tradition, a half-hour's walk from the walls of the city, in the deme, or precinct, Alopeke, birthplace too of Thucydides and of Aristides. Here amid olive- and fruit-trees, vegetable gardens and wayside plants, in view of Mount Illymettus, was the house of Sophroniscus, the artisan stone-cutter, and of his practical helpmeet Phaenarete, a midwife. Thus the parents were plain people, both earning their own bread at old racial occupations that combined cleverness of head and of hand; thus, also, it was the folk-stock, it was the common womb of humanity, out of which have issued so many of the powerful ones of the earth, that furnished the bone and brain of Socrates. The father seems to have lived only long enough to lead the child to the public sacrifices; the mother married again, and we hear of a half-brother in the household.

Great men tend to lose their human nature in the aftertimes. They become symbols of forces and ideals, being absorbed into a train of thought on historic cause and effect—as factors in our judgments rather than as faces for our imaginations. But we need the touch of the hand and the sound of the voice. The great man must walk by our side if we are to walk well. The affair can be managed; it is not a question of the dissevering years altogether—a contemporary is not a matter of time, except etymologically: it depends upon us. That Socrates was born at Athens in 469 may be a line of print, a point of departure for a lecture in philosophy, or a vision of life.

But after standing for one preeminent moment by the infant's

¹ This partial sketch of the life of Socrates follows Dr. Leonard's introductory paragraphs published in the January issue. The illustrations which should have accompanied his description of the city of Athens were crowded out of that number and will be found here and in later instalments somewhat apart from their context.—Ed.

cradle and getting our bearings with reference to its issues of immortality, we must wander for a number of years in the outer world of conjecture. Legend itself has left us little. Around the boyhood of Socrates have gathered none of the tales or myths that have



ATHENS.
Southeastern part taken from the east end of the Acropolis. Reproduced
from Weller's *Athens and Its Monuments*.

unconsciously symbolized the genius and unfoldment of so many of the illustrious.

We surmise he had the customary education in gymnastic and in music, which included besides singing and dancing, the mem-

orizing of much Homer and Hesiod. At eighteen he would become a citizen and take his turn in the militia on the Attic frontier, a service we can conceive him as performing in a more rollicking vein than Coleridge or any other philosopher ever condemned to the barracks. The tradition that he made a beginning at his father's profession is presumably reliable; but his reputed statue of the three Graces on the Acropolis has yet to be unearthed. It is plausible, too, that by the time he had passed his majority he met and learned from the philosophers, a number of whom are represented



ACROPOLIS FROM MUSEUM HILL.

either by ingenuous hearsay or dramatic propriety as having been formally or casually his teachers: Parmenides, the Eleatic; Zeno, the dialectician; Anaxagoras and Archelaus, the physicists; Protagoras, first of the sophists. These men were doubtless in Athens during the younger manhood of Socrates, and the air was full of talk on the physical sciences, just beginning to be differentiated, as well as on metaphysics, already split up into the two opposing world-views of the absolute and of the relative. It is to the sophists, however, with whom he is in point of view and activity closest allied; and with the sophists he presumably most frequently asso-



THE PATRON GODDESS OF ATHENS.

The identification of the statue as the Lemnian Athena is disputed. The replicas from which this restoration was made are two torsos in the Museum of Dresden and a head in the Museum of Bologna. Reproduced from Weller's *Athens and Its Monuments*.

ciated (as Jesus with the rabbis), before his years of maturest self-dependence.

II.

A chronological account of his career is impossible. We have a few dated events in the military and civil history of Athens, in which Socrates played a part; we have the performance of the *Clouds* in 423, and hints of his primary activity as teacher early and late, the most circumstantial, however, only when he was already an elderly man, surrounded by the Socratic circle.

He appears first in history at about the age of thirty-seven. But he is not at Athens; he is not teaching. Armed with the heavy shield and spear of a hoplite, a citizen-warrior in the early days of the Peloponnesian war, he is far northward in Chalcidice at the siege of Potidaea (432). The pictures given by Alcibiades in the *Symposium* of Plato are brilliant and well-known, moreover characteristic and significant in several ways. We see here for the first time the shabby mantle and the unsandalled feet. One scene is winter. The snow flakes gather in the folds of his single garment; the ice is under the bare heels. He goes his rounds; the other privates in the ranks bear it ill: "This fellow is airing his hardihood to shame us." Another scene is amid the confusion of battle. He is stalking toward us with a wounded soldier in his arms. It is Alcibiades, who a little time before in Athens seems to have attached himself to the philosopher, like Critias, to learn merely for selfish ambitions, not for truth. Had Socrates left him to die on the field, it would have been better for Athens. And thinking of how Alcibiades's subsequent conduct was to be urged against Socrates at the crisis, I was about to add—better for Socrates. But no; cowardice is never better—never better for the man himself, never for his usefulness to us after his death. It is worth knowing that Socrates was brave as well as wise. The third scene changes to the Chalcidicean summer. Socrates stands somewhat apart from the tents in morning meditation. Nobody pays much attention; he is doubtless already notorious for queer ways both on the streets of Athens and here in camp. But noon comes; he is still there. And twilight—still there. This is a new thing. Word is passed around. The soldiers take their bedding out and lie down to watch him. The stars rise and set—who is this that his thought should be more than food and drink and sleep? At last he salutes the golden sun and goes his way. This celebrated anecdote, making perhaps some allowance for exaggeration, we may well credit. It

is too public in its setting to have been invented out of whole cloth during the very lifetime of many veterans of the northern campaign; at least too unique in its portrayal of character to have been foisted upon any man whose nature would have rendered such extraordinary demeanor unlikely. We cannot but accept it as one of several illustrations of Plato's skill in utilizing for art the facts of life.

Socrates was twice again under arms, and at a time of life when not alone the philosophers prefer their own firesides: at Delium in 424, where his calm and resourceful conduct during retreat earned him the commendations of Alcibiades and the general Laches (in Plato); and at Amphipolis, in 422, where no one was present whose report has come down to us.

A number of years later, now an old man, we hear of him for the first time in civic affairs. Xenophon gives the facts in a paragraph of simple narration, and Plato in the Dialogues represents his Socrates as playfully referring to them by the way. Matters so public we readily separate from literary fiction. The most circumstantial account, however, is in Plato's *Apology* (20) where I am ready to believe we can hear in the homely grandeur of the utterance not only the dramatic tribute of the disciple, but some echoes of the great voice itself.

"The only office of state which I ever held, O men of Athens, was that of senator; the tribe Antiochis, which is my tribe, had the presidency [Socrates himself being president for the day] at the trial of the generals who had not taken up the bodies of the slain after the battle of Arginusae [406, toward the close of the Peloponnesian war]; and you proposed to try them in a body, contrary to the law, as you all thought afterwards; but at the time I was the only one of the Prytanes who was opposed to the illegality, and I gave my vote against you. [Socrates refused to put the matter to vote]; and when the orators threatened to impeach and arrest me, and you called and shouted, I made up my mind that I would run the risk, having law and justice with me, rather than take part in your injustice because I feared imprisonment and death. This happened in the days of the democracy. But when the oligarchy of the Thirty was in power [404], they sent for me [Socrates being a well-known citizen] and four others into the rotunda, and bade us bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, as they wanted to put him to death. This was a specimen of the sort of commands which they were always giving with the view of implicating as many as possible in their crimes; and then I showed, not in word only but in deed, that,

if I may be allowed to use such an expression, I cared not a straw for death, and that my great and only care was lest I should do an unrighteous or unholy thing. For the strong arm of that oppressive power did not frighten me into doing wrong; and when we came out of the rotunda, the other four went to Salamis and fetched Leon, but I went quietly home. For which I might have lost my life, had not the power of the Thirty shortly afterwards come to an end. And many will witness to my words."

If there need be comment, let a Roman speak:

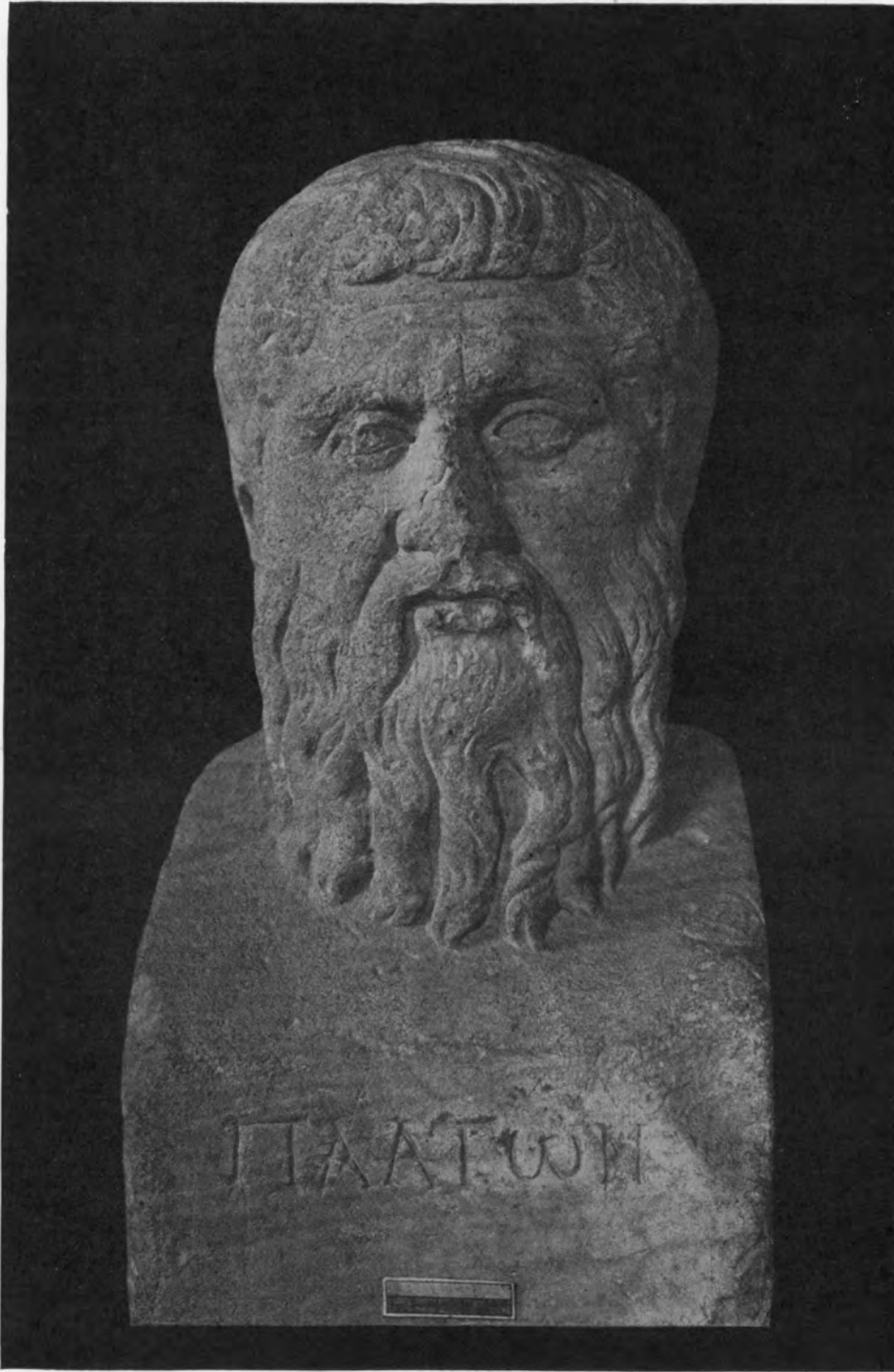
"Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida"....

III.

Such data from military and civil chronicle nobly expand our conception of the versatile energies of Socrates, and by easily intelligible and concrete illustration bind him for our imagination close to the city of his birth and death. Yet they are but supplementary to the activities of the indefatigable intellect and tongue which for over a generation puzzled, amused, inspired, or irritated his fellow-citizens by services far different and altogether unparalleled. The distinctive chapter in his biography must report on the gad-fly of the Athenians.

"Socrates ever lived in the public eye; at early morning he was to be seen betaking himself to one of the promenades, or wrestling grounds; at noon he would appear with the gathering crowds in the market-place; and as day declined, wherever the largest throng might be encountered, talking for the most part, while any one who chose might stop and listen." So Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, I, 1). "Talking"—and, we may add on good grounds, asking various odd and new questions about the old familiar things.

Just when Socrates laid down his chisel to become the cross-questioner of mankind is uncertain. According to Plato's *Apology* the whole impulse came from the Delphic oracle. Socrates's friend Chaerephon had inquired who was the wisest of men, and had received there the answer we all know. Socrates was puzzled, and began questioning around among the masters of trades and arts only to find them as ignorant of the meaning of their own business as they were wise in their own conceit. Socrates then reflected, "The oracle must have named me the wisest, because I am wise enough to know myself as knowing nothing." This old story is of some symbolic truth; as sober biography it is absurd. Its symbolism,



PLATO.
Bust in the Berlin Museum.

whether intended or not, lies chiefly in the facts that Socrates understood, as no other Greek, the motto on the portal of the Delphic temple, "Know Thyself," and that Socrates was preeminently the priest dedicated to Apollo, god of light. Its absurdity lies partly in the arch naïveté of its actors; but more especially in its self-contradiction, as it implies that Socrates was already famous for the peculiar quality and activity which, however, the oracular word is here accredited with having first awakened.

I have already suggested that the friendship with Alcibiades at Potidaea points to a discipleship before that time at Athens; nor would such a clever and well-to-do young aspirant of the gentility have allied himself to any teacher, least of all when he hoped to get training serviceable for his own career among men, unless that teacher were already a recognized authority. Critias, too, must have been in the master's company as a youth, many years before his open hostility to Socrates as leader of the Thirty. Plato is presumably nearer the historic situation in those dialogues representing him as a fairly young man in the analytic conversation of a trained thinker and teacher with wise heads who we know died long before Socrates. Moreover, the *daimonion*, Socrates's warning voice, which is so intimately related to his teaching and his thought as to call for particular examination in a later chapter, is said to have manifested itself in his early years. But he was still in his intellectual and moral prime at seventy, eagerly attended by younger spirits, such as Xenophon, Antisthenes, Aristippus, Euclides, and Plato, of the Socratic circle, who were all destined in one way or another to perpetuate his influence. We may safely assume that his most vital work began in the period of the Peloponnesian wars somewhat after the death of Pericles; and this, to recall some items of section II of the present chapter, lends peculiar unselfishness and dignity to the military service of a middle-aged man naturally so devoted to the quiet ways of wisdom.

A credible report represents him as acquainted with all sorts of people: philosophers, military leaders, the gilded or callow youth, free beauties, artists, artisans, and tradesfolk and shopkeepers, teaching or learning from all. Nor did he always wait for them to appear in the public places; he would look in at a shop to chat with some poor cobbler, or knock at the door of some wealthy friend who, he had just heard, was entertaining some good talker from abroad. Plato and Xenophon are here surely true at least to the democratic spirit of his conduct and the diverse classes to whom he was welcome.

His mode of life and personal appearance have been proverbial from the first. The bare feet and sordid mantle of Potidaea are



PERICLES.

here, as nonchalantly mocking the bright painted marbles of the Acropolis and all the golden spoils of the doomed imperial city, as

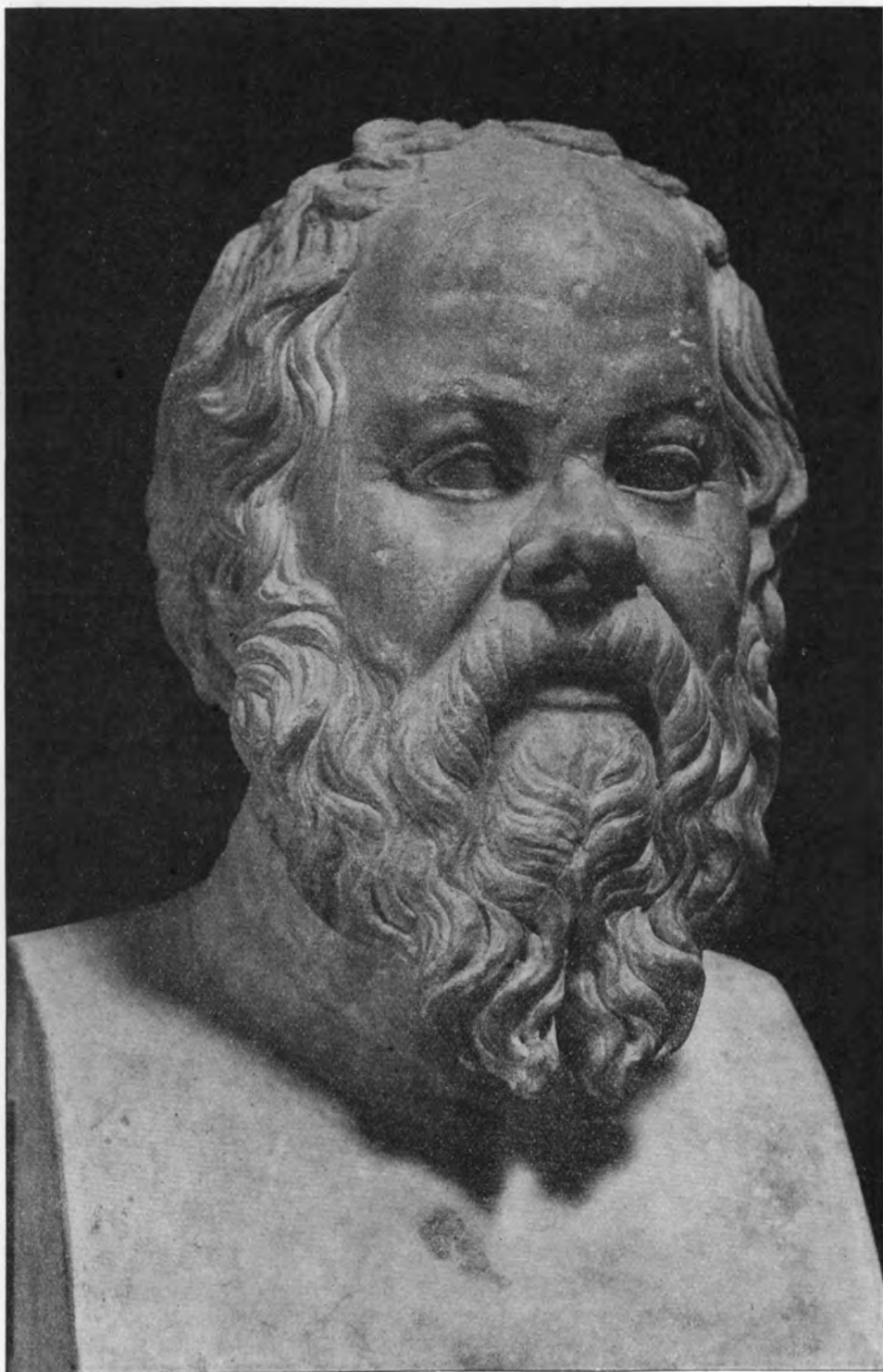
they had mocked the simple soldiery of the northern campaign. The broad mouth with its thick lips swallows over the shaggy beard the humblest fare, having more important work on hand than the chewing of dainties. The bulging eyes that see so far aslant envy no man his chariots or merchandise. The wide nostrils of that broad nose never twitch with anxious suspense for the fate of argosies overdue. The ungainly arms that picked up the wounded comrade are never extended for pay. Antiphon, the sophist, advises him to dub himself professor of the art of wretchedness (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, 6). Aristophanes in the *Birds* has his fling at this "unwashed guide of souls." Alcibiades, in that wonderful eulogy in Plato's *Symposium* calls him Silenus-face, working out the analogy into a spiritual loveliness. And the Socrates of Xenophon's *Symposium* subjects his own physiognomy to ironic examination which leads to the conclusion that, if beauty be in adaptation to ends, then his own capacious mouth and nose and eyes render him the most beautiful of mankind. Without some such genial reflection as this, it must remain an outstanding paradox of Greek life that the race which so identified goodness and beauty as to fuse the very words into a single noun should have furnished the most glorious example of the quite comfortable existence of the one in separation from the other.

His habit of going barefoot is said to have been imitated by his younger followers, Aristodemus and Chaerephon. Who it was that chiselled the kindly bust, familiar in the modern school-rooms of all the lands, we do not know, but the artist seems to have wrought honestly and well.

Socrates, however, could enjoy the creature comforts when they came in the beaten way of friendship, and, if the banquet of Plato's brush betrays indeed the wine and wisdom of the artist's own imaginings and the philosopher's own intuitions, its interest lies also in what it suggests of a very possible reality—for, as Emerson put it, to the bewilderment of a village audience, Plato was in the habit of grinding his friends into paint. At such times surely they such clusters had as made them nobly wild not mad, and yet as surely each word

"of thine
Outdid the meat, outdid the frolic wine."

In his own little dwelling outside of the town, things did not always go so merrily. Socrates's domestic affliction is one of the jests of time, and Xanthippe is a proverb. The sage took her shrew-



SOCRATES.

ish temper like a sage; and, if she flung the dirty water on his head, that was, he remarked, but the rain which must follow the thunder; and he would whisper to his friends that he had married her as a matter of self-discipline. She must, however, have come late into his life, since Aristophanes, who would scarcely have lost such an opportunity for burlesque, makes no mention of her and since she is represented as visiting her condemned husband in the prison, accompanied by two children only half-grown. But though the hopelessly unromantic case of the tempestuous and screaming Xanthippe certainly bears not the stamp of poetic legend, it suggests precisely that kind of contrast which makes capital anecdote for literature; and may well be an exaggeration of the uncomfortable, but not necessarily grotesque, circumstance, where a wife and mother finds her humble convenience too often unconsidered and her unreflecting patience tried by an abstracted companion supporting the home out of a small inheritance from his father and gifts from his friends, spending his rich leisure in the market-place, or bringing his philosophic cronies unexpectedly in to dinner.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

IN ANSWER TO CRITICS.

In the current issue I have taken pleasure in publishing a number of articles which take the opposite ground to my own, but I do not feel like resuming the controversy and restating my arguments. In most cases my critics simply offer anti-German testimony from any source available, but their arguments do not carry conviction, and I have seen no reason for changing my position. The enemies of Germany harp continually on the same string. Over and over again they repeat the charge of atrocities, and Sir A. Conan Doyle speaks of this war as nothing but murder. I recommend, however, the perusal of the open letter by Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett, the well-known American journalist, in answer to Sir Conan Doyle, which was published in the *Chicago Tribune* of January 17, 1915. In his letter Mr. Bennett expresses his astonishment that a man of Sir Conan Doyle's intelligence can lend his pen to the propagation of such untruths. Mr. Bennett is a man whose honesty is beyond question, and, although an eye-witness of German manoeuvres in Belgium and France, he was nowhere able to discover a foundation for these stories. On the contrary, he has observed many highly humane features both among the German soldiers and among the civilians; and the wounded and prisoners from the enemy's ranks—English, French and Belgians—are the appreciative recipients of many kindnesses at their hands.

Another favorite theme resorted to by those bent on proving the injustice of the German cause is the German breach of Belgian neutrality; and this is reiterated again and again in spite of the well-known discovery in Brussels of documents proving that an arrangement had long before been concluded between England and Belgium for the purpose of invading Rhenish Germany. In these papers all the details are specified, the harbors at which the English troops should be landed, the provision of interpreters and also of capable spies for the German provinces. Such a contract cannot be interpreted as a mere provision for defense, and when a neutral country enters into such a compact it forfeits its protection under international treaties.

I might add that the contents of these Brussels documents have been published in convenient pamphlet form, with facsimiles of the original French and a rather precarious English translation, under the title "The Case of Belgium," and is procurable from *The International Monthly, Inc.*, of New York City, and also doubtless through German consulates. *The Continental Times* (Berlin W. 50, Augsburger Str., 38), in its issue of November 25, 1914, has likewise reprinted the substance of the documents and is no doubt procurable through German consulates.

THE OLDER GERMANY AND GERMAN GENIUS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Apollonius of Tyana owed his greatness to the fact that he was not compelled to travel with a costly retinue; Diogenes would have been lost to us

had he lived on a Rockefeller pension in upper Fifth Avenue; there would have been no Ben Franklin had college education been forced upon our greatest of practical (if not pragmatic) sages. And so to me America was richest when our land was known to the world by our inventors, our painters, our poets, our historians and our unpaid but liberty-loving statesmen. Can any one for a moment prefer the age of Jay Gould and Vanderbilt to that which produced Prescott and Washington Irving? Will the Muse of History glory in the palaces of Astor and Carnegie more than in the cottages that gave light to Abraham Lincoln, Edgar Allen Poe and Hawthorne? Do the hordes of hollow-eyed factory children to-day make us feel great because they swell our ill-smelling census of big cities?

And so with my Germany! I think of Prussia in her sorest straits during the Napoleonic occupation—when the court spent less in a whole year than now in a day—when the Berlin University was founded at a time when all the world looked upon such a feat as impossible. During those days arose great men—as in New England at about the same time and largely for analogous reasons. The land was poor but the discipline severe. Those were the days of Arndt and Jahn; of Boyen and Blücher; of Humboldt and Grimm; of Hardenberg and Stein; of Körner and Uhland; of Beethoven, of Goethe, of Schiller. But why continue? It is the Germany of my youth and of my dreams—the Germany of *Kultur* and constructive statesmanship.

The poisonous doctrines of protectionism, territorial conquest, colonization, naval supremacy—all these are morbid symptoms of a miasmatic modernity that despises the lessons of age and experience but hurries feverishly toward new things that excite their cupidity. America has wasted and will continue to waste her millions in mad colonial experiments and meddlesome interference that will find a check only when a great power shall have challenged our so-called Monroe Doctrine and mopped up every safe deposit storehouse and cash-box between Boston and the Golden Gate. We shall be the better for such treatment as Prussia was the better for the Napoleonic doses between 1806 and 1813. Germany and America are rich in great thinkers to-day—but they need the wholesome spur of national necessity to make their forces tell.

To-day nearly all the avenues that lead to eminence in literature, science and art are obstructed by the salaried servants of great financial institutions who would stone to death any who ventured to preach a doctrine varying from that of their bank cashier. We have but to recall the tragic fate of Henry George and add to that a few less notable who have been quietly crucified by trustees of American colleges, orthodox medical societies or Roman Catholic monsignori—no American but can mention a few!

Pardon me, dear Doctor Carus, I am abusing your editorial generosity—for I merely started out to say that when Germany shall have been divested of all her superfluous baggage she will be no poorer than when she was richest in the mind of

Yours faithfully,

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

THE PARTHENON.

Our frontispiece represents the ruins of the Parthenon, the state sanctuary of the most representative city of Greek antiquity. It was built by Pericles who although not the nominal ruler of Athens controlled her destiny before the time of Socrates. The work of construction was completed in B. C. 483.

The "temple of the Holy Virgin," as we may translate the word *parthenon* into the later language of Christian expression, was the indication of Athenian glory and represents the Greek spirit. The love of Greek antiquity was so strong that early Christian iconoclasm could not utterly destroy the temple. During the middle ages it was converted into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and then into a mosque and remained in good preservation until 1687. In that year the Venetian fleet under Count Donnersmarck bombarded Athens and the Parthenon was blown up by a bomb which fell in the center of the building where the Turks had stored their powder magazines. The ruins, however, met with greater mutilation at the hands of Lord Elgin who spoiled the artistic beauty of the friezes and pediments by having them taken down by unskilled workmen and removed to England where he sold them to the British Museum after considerable bickering about the price.

POLIENOV'S MASTERPIECE.

Thorwald Siegfried, Attorney-at-Law, of Seattle, Washington, so admires Polienov's picture of the Adultrous Before Christ that he has undertaken to popularize it by publishing reproductions in three sizes, all of them large enough for framing.

A reproduction of Polienov's picture appeared as a frontispiece in *The Open Court*, October 1912, and for some editorial comments on the artist see the same number, pages 634 and 636. It was this frontispiece which aroused Mr. Siegfried's interest in the Russian masterpiece, and by persistent efforts, in



THE ADULTRESS BEFORE CHRIST.

which he was aided by Mr. Louis N. Wilson, librarian of Clark University, he succeeded in obtaining an excellent negative of the picture. The original painting was completed in 1888 and now hangs in the Alexander Museum in Petrograd.

We here repeat the picture in a smaller size, and will add that Mr. Siegfried's reproductions can be obtained by addressing him at Second Avenue and Madison Street, Leary Building, Seattle, Washington.

PROFESSOR RUDWIN ON THE "BOS ET ASINUS."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the January number of *The Open Court* appears a brief paper by Professor Rudwin which is likely to cause astonishment to students of Biblical archeology. The writer traces the legend of the "Bos et Asinus" to the Itala version of the Bible, where the reading "in medio duorum animalium" is attributed to the Prophet Habakkuk. As he does not find it in the Hebrew or the Latin Vulgate, he concludes that it is due to "wilful corruption or ignorance."

As a matter of fact the reading is found in the Septuagint version which antedates the Itala by some five hundred years. It is undoubtedly erroneous; but there is no reason to blame either St. Jerome or the compilers of the Breviary. The Jewish rabbis who made the Septuagint version were by no means ignorant or wilful corrupters of the Hebrew text. They probably remembered the prophecy of Isaiah (i. 3) and were quite sincere in bringing the unpointed text into harmony with the Messianic allusion: "The ox and the ass know the crib of their master, but Israel etc." The "Bos et Asinus" is certainly five centuries older than Dr. Rudwin supposes.

The medieval mystery playwright knew both the Hebrew rendering from their reading of the Vulgate and also the Septuagint rendering from the homilies of the Greek fathers, which were then, as now, read in the churches east and west.

H. J. HEUSER.

OVERBROOK SEMINARY.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD AS A FIELD FOR SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN PHILOSOPHY. By *Bertrand Russell*. Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Company. Pp. 242. Cloth, \$2.00.

These eight "Lowell Lectures," delivered at Boston, Mass., in March and April, 1914, attempt to show by means of examples, the nature, capacity and limitations of the logico-analytical method in philosophy, which in the author's opinion yields whatever scientific knowledge it is possible to obtain in philosophy. "The central problem," says the author, "by which I have sought to illustrate method, is the problem of the relation between the crude data of sense and the space, time and matter of mathematical physics." Many of the difficulties between the views advocated here and those of *The Problems of Philosophy* are due to Dr. A. N. Whitehead; and much of these lectures is a rough and preliminary statement of what Dr. Whitehead will say in the fourth volume of *Principia Mathematica*. The author's chief debts are to G. Frege, on logic, and G. Cantor, on the mathematical infinite.

ELEMENTI DI ETICA. Di *Giovanni Vidari*. Milan: Hoepli, 1911. Pp. 379. Price 3l.

This is the third edition, revised and enlarged, of Professor Vidari's compendium on ethics. Part I treats of the sociological bases of ethics from the historical and psychological point of view, while Part II discusses ethical ideals and their application to the life of the individual and of society. In his list of bibliographical references he gives credit to Wundt, Spencer, Durkheim,

Levy-Bruhl, Simmel, Eucken, Lecky, Lubbock, Jodl, Royce and a number of other German, French and English thinkers besides the best standard works of Italy.

George Ashton Black, of New York City, publishes a pamphlet of twenty-four pages in which a mathematical definition of science is made to lead to a mathematical well-ordered curriculum of the sciences. The formulation of the title reads

Problem | Science = Analysis ||

Formula | Indeterminate | Science = Analysis | Determinate.

The fundamental definition is that science (being cognition necessary and sufficient to resolve all cases of a general problem) = analysis. Mr. Black regards the sign of equivalence ($=$), meaning a fact or thing done, as the prototype not merely of mathematical science but of any science whatever, and believes that the simplest practical application of the scientific method is the actual production of this equivalence by degrees. (See a remark of his in *The Monist*, XXIII, p. 612). Mr. Black inserts a series of tables by which the whole of possible science as universal analysis is differentiated.

The international magazine *Scientia* (*Rivista di Scienza*) has completed its sixteenth volume, and the January number of the current year contains a new and unexpected feature. In the present terrible European war, *Scientia*, true to its scientific and international character, has decided to emerge from its "ivory tower of abstract synthesis" and to invite "the most eminent philosophers, historians, sociologists, economists and jurists" to treat thoroughly the question of the present war and its causes. These authorities have been chosen from both of the opposing camps and also from neutral countries, and have either already sent their studies to *Scientia* or will soon do so. The object of this research is to be an objective and calm inquiry into the causes and sociological factors of the war; and not only will it be of great scientific interest but also of a supreme and vital practical importance, for from this analysis we shall be able to conclude if and in what way the present war can, for the greater good of humanity and civilization, preserve us forever from other wars. Thus, with the next volume *Scientia* will—for the present at least—appear every month and as usual there will be a supplement containing French translations of the English, German, and Italian articles. Φ

We are in receipt of a small pamphlet, entitled "The Catechism of Balaam, Jr., by an Irish-American," which consists in a contemplation of the war issues in questions and answers between the old false prophet and the ass in defense of Old England in the present war as well as in her treatment of other nations in India, Africa and especially Ireland. England is mainly excused, but the sarcastic tone is so obvious that we may regard the catechism as the expression of one of the severest critics of the British cause.

The author is in dead earnest, for the publication of his catechism means a pecuniary sacrifice to him, as is indicated by the prefatory remark on the cover which reads thus: "Sixty thousand copies have been printed, mailed and distributed at my own personal expense for the good of the cause, but I now find the demand for this pamphlet so great that I am obliged to ask the cost price of same from those who desire large quantities and wish to help me in

this work, namely: one cent per copy. Small quantities will be gladly sent gratis, as heretofore upon application to *Hugh H. Masterson, 170 Chambers Street, New York.*"

The name of the author is withheld until after the war.

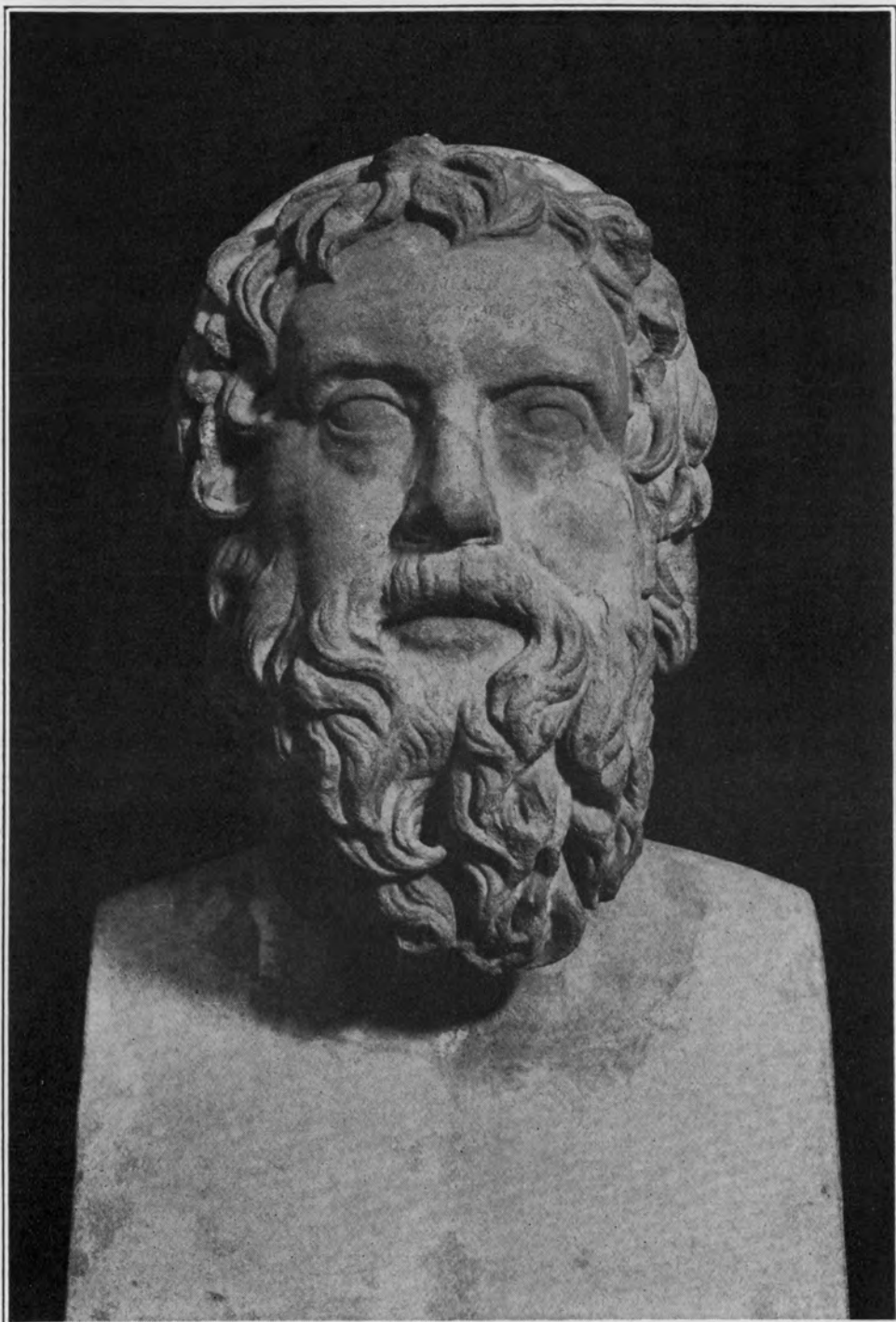
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We have received the first number of *School and Society*, a weekly educational journal which begins publication with the new year under the editorship of Dr. J. McKeen Cattell, professor of psychology in Columbia University and the Teachers College, editor of *Science*, *The Popular Science Monthly* and *The American Naturalist*. It is announced that the journal will follow the general lines that have made *Science* of service in the sciences, cooperating with publications in special fields, aiming to become the professional journal for those engaged in the work of our lower and higher schools, and to be of interest to the wider public for whom education is of vital concern. It will emphasize the relations of education to the social order, scientific research in education and its applications, freedom of discussion, and reports and news of events of educational interest. The first number opens with an article by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, entitled "Educational Evolution" in which he has long been the leader in this country. Dr. G. Stanley Hall discusses the teaching of the war in our schools, and President W. T. Foster of Reed College commends the state-wide campus of the modern university. There are departments devoted to discussion and correspondence, quotations, books and literature, educational research and statistics, societies and meetings, educational events, and educational notes and news.

J. G. Cotta (Stuttgart and Berlin) has published a neat little volume of ninety-nine pages under the title, *Die deutsche Erhebung von 1914*, being a series of essays and lectures by Friedrich Meinecke, professor of modern history at the University of Berlin, in which the spirit of the German conception of the current war is pretty well represented by a professional historian. Most of the essays were published during the early months of the war; one of them, however, was written in the month preceding the outbreak of hostilities, and one of the lectures was delivered on the memorable fourth of August. They treat of the German rise against Napoleon in 1813 and its continued movement in 1848, 1870, and down to the present time, showing that the whole history is one uninterrupted development. He discusses what Germany is fighting for in the present war and (page 64) he denounces the misrepresentations which German thought has to encounter, mainly in the English papers.

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In *The China Press* of November 19, 1914, Dr. Gilbert Reid enumerates the treaties made between Japan and China or by Japan with reference to China and Korea with the approval of Russia and Great Britain and shows how they have been ignored by Japan. Korea has been annexed by Japan in absolute disregard of Japan's assertion of contrary intention and Great Britain has not entered into war with Japan for the violation of these treaties. They have been completely overlooked, and China is helpless, lacking, as it does, a system of militarism. Dr. Reid is in close sympathy with China and deplores her present helpless condition at the mercy of the European powers that have not adhered to the letter or spirit of their agreement.



ARISTOPHANES.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 3)

MARCH, 1915

NO. 706

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THE POSITION OF HOLLAND IN THE EUROPEAN WAR.

BY ALBERT OOSTERHEERDT.

THE position of Holland in the great European war is both a difficult and a delicate one. In the center almost of the conflict, related to the principal warring nations by ties of blood, commerce and trade, herself an exponent of international law, which it is charged from many sides has been rudely broken, suffering greatly from the effects of the war in her trade, industry and general condition, compelled in addition to relieve a multitude of refugees, Holland has, though neutral, a most unenviable position, incurring nearly all the evil results of war without experiencing at the same time that national exaltation which is often a complement of it. Officially, of course, the Netherlands are neutral, and, as far as the government is concerned, this neutrality has been admirably kept, nor have the people at large been committing overt acts of hostility toward any of the powers involved; but it would be idle to assume that the Dutch are wholly without sympathies in this war, or that they alone have attained that state of philosophic calm which seems an absolute requirement for a complete neutrality.

The ties of blood and racial origin alone make the position of the Dutch peculiarly difficult. One of the purest Germanic nations, although not without a strong admixture of Roman blood, speaking an almost entirely Teutonic language, which is perhaps a better development of the ancient German than the modern German with its artificial constructions and ponderous word-formations, the Dutch have at all times been an outpost of *das Deutschtum*, of equal rank with the other nations of Teutonic extraction. Part

and parcel of Germanic civilization, their relations with Belgium, and especially Brabant and Flanders, populated by the Flemish people, practically of the same stock and using the same language, have been particularly close. Formerly, when the seventeen Netherlands provinces were united under the scepter of Charles V, only to be driven apart during the reign of his son Philip II, there existed the most intimate relationship between Belgium and Holland, two parts indeed of one country. From the southern Netherlands the northern provinces derived much, in fact nearly all of that which afterwards made the Dutch Republic famous in art, industry, trade and commerce. When the southern Netherlands were subdued by Don Juan of Spain and Alexander of Parma, the trade and commerce of the great Flemish cities were moved almost bodily to Amsterdam and the other cities of Holland and Zealand, which owe their growth and industry in great part to the Flemish artisans, weavers, merchants and bankers who came fleeing from Antwerp and Flanders after the Spanish fury of 1585 had done its fearful work in that city. Henceforth the connection between the two Netherlands is broken, and Holland profits at the expense of Belgium. The political separation is accentuated by the religious and commercial antagonism; the northern Netherlands wax great and mighty, the southern Netherlands lead a miserable existence under foreign domination.

This condition lasts for two centuries, and is ended by the effects of the great French revolution. France wrests Belgium from Austria, while, soon after, the Dutch republic comes to an inglorious end in 1795, the Prince of Orange taking refuge in England, and Holland as well as Belgium falling under French domination. The fall of Napoleon sees both countries once more united; to Holland, already independent in 1813, Belgium is added in 1815, at the command of the Vienna Congress. The union, although quite promising at first, comes to naught in 1830, when the clerical and liberal parties of Belgium form an alliance, set up a revolutionary government and defy the northern provinces and the king. An attempt by the Dutch government to suppress the revolt culminated in the famous "Ten Days' Campaign," at the end of which all Belgium lay at the feet of the victorious Dutch army. At this juncture, however, foreign powers intervened; both England and France assumed a threatening attitude, and by means of a French army compelled Holland to relinquish her hold upon Belgium. A long period of suspense followed, to be concluded finally by the neutrality treaty of 1839, signed by Great Britain,

France, Russia, the Germanic Confederation, and Belgium and Holland themselves.

The first period of Belgian independence was necessarily very French in spirit and culture, thereby suppressing the old national character of Flanders and Brabant. A natural reaction followed, in which the ancient Flemish verse and prose regained their former preeminence—a new period of youthful vigor and noble expression in the old language of the people. The connection with Holland, never entirely lost, became more intimate as the literatures of both countries became the common property of each. Many strands of different kinds continued to form an almost indissoluble link between the two peoples, not least of which was the General Dutch Alliance (*Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond*). Little wonder then that Dutch sympathy for Belgium in this war is ardent and sincere, and that the manifestations of charity and esteem have been universal and full throughout the whole of Holland. As indicative of Dutch feeling toward unhappy Belgium the following quotations from *Neerlandia*, the official organ of the General Dutch Alliance, which has its members in every civilized country in the world, will be found illuminating. Editorially, *Neerlandia* says: “Being published in a neutral country, *Neerlandia* must also be neutral. As Holland does not share in the fighting, the Dutch people must, both in speech and writing, withhold itself from making attacks. But as far as Belgium is concerned—for the major part inhabited by a people of Dutch race and Dutch language, accordingly, from the view-point of our Alliance and *Neerlandia*, inhabited by our race—we must, in all calmness and sincerity, utter a word of protest against this invasion.

“In fact, Germany herself has, in the utterances of her chancellor, admitted that she was doing Belgium an injustice. We do not enter here into an inquiry as to which power or which group of powers bears the blame for the outbreak of this world-wide war. We also do not raise the question whether Germany has good reasons for saying that she fights for her existence and not for conquest, and that she was compelled in self-defense to go through Belgium; willingly or unwillingly, she committed injustice.

“But we have confidence in the German people. They will, in case they are victorious, make amends and rectify what they have done to Belgium. And they will leave the country its freedom and independence. When the anger and the fever of war have passed they will have admiration and respect for the small nation which was too proud to allow invasion of its territory, and which,

in defense of its honor and independence, dared to fight with a powerful enemy. And they will understand that the Dutch nation, although it remains firmly neutral, sympathizes with the heroic Belgian nation, in part a related nation, and gives expression to its admiration and pity."¹

In perfect agreement with the thought and sentiment of this noble protest has been the hospitality and treatment accorded to the hundreds of thousands of Belgian refugees in Holland. The government itself has done everything possible for these poor people, and besides the national fund for home charity another fund has been devoted exclusively to the Belgians. While greatly suffering herself, Holland has nobly responded to this additional burden, refusing to receive the proffered aid of Great Britain and America to help in caring for the thousands of destitute Belgians. A duty voluntarily undertaken would be fulfilled in the spirit in which it was begun; this and national patriotism urged the government to reject these otherwise welcome offers of aid. That the Belgians have appreciated this generosity and unlimited hospitality on the part of Holland, which dispelled forever the unjust suspicions held against the Dutch in the beginning of the war, may be conclusively seen from an address to Queen Wilhelmina, sent by two Flemish representatives in the Belgian parliament and signed by many prominent refugees and others. The text of this eloquent address is too long to quote in full, but a translation of part of it will indicate its fervent feeling and heartfelt gratitude. "Not only," says the address, "have tens of thousands of Belgians to thank Holland for the preservation of their very lives, but also for their re-quickened faith in life and humanity. . . . Through her magnanimous love of humanity has Holland, in these days, gained more than a battle of arms. She has earned the eternal gratitude of a sister nation, compelled the admiration of all combatants and brought upon herself a blessing from on high."²

While bleeding Belgium is thus a recipient of Dutch (and American) bounty, the relations of Holland with the other combatant nations are no less close and essential. Germany, as might be expected, looms very large in the Dutch consciousness. From Germany their language and customs are derived, the royal house of Orange is of German descent, as are also many Dutch citizens whose forefathers fled to the Netherlands during the religious wars in Germany, or who themselves are of more recent immigration;

¹ Page 199, Nov. 1914. English translation.

² *Neerlandia*, Nov. 1914, page 208.

much of their science, philosophy and arts is of German importation, while the phenomenal growth of their commerce, industry and trade within the last forty years has been in great part due to the equally remarkable development of Germany in the same period. In the great exodus of foreigners out of Germany at the beginning of the war the Dutch took little or no part; even more than the Americans they were honored and trusted by the Germans. While there was a fear in Holland at first that they would be drawn into the war, events have shown that Holland has nothing, for the present at least, to fear from Germany. The Germans have scrupulously respected Dutch neutrality, firmly as it has been kept. After the fall of Antwerp there was a great temptation to Germany to take possession of the mouth of the Scheldt, an undertaking which would certainly have resulted in war with the Dutch. But as England had refrained from sending her warships up the Scheldt, so Germany refrained from doing anything which would violate Dutch neutrality.

The Netherlands have grievances enough, however, against both England and Germany. Dutch trade is well-nigh suspended, thanks to the ubiquitous use of mines by these great powers. As the English admiralty board has declared, the entire North Sea is dangerous to shipping, greatly to the detriment and loss of the Scandinavian countries and Holland, thus illustrating the direct loss and danger to neutral lands in this most sanguinary war. At Rotterdam, where sixty boats normally enter port daily, there are now only a few steamers docking, and there is thus an almost total cessation of commerce and trade, making it difficult even to procure sufficient foodstuffs from abroad. Thanks to the energetic action of the Dutch government there is no famine in the land, all hoarding of grain being strictly forbidden, and in many communes it is being sold under the direct control of the government. While there is not, and cannot be, a comparison with conditions in Belgium, there is acute distress and a serious condition of affairs, which cannot be allowed to last indefinitely.

That the Dutch are among the principal sufferers from the war may easily be inferred from the fact of their being, for their population, the greatest commercial and trading nation on earth. In actual exports and imports the Netherlands are only exceeded by Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. With one-seventh of the population, Holland has a total foreign commerce nearly equal to that of France, with one-tenth of Germany's millions, more than one-half her trade. According to the Statistical

Abstract of the United States for 1911 French imports and exports for the year 1910 amounted to \$1,384,453,000 and \$1,203,124,000, respectively; those of Germany, \$2,126,322,000 and \$1,778,969,000; the British figures are \$3,300,738,000 and \$2,094,467,000; and the American, \$1,527,966,000 and \$2,013,549,000; while the imports of little Holland in 1909 were \$1,249,423,000, and her exports \$984,397,000,³ amazing totals for such a small country of but six million inhabitants. It is true, of course, that this marvelous foreign trade is to a great extent a carrying trade and does not represent the country's industry accurately, but it indicates emphatically the dominant trading character of the Dutch nation and the absolute necessity of keeping open the great trade-routes and neutral waters. That the principles of international law have been violated by the indiscriminate sowing of mines in the North Sea is indisputable, and that Holland, already handicapped by the great war at her borders, has thus innocently been deprived in great part of her main source of making a living, is equally beyond cavil or doubt.

It is, indeed, one of the tragic ironies of this war that the countries which have been among the foremost defenders of international law and justice have also been cruelly suffering because of their violation. Belgium, whose very existence depends on the inviolability of an international treaty, herself the creation of the great powers of Europe, has seen her life-blood slowly ebbing away in defense of it; Holland, the home of world-jurisprudence, whose great son, Hugo de Groot, laid the foundations of international law in his famous book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, the seat of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, where it has its quarters in the Palace of Peace—the most hopeful building of modern times—has seen her trade and industry paralyzed in defiance of her neutrality; both countries victims, albeit not in the same degree, of a cruel war which they were powerless to prevent. The Netherlands certainly did not deserve the fate meted out to them, for no country has done more for international comity and justice than Holland. As Motley says on this subject: "To the Dutch Republic, even more than to Florence at an earlier day, is the world indebted for practical instruction in that great science of political equilibrium which must always become more and more important as the various states of the civilized world are pressed more closely together, and as the struggle for preeminence becomes more feverish and fatal."⁴ It is on this account that the neutral

³ U. S. Statistical Abstract, pp. 762-3.

⁴ *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Preface, p. iv.

nations like Holland and the United States will have much to say as to the final terms of peace. There can be no lasting peace which leaves neutrality undefined and unprotected, which does not limit the scope and area of a conflict, or which does not prevent the visitation of war upon innocent nations.

It is a matter of uncommon interest to Holland that the positions of the great neighboring powers with respect to her have apparently completely changed from what they were historically. Thus for centuries France was the most dangerous enemy of the Netherlands, and the famous *Barrière* in the southern Netherlands was directed against her possible sudden attack, just as the Triple Alliance between England, Holland and the Emperor during the eighteenth century was for the purpose of checking the ambitious designs of France. In this war, however, Holland and France have no differences, the Dutch having no fear from the French, while Germany and England, formerly Holland's protectors against France, have become menacing to Dutch interests. England, to be sure, has not always been friendly to the Dutch, as the three wars in the period between 1650 and 1674 clearly indicate, but otherwise Dutch and English interests were by no means mutually exclusive, but rather parallel, if not quite identical. The Dutch war for independence from Spain was greatly aided by England's fight in behalf of a common Protestantism, which required the undivided support of both maritime powers in order to win against a recrudescing Catholicism, as personified in the house of Hapsburg. A century later, when William of Orange had become king of England, the alliance between England and Holland was formed, which, together with their common alliance with the emperor, was, as Professor Blok terms it, "a political and economical necessity."

At present, however, England has at least temporarily endangered the existence of Holland, although she claims of course that her measures are purely defensive, and necessary as counteracting the offensive naval tactics of Germany. That England should desire a permanent foothold on the continent, for example at the mouth of the Scheldt, is strongly to be doubted. Such a position would be precarious to hold, and it would ensure the lasting enmity of Holland as well as of Germany. It is equally improbable, however, that Germany would care to lord it over the Dutch, or annex their country. The Germans know too well the history and character of the Dutch, and have always been too friendly to them to doom them to national extinction. It is quite possible, however, that Germany and the Netherlands will be somewhat more closely

related after the war than before, and that the Dutch will prefer the friendship and protection of powerful Germany rather than her possible distrust, and perhaps conquest at her hands. That the Dutch race, whether in Holland or Flanders, will draw nearer together, is already certain. Of one other thing the world may be certain, that Holland wishes "heroic Belgium restored to the fulness of her material life and her political independence," as Premier Viviani has stated, "that it may be possible to reconstruct, on a basis of justice, a Europe finally regenerated."

THE NIGHT.

ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AND THE TRIPLE ENTENTE.¹

A PHANTASMAGORIA IN ONE ACT

BY BARRIE AMERICANUS NEUTRALIS

CHARACTERS

KING EDWARD
BRITISH PREMIER
JOHN, the King's valet

THE WITCH OF TIME
PAGES

In Vision:

KAISER WILHELM II
CZAR OF RUSSIA
PRESIDENT OF FRANCE
RUSSIAN GENERAL

KING GEORGE V
BISMARCK
OFFICERS, SOLDIERS, ETC.

The King's dressing room in the palace. A dressing table with a large mirror on one side. JOHN, the King's valet, places the several toilet utensils, brushes, powder-box, rouge, nail-clip and file in order on the dressing-table, first using all the articles on himself.

JOHN. When next these things are used it will be on a crowned king, but of course I have used them first on myself. I am very close to His Majesty,—I had almost said “His Royal Highness.” So far my master has been Prince of Wales, but now he is King of England, and I must become accustomed to saying “Your Majesty.” Of course I have risen with him. Henceforth I am “Valet to His Majesty King Edward the Seventh.” It is time he was back from the

¹ Sir James Matthew Barrie, the famous author of *Peter Pan*, has written a short dramatic poem in one act entitled “*Der Tag*” or *The Tragic Man* in which he characterizes the Kaiser as a lover of peace, but weak and under the influence of the Prussian Camarilla as represented in his minister who urges him on to war until he finally signs the fatal document and “*Der Tag*” breaks when war becomes unavoidable. However poetic Barrie's little play may be, it is utterly false in its premises; it misrepresents the Kaiser and his policy,

coronation. I wonder how he feels. He looks funny enough. What would his Anglo-Saxon ancestors have said of their latest successor, this stumpy follower of the fair sex! I do not blame him for his follies for he is king and can do as he pleases. And, after all, as the proverb says, no man is a hero to his valet, and I suppose it is true. But I only find fault with his bad taste. However, that is his business. It is he that has to take all the consequences. Here he comes now.

(JOHN bows deeply. Enter the KING with scepter and crown, dressed in royal ermine and purple, his train carried by pages. The pages kneel, then leave the room.)

KING. At last! At last! I have been waiting long
For this momentous day which sees me crowned.
John, come and take the scepter.

(JOHN approaches.)

Tarry a little
And leave these emblems but a moment longer
Within my grasp. They mean so very much.
Now leave me with my royal thoughts alone,
And when I ring come back and help disrobe me.

(JOHN bows and withdraws. The KING poses before the mirror.)

KING. There, at last! Behold, King Edward the Seventh! I am delighted to see myself in this garb. I am the seventh of my name. Seven is a holy number, a significant number. The Archbishop said it is a sacred number and all-comprehensive. It is three plus four. "Three" means God and "four" the world. So "seven" means all, God and the world. It means completeness. There are seven wonders of the world; there are the seven colors of the rainbow; there are seven stars in the Pleiades constellation; there are the seven sages; there are seven gifts of the spirit;—and there are seven Edwards! Yes, seven kings of England of that name; and I am the seventh.

I am King of England. That means I am the ruler of

and is obviously written to exonerate Great Britain from responsibility for the war. The formation of the Triple Entente was but a preparatory step for a war on Germany which it was hoped could be finished quickly by a crushing blow dealt suddenly by the French and Russians without involving England in the evils of a war. We submit herewith a poem describing the situation as it appears to the eyes of an impartial bystander and which the author hopes reflects the truth more accurately than Sir James Barrie's appealing sketch.

Great Britain, and as ruler of Great Britain I rule the world. Britannia indeed rules the waves; the British empire extends over every sea and into every clime. It is God's gift to Old England, and that is why this scepter and this golden crown upon my head mean so much. They mean dominion over the world.

For every country that is reached by ships
Pays tribute to the mistress of the seas,
And we lay down the law to all the nations.
Could I but peer into the distant future!
I fain would see the destiny of England,
Her dangers and her triumphs—triumphs yea!
For I am sure we are the chosen people
Whom God has blessed above all other nations
To rule the world and bear the white man's burden.
Dark powers of things to come, reveal to me,
The King of England, England's destiny!

*(The WITCH of Time, a tall old woman, rises from the ground.
She is veiled in gray.)*

KING. Mysterious woman, let me see thy face!

(WITCH unveils her face.)

WITCH. Thou callest me, King Edward, and I come
Out of the depth of that unfathomed night
Which shrouds the distant time. Hear thou my words,
That thou, the seventh of thy name, completest
The day of England's greatness. Evening falls,
The sun is setting on a glorious reign.
The Anglo-Saxons' queens are great, but not
Their kings, and the Victorian age is past.
Thou wouldst begin a new, more manly era,
But if thou imitatest not Prince Hal
'T will be no better, it will surely lead
Old England down—down to her sure destruction.

KING. Who art thou, dastardly old toothless woman,
Hag of the night, curse of a wayward fate?

WITCH. My name—that matters not. But heed thou well
The warning which I come to bring to thee.
God, the Omnipotent, long suffering,
The God of history, has truly blessed

The land whose guidance with this scepter is
Entrusted now to thee. But have thy statesmen
Used wisely and with justice their great power?
Does England merit the supremacy
Which has been hers? God's patience long endures,
But finally He calls all to account.
Art thou the man to rectify past wrongs
And lead Old England on to higher things?

KING. What qualities are needed for the task?

WITCH. One, merely one alone, and it is manhood.

KING. My predecessor was a woman.

WITCH. Yea!

KING. I am a man!

WITCH. Not every man has manhood.

KING. What is thy meaning, hag? Speak plainly.

WITCH. Well

I mean by manhood simple honesty.

KING. If that be all, I do not fear the task
Of being King and governing the world.
I think that simple honesty is good,
Yea very good if it be used as mask
To hide the cunning of our statecraft's art.
What England needeth is diplomacy.
The Hindus did not lack in honesty,
But honesty is good for simpletons
Who would be duped. The Irish patriots
Possess enough of simple honesty,
But never have they independence gained.
The Chinese in their simple honesty
Thought to debar our opium from their ports.
The Boer insisted on his right to block
The British progress; but his honesty
Assuredly was of no use to him.
Oh no, my good old witch, you are mistaken;
On honesty Old England cannot prosper;
Pure honesty is but for simpletons.
We need much more—we need diplomacy.

WITCH. It takes a hero to be truly honest.

KING. I am no hero, but a mortal man
 With human, all too human, faults. But then
 I'm keen of wit and can accomplish much
 By mere persuasion and by shrewd designs.
 I want to be prepared for my great task
 And wish to see what dangers are in store.

WITCH. Great Britain has no friends; she stands alone.
 Protected by the sea in isolation,
 She is surrounded by great enemies.
 See here the French, your foes of centuries.

(In the background, on the right side, an arch appears, like the Arch of Triumph in Paris, with the tricolor flying above it. Underneath, in dress suit, covered with a red, white and blue scarf, the PRESIDENT of France, surrounded by French officers in uniform. The PRESIDENT speaks to his generals.)

PRESIDENT. We hate John Bull. He is our meanest foe.
 The Germans have been bad enough; they took
 Alsace-Lorraine when we, all unprepared,
 Still bore the yoke of the third Bonaparte;
 But they at least beat us in open battle,
 While England robbed us by diplomacy.
 Messieurs, remember Suez and Fashoda.
 Lesseps, a Frenchman, a French genius,
 Built that canal with our own capital,
 And now 'tis England's. 'Twas our caravan
 That first crossed Africa to far Fashoda;
 'Tis England now reaps all the benefit.
 Therefore beware! A snake lurks in the grass
 Where'er a British diplomat has stepped.
 The Germans fight in fair and open battle;
 The English rob us by diplomacy.

(The picture fades away.)

WITCH. You have worse enemies and more than France.
 Look at the Slav in his barbaric might!
 All over Asia see his agents swarm.
 He spins intrigues which will be difficult
 For you to rend. Behold another danger—

(On the left the background opens and shows a typical Russian church entrance with a RUSSIAN GENERAL in fur coat and

cap, with a knout in hand. At his right the CZAR dressed in his imperial state; behind both, Russian soldiers and Cossacks.)

GENERAL. The present age belongs to Western Europe,
 To England and to Germany and France;
 But soon a new and brighter morn shall break;
 Soon shall we reach in our triumphant march
 That ancient city of the Bosphorus,
 And thence to Suez, gateway to the East;
 Then Persia, helpless, and Afghanistan
 Will fall before us; and at last our arms
 Shall be supreme where now the Briton rules—
 In India, the treasury of the East.
 Let England rule the waves, we'll rule the land,
 And England will be helpless 'gainst our armies,
 Uncounted and invincible. Yea, sire,
 Be confident. Our victory is sure.
 Ere long all Asia shall be 'neath our sway,
 And then in our victorious march we'll turn
 Upon our western foe, the mighty Teuton.
 France clamors for revenge; she'll be our friend.
 Then shall the Teuton, too, bow low his knee,
 And all the world be ours; in every land
 Our faith shall spread, and holy Russia will
 Fulfil her destiny decreed by God.

(The Russian group disappears.)

KING. All these our enemies? Have we no friends?

WITCH. England has nowhere friends unless the Germans.
 They are your kin. But in these later days
 Distrust has grown among them, for they fear
 The ill designs of your diplomacy.
 Germania grows apace; her sons aspire
 To noble things, and greatness they achieve,
 And honor and renown among all nations.
 Behold the guardian spirit of her people!

(The center of the background opens, and BISMARCK appears with the young KAISER WILLIAM II.)

KAISER. O venerable trusty counselor
 Of my grandfather, let me learn from you
 How I can strengthen Germany's position

That ne'er again she shall experience
The agonies of conquest as of yore;
For I would foster in our Fatherland
All sciences and arts and industries.
I shall be proud if our posterity
Will call me once the emperor of peace.

BISMARCK. Remember, *Si vis pacem para bellum*.

We are surrounded, sire, by enemies,
And by no other means is peace preserved
Than by a constant readiness for war.
The French are in alliance with the Russians
And we must learn to fight the two at once.
Since your grandfather beat the French, they've grown
In affluence and military power;
And Russia is a giant, great and mighty,
Yet, happily, but crude and barbarous,
And lacking wisdom and experience.

KAISER. War is a curse and ever fraught with danger.
As long as possible I will preserve
The benefits of peace, that so my people
May prosper in all good and useful ways,
In all things worthy of a noble race.
And should the day of trial come, God grant
That I may be the first to draw the sword.
I will be worthy of my ancestors.
I'll either wield my sword in victory
Or I will die in open field with honor.
We Germans fear but God, and nothing else.

(The picture in the center disappears.)

KING. Not even Germany is our good friend.
She seems more dangerous than all the rest.
In Germany there slumbers native strength,
And if her growth continues as of late
She will be England's must undaunted rival.
The others are not rivals, they are foes.
Foes may be changed by good diplomacy
So as to be of service, not so rivals;
Therefore I fear but Germany alone.
'Tis true she helped us in our recent trouble;
But then she simply did oppose the French

Lest they perchance became too strong. 'Tis true
The Russians tried to take the Dardanelles
That they from thence might threaten the canal,
And that design, too, Bismarck did defeat.
He favored us, but solely for the reason
That Russia must not be allowed to grow.
But now I have a plan; and not in vain
These phantom visions have appeared to me.
Great Britain shall be ever, as to-day,
Supreme and mistress of the seven seas.
Old witch, I bid thee gratefully farewell.

WITCH. I warn thee once again to act the man.
The fate of England hangs on thy decision.

(She disappears. The KING rings the bell.)

KING. Come, John, take these insignia.

(He hands JOHN the scepter.)

Here, take off the crown; it presses rather hard; and even the
robe is unwieldy; it makes me perspire. Go now and bid
the Premier come to me.

JOHN. Your Majesty, his Excellency is waiting at the door.

KING. Let him enter at once.

(Exit JOHN.)

I hope the new Premier is to my heart.
I know at least that he is like a fox,
Cunning and smart and full of clever tricks.

(JOHN shows in the PREMIER, bows and withdraws.)

PREMIER. I thought you might wish to see me, your Majesty;
therefore I came uncalled.

KING. Well considered and well done. I want to know what you
think of the European situation.

PREMIER. Your noble mother has been very kind to Germany, very
gracious and forbearing. She was so loving in her parental
affection. The Kaiser is her grandson, and a grandmother
is naturally fond of her grandchildren.

KING. Yes, yes, I know, and she was proud of the young man, but
though he is my nephew I must confess he does not act with

becoming modesty. His utterances on more than one occasion have been provocative and threatening. He prates overmuch of the mailed fist.

PREMIER. Yes, and he persists in increasing his navy.

KING. His navy?

PREMIER. Indeed, Your Majesty. He has almost one-third as many ships now as England. His aggressiveness may become intolerable. I fear that I can say nothing better than the ancient dictum in a modern version: *Caeterum censeo Germaniam esse delendam.*

KING. Do you know what we can do?

PREMIER. My plan is ready, sire.

KING. Speak on.

PREMIER. In fact I must confess that I have taken the preliminary tentative steps.

KING. Have you?

PREMIER. I have inquired in France and in Russia as to their plans. They will unite under all circumstances to crush Germany, and are but waiting for an opportunity. Germany is as in a vise between the two, and if we join them to ruin German trade and cut the Germans off from the rest of the world; resistance will be brief. France and Russia will be greatly encouraged to venture into a war against Germany if we give them the promise of our support and form a Triple Entente against her. There is no risk. And, Your Majesty, if Germany were extinguished to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer the day after. Neither France nor Russia is dangerous to us, for both are incapable of developing a strong navy. We have only one thing to fear and that is the growth of Germany.

KING. *Germania est delenda!*

(He stands in thought.)

But our trade with Germany is not unimportant. Should we not suffer too in case of war?

PREMIER. Not much, Your Majesty. Our loss will be but temporary and we shall quickly capture all the German trade. The

war will be over as soon as the Russians and French meet in Berlin. But there is one point of importance: we must support the allies with our navy, otherwise they will not venture into the war. We may be confident that the allies will accomplish the bulk of the task without us, for the Russians can raise nine million troops and the French five or six. Fifteen million men will be too much even for Germany, and we can count also on a rebellion of the Social Democrats in that country. They are a strong and well organized party, almost one-third of the whole people; they hate the Kaiser and will do anything to have him deposed or exiled or slain. Be assured, Germany cannot stand a war. But we must lend France and Russia our moral support. Possibly they may demand our army too.

KING. We could send one hundred and fifty thousand men.

PREMIER. No doubt we should have to, and possibly more.

KING. The time is not yet ripe, but we must prepare and make ready for war. The Triple Entente alone will be sufficient to assure victory, but we shall have, besides, the help of all the smaller powers. Belgium is sure to join us, and we may hope to gain the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians too; if they remain neutral they shall suffer for their anti-British attitude after the war. Italy and Austria are now allied with Germany, but we can induce at least the government at Rome to stand by us, for we could ruin the long and exposed coast of their peninsula. Our navy would bombard their cities from Genoa and Venice down to Messina with absolute impunity. They are at our mercy, so they would at least remain neutral; and hence Germany will stand alone with Austria.

PREMIER. Yes, that is true. But let us not be overconfident. It is not likely that Holland and the northern countries will join us; they would remain neutral. However, we have created Belgium; she owes us her existence, therefore she is our friend. She will open her formidable fortresses to us and allow us free passage for an attack on Charlemagne's ancient capital, Aix-la-Chapelle.

KING. That is excellent, and England will thus be able to dispose of her most dangerous rival. I myself may not see the

final triumph, but the time is surely coming and my son will inherit the fruitage of my work, the results of my diplomacy. We will run no risk.

PREMIER. We must put an end to Germany's naval power; we must blockade her ports. Then we will capture her trade, and check her growing wealth and commerce. The French and the Russians will break her military power, her Prussianism and her ambition.

KING. Is there no way to avoid a war?

PREMIER. None, Your Majesty! Germany has begun to rival us in manufactures, and she threatens to surpass us in commerce. Then our supremacy will be lost. This must not be! We must cripple her pretensions and dampen her inordinate ambition. We must engage her enemies, both Slav and Gall, and between her foes to east and west her doom is sure.

KING. I'll have my ministers approach both France and Russia and arrange an *entente* against our common enemy. But then would you have the fatherland of our old Saxons divided between the Russians and the Celts?

PREMIER. We need waste no sentimentality on statecraft.

KING. Maybe you are right.

PREMIER. I'll give to Celt and Slav his share, but Germany, though in a crippled shape, we leave for future conflicts with Russia.

KING. Yea, sir. I know a better way. Germany shall have her freedom. Old England stands for liberty. German culture reached its best and highest development at the time of her deepest political humiliation, but it is being ruined by militarism. When we expel her tyrants we shall restore the glorious days when she was famous as the country of poets and thinkers. Schiller and Beethoven were greater than Bismarck and Moltke. We shall liberate the Germans from the Hohenzollerns. We shall restore the older, nobler and better Germany.

PREMIER. Your Majesty is the greatest diplomat the world has known. You will mend the mistakes that your royal mother, otherwise so noble, has committed. But remember we must act before it is too late. The Germans are warlike. They will gladly hail a war. Their officers in the army drink to

KING (*astonished*). What! To the day, the Germans clink their glasses?

PREMIER. Yea, the peaceful Germans,
They think it is their right to build a navy
And they do feel that we will check their growth.
The peaceful Germans are most warlike people
As soon as they believe they suffer wrong.

PREMIER. Your majesty! a night for Germany,
A victory for us! unfailing victory.

(PREMIER bows low and withdraws.)

(Background darkens and WITCH reappears.)

WITCH. King Edward, listen to my warning voice.
War will not help you. War in fact destroys
Your own prosperity and power as much
As of your enemies. Old England thrives

In peace. Indeed her wars in recent times
 Have worked her ill, and would you add one more,
 A greater ill, to swell those of the past?
 I see naught but bad omens in your plans,
 Your sly designs and your diplomacy.
 If you would keep Great Britain in the lead,
 Let England's sons her battles fight with honor
 In open field; do not rely on others
 Nor win by gold or base diplomacy.

KING. 'Tis time to act before it be too late,
 And we must use the greatest circumspection.

WITCH. You fear that England falls behind and that
 The Germans grow in industry and power.
 This may be true. I recognize the danger.
 And here is the advice I have to give:
 Follow the German method! Introduce
 Reform all round, in school, in church, in state.
 Have Englishmen progress and let them learn
 The cause of Germany's advance. Thus only
 Will England keep her old supremacy.

KING. First must we overcome the German danger,
 Then we will use reform! We shall ally
 The world against the Kaiser. Let me see
 The German Emperor.—Lo! there he rises.

*(The German KAISER rises in the middle of the background,
 first alone in his uniform of the guards.)*

I grant that he is strong. He is courageous.
 But how he'll wince with all these foes against him!

*(The WITCH lifts her wand. On the right rise the Russians
 and on the left the French, with some English and Belgian
 troops. Among the English is KING GEORGE V, and the
 Belgians are behind the walls of a fort.)*

KAISER (*addressing King George V*).

O cousin, what a dreadful game is this!

Do I see you among my enemies?

KING EDWARD. The Kaiser is afraid. Stand firm. Don't waver.

KING GEORGE. I am in honor bound to draw the sword
 And stand by my allies.

KING EDWARD.

Well done, my son!

(To the WITCH.)

Our friends are strong and we prefer a war!

WITCH. If thou preferest war, let war prevail.

(At this declaration all draw their swords against the Kaiser. The latter raises his sword and rises higher surrounded by German soldiers and cannon coming out of the ground.)

KAISER. We Germans fear but God, and naught else in the world!

(At this point the first shots flash from the German cannon with loud report and the Belgian fortifications fall. The German soldiers advance to the sound of German war music toward the French and Russians, who fall back, and the background of the stage is mainly covered with advancing Germans. King Edward sinks back in his chair. Night covers the scene and German national songs are heard.)

THE LIFE OF SOCRATES.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

[CONCLUSION.]

IV.

Meantime there were those who began to look askance: this Socrates is not only erratic, but meddlesome; not only meddlesome, but dangerous.

In 423, in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, and twenty-four years before his death, the son of Sophroniscus, now a man of forty-seven, saw himself ridiculed from the stage of the Dionysiac theater—the platform of Greece. The father of philosophy had fallen into the youthful and merciless hands of the greatest satirist and the greatest comic poet of the ancient world. Through the Clouds, Aristophanes, harking back, with that conservative spirit characteristic of satire to

“The men who fought at Marathon”

in fine ethical nature-verse touched with the love of Athens, attacks in the person of Socrates atheistic doctrines of physicists, immoral instruction of sophists, and incidentally all unprofitable studies. The Clouds are the airy speculations which Socrates here calls his deities, giving him

“Fallacious cunning and intelligence.”

He has thrown over the old gods—

“What Zeus?—nay jest not—there is none,”

and he has ready his “rationalistic” explanation of thunder and rain. In Socrates’s school (obviously an invention of the poet for dramatic convenience) they study how far fleas can leap, from which end of their bodies gnats sing, besides mysteries of astron-

omy, grammar, and versification. The same Chaerephon who is said to have brought back the oracle's response is here with other disciples, and all duly revere the wondrous sage. What is that?—asks the visiting rustic, bewildered, as Socrates, on his first entrance on the stage, floats into the chamber in a basket. *Autos*, is the solemn response—*autos*, "himself." But old Strepsiades has not come up from the country to learn the natural sciences or to join the disciples—or even to clean out the Corinthian bugs that infest the couches of the crazy place. He wants practical instruction how to evade by sophistical reasonings the creditors whom his extravagant son—a type of the smart and smug young sport of Athens—has



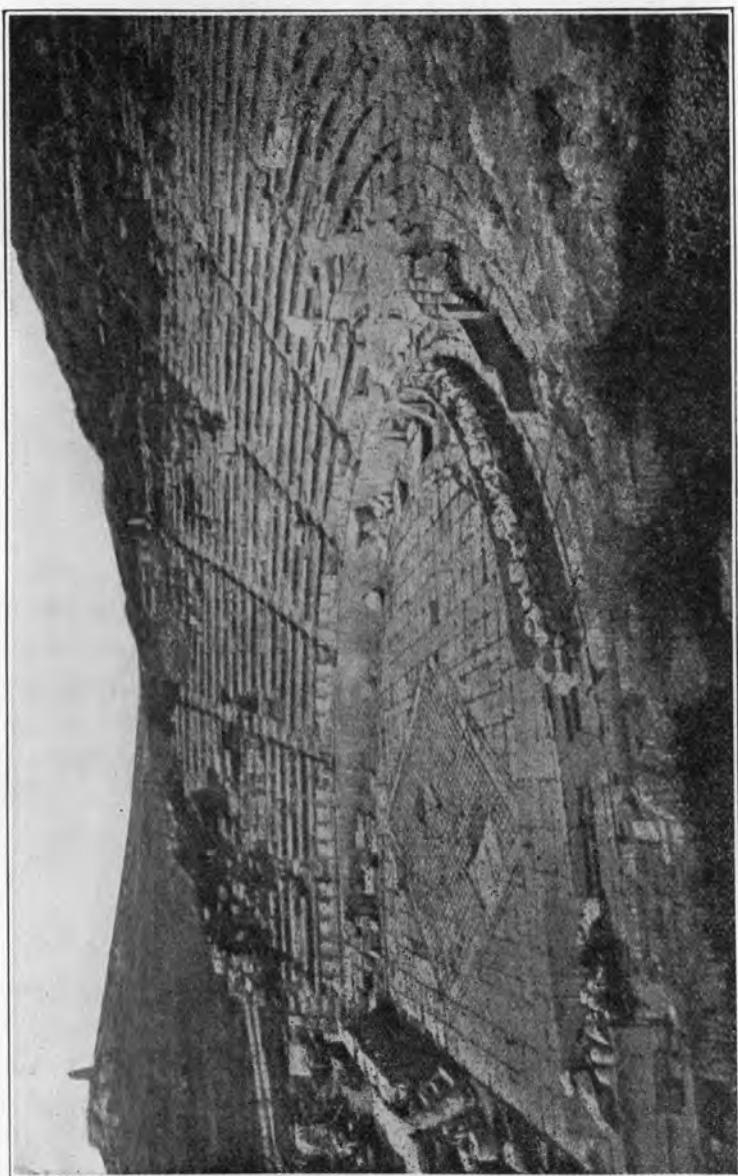
THEATER AND PRECINCT OF DIONYSUS.

From the Acropolis.

brought buzzing round his ears. Socrates, finding him hopelessly stupid, has him fetch, as a likelier pupil, the son, Phidippides himself, and the old fellow soon "gets him back," as the sage had promised, "a dexterous sophist" indeed, who beats his sire, old foggy that he is, in a quarrel touching the merits of Euripides (whom the satirist couples again with Socrates in the *Frogs*, of date 405), and then proves by argument that his conduct is just. The denouement is swift and complete: Strepsiades, his aged shanks still aching and his poor brain amuddle, in revenge sets fire to the school of Socrates and smokes out the whole cult. Thus, whatever hostility Aristophanes may show by the way, it is clear that he intends as primary

that charge which is inherent in the plot itself, where Socrates appears as playing fast and loose with the logic of moral conduct and corrupting the civic honesty and fireside humility of the young men.

This is the episode of 423 so far as it concerns biography.



DIONYSIAC THEATER FROM THE EAST.

The bearing of the brilliant burlesque on Socrates's thought and character we can consider, if need be, in later chapters.

What may have been the effect of the *Clouds* on Socrates we have no means of telling. He may well have been amused; it is

possible that he at some time exchanged jests with the author over the wine as in Plato's Symposium. To the professional satirist, especially when he clothes his comments in the fantastic creations of a tale and the remoter language of poetry, much has always been forgiven; and the personal jibe was the familiar custom in the old comedy. Moreover, though Aristophanes is certainly expressing a serious conviction, the spirit of mirth is here regnant over bitterness and spite. It is the large laughter of Dryden, not the stinging sneer of Pope. Nor could Socrates have realized, looking forward, as he must have come to realize, looking back in his last days (Apology of Plato) that the fun his unique habits of life and thought furnished the comic poets (for Eupolis¹ and others beside Aristophanes appropriated him) was sowing the seed from the mature plant of which the drops of hemlock would one day be distilled. This is not the only case on record, though the chief, where human laughter has ended in human tears. But assuredly Socrates left the comic poets to themselves: they worked their work, he his. About twenty years later, if we credit Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, I, 2) Critias, still nursing an old grudge against his quondam teacher for an ugly vice publicly rebuked, got the despicable Thirty of whom he was the leader, to pass a law "against teaching the art of words," aimed against Socrates. Shortly afterward, a caustic comment on their wholesale slaughter of the first citizens to the effect that "it was a sorry cowherd who would kill off his own cattle" caused him to be summoned before Critias and his fellow-member Charicles, and reminded peremptorily of the edict. Xenophon represents Socrates imperturbably and archly asking questions on its exact meaning and scope and just what he may talk about anyway, the dialogue concluding:

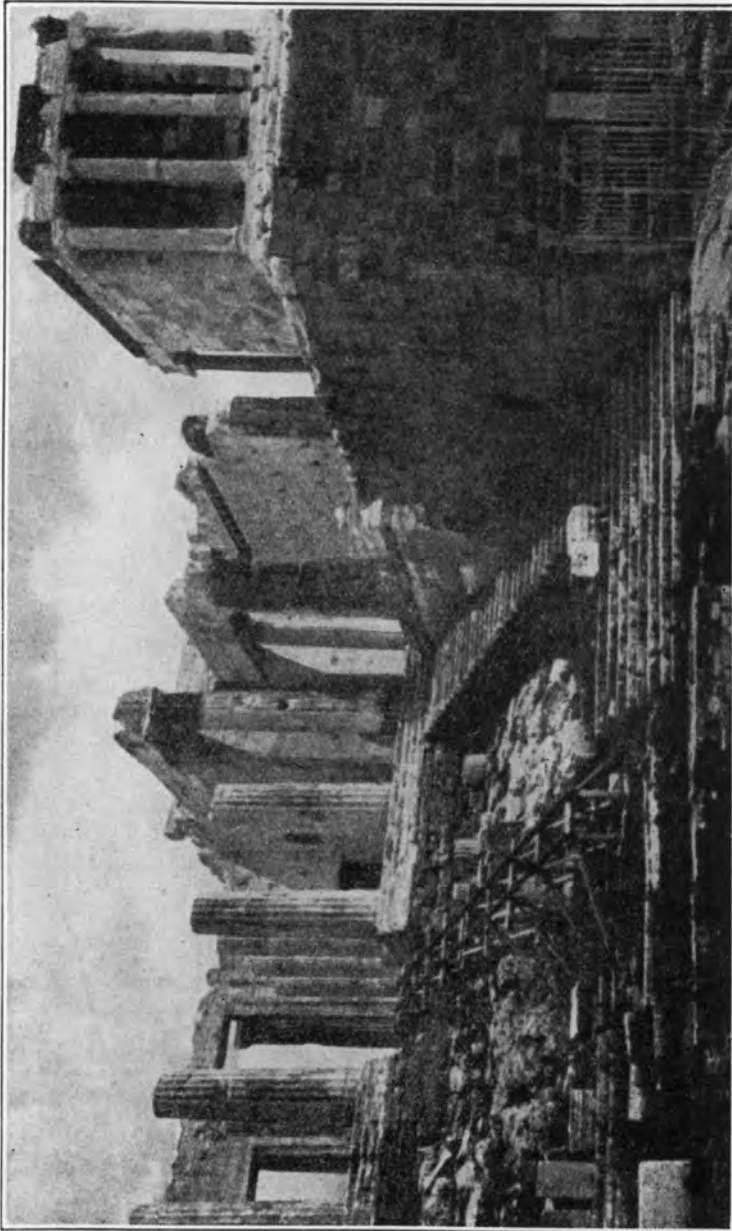
Charicles: . . . "But at the same time you had better have done with your shoemakers, carpenters, and coppersmiths. These must be pretty well trodden out at heel by this time, considering the circulation you have given them."—*Socrates*: "And am I to hold away from their attendant topics also—the just, the holy, and the like?"—*Charicles*: "Most assuredly, and from *cowherds* in particular; or else see that you do not lessen the number of the herd yourself."

We have already observed Socrates disobeying the Thirty at the risk of his life. Their hatred of him certainly had a deeper

¹ Eupolis seems to have been particularly sharp: in one fragment a character says, "I too hate this Socrates, the beggar of a twaddler"; and another fragment hints at criminal conduct (atheism?) and advises burning him in the cross-ways.

source than the spite of their leader; they too worked their work, he his.

But for all their bloodshed, the execution of Socrates was to be reserved for others. Democracy, in one more effort to vindicate



THE PROPYLAEA ON THE ACROPOLIS.

itself as the highest principle of government among mankind, has once more control in Athens, as we come to the one remaining date in Socrates's career that has been preserved for posterity.

We are there in the year 399 before Christ. We see little

groups talking in the street. We see an ever shifting crowd at the portico before the office of the second archon. Now a scholar with book-roll in the folds of his mantle, now an artisan with saw and square, now a farmer with a basket of fruit, now a pair of young dandies, with staffs in their hands and rings on their fingers, cross over and, having edged near enough for a look at the parchment hung up on the wall, go their ways, some with the heartlessness of jest or of pitying commonplaces, some with the sorrow and indignation of true hearts.

We see, also, an old man of seventy years coming down the step. He, too, has had a look, but from the whimsical wrinkles on his cheek and brow we cannot make out what he thinks of it. A number of urchins follow after him hooting.

It seems that Meletus, instigated by Anytus and Lycon, has done this thing; and on the parchment which he but this morning affixed in the portico are the following words:

"INDICTMENT.

"Socrates is guilty of crime: first for not worshipping the gods whom the city worships, but introducing new divinities of his own; next for corrupting the youth. Penalty: DEATH."

Tradition has it that Socrates had offended Anytus, a rich dealer in leather, by trying to dissuade him from bringing up his talented son in his father's profession, Anytus being, besides, a leading politician and one of the helpers of Thrasybulus in expelling Critias and the Thirty. But it would be a superficial reading of history to see in Anytus more than the unenviable symbol or spokesman of a hostility that had been gathering head for over a generation, and the wonder is that it reserved its indictment so long. In no other city of the ancient world, as Grote was presumably the first to point out, would there have been that long toleration of such individual dissent of opinion, taste, and behavior. If Athens needed a Socrates, no less did a Socrates need an Athens; nor has history a parallel to such reciprocal opportunity between a citizen and his city. The forces that finally destroyed Socrates should not blind us to this.

Those forces may be speedily set down. There were the popular prejudices and vagrom misconceptions of the conservative or ignorant, gentlemen of the old school and nondescript proletariat, who saw in Socrates the father of the rascalities of Alcibiades and Critias, and the clever humbug of the stage of the Dionysiac theater.

There was the personal resentment of no small number of influential men (if we make shrewd use of the hints in our source-books), whose pretensions had been exploded by the Socratic wit or mocked by the Socratic irony; and truth has ever been a nauseous drug in the belly of Sham, nor always a cure. Lycon the rhetorician, and Meletus, the poet, may have been among them. There was, again, the democratic reaction at the turn of the century, dangerous to Socrates not only as giving free play to the forces named, but, like any defeated party again in power, as peculiarly suspicious of moral or political heresy. Socrates at this time (if not, as seems likely, also in early years) exercised his ethical influence chiefly on young men; and he was suspected of aristocratic sympathies, from the political character of some of his associates and from such not very dark sayings as that on the folly of electing ships'-pilots by lot.

Yet, so high his reputation for goodness and wisdom, so loyal and earnest his friends, that even now he might have escaped the worst, had it not been for his own lofty indifference. He seems as one driven to furnish to the aftertimes the logical conclusion of such a life:

“Die wenigen, die von der Wahrheit was erkannt,
Und thöricht genug ihr volles Herz nicht wahrten,
Dem Pöbel ihr Gefühl, ihr Schauen offenbarten.
Hat man von je gekreuzigt und verbrannt.”

The orator Lysias is said to have offered him a written speech, which he refused. His warning voice checked him, it is said, whenever he himself meditated what tactics to employ. And to a friend urging him to prepare a defense he is reported to have answered, “Do I not seem to have been preparing that my whole life long?” And so he continued “conversing and discussing everything rather than the pending suit,” until sun rose on the day of the trial.

The dicasts are assembled, some five hundred citizen judges over thirty years of age, ultimately owing their positions merely to the chance of choice by lot—a supreme court of idlers, artisans, and everybodies. The accusers speak; they reiterate the old charges: Men of Athens, behold the infidel, behold the corrupter of your sons. Socrates, rising, disdains the customary appeals for clemency, which even Pericles is said to have stooped to when Aspasia had been indicted before the dicastery for impiety: not merely because such whimpering is contrary to the laws—but because it is contrary to Socrates. He reviews his life. He is eloquent, uncompromising,

unperturbed. The vote is taken on the question of guilt, and the verdict is against him by an encouragingly small majority. Socrates is now offered according to custom an opportunity to suggest his punishment. He has still a fair chance to live. His friends anxiously await his reply—will he jest himself into eternity?—or will he preach, where he ought to beg? My punishment?—let it be a place in the prytaneum, the public dining hall, where you entertain at the expense of the state members of the council, ambassadors, and at times those private citizens whom, as owing most to, you most delight to honor. Then, as if they perhaps wished an alternative, he suggests a modest fine—a mina; but “Plato, Crito, Critobulus

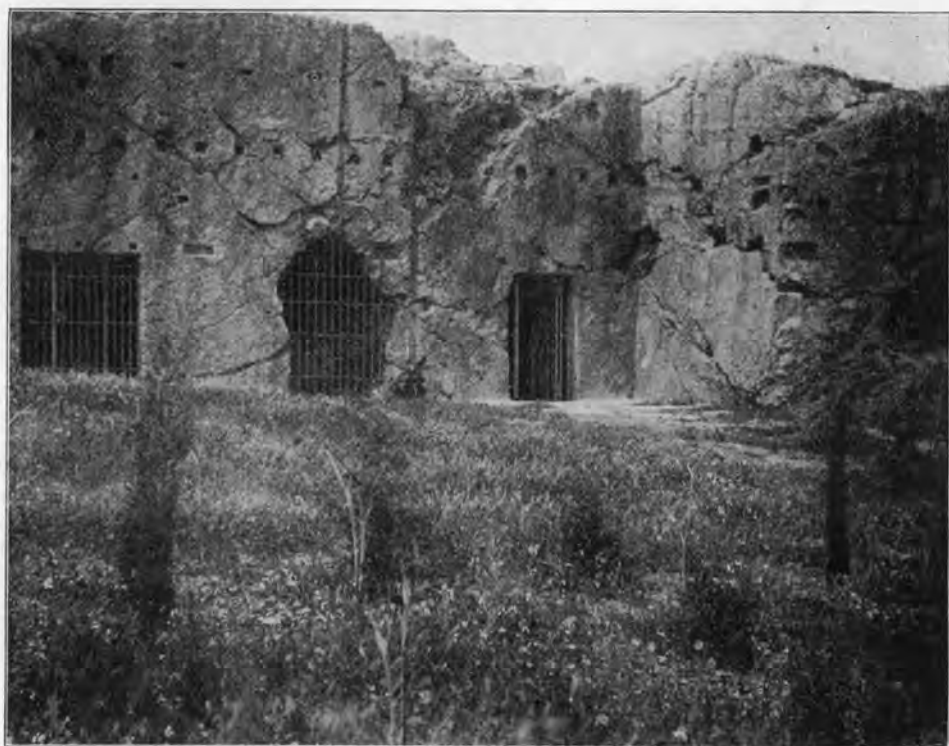


INTERIOR OF THE PARTHENON.

and Apollodorus, my friends here, bid me say thirty minae, and they will be the sureties.” The second vote is taken, and eighty who had just before voted him innocent are added to that majority which now condemns him to death. It seems he is rising again: “The difficulty, my friends, is not to avoid death, but to avoid unrighteousness; for that runs faster than death....” As to the hereafter—perhaps....if eternal sleep, good; if a journey to another place, good.... “What infinite delight would there be in conversing with” the great dead.... “In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions”.... “Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty, that no evil can befall a good man whether he be alive or dead”.... “But

the hour of departure is at hand, and we go our ways—I to die, you to live; but which of us unto the better affair remains hid from all save the Divine ($\tau\tilde{\phi} \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\phi}$)."

Such are the hints from Plato's Apology, a document which, as I have indicated before, though it can no longer be accepted as stenography, must never lose in men's eyes its essential value as the most eminent disciple's testimony to the extraordinary character of his master's conduct and speech on that impressive occasion—for here Plato is putting forth no one of his own peculiar



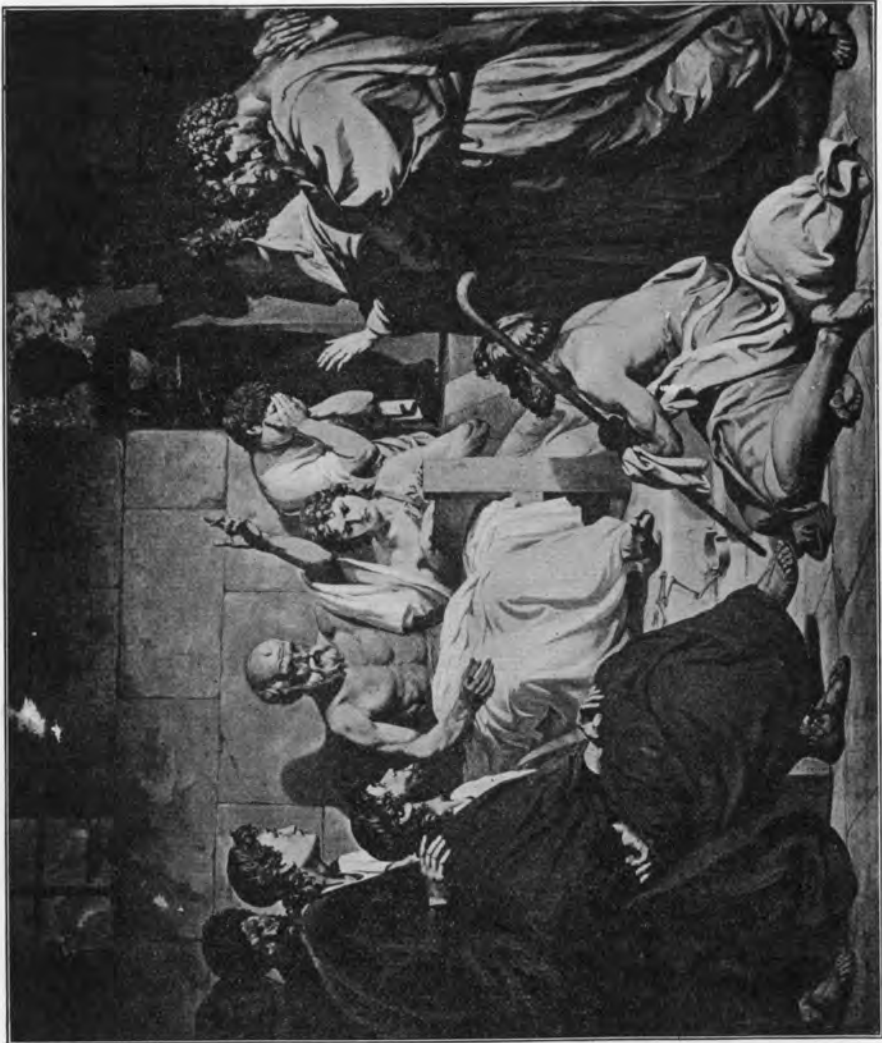
THE SO-CALLED PRISON OF SOCRATES.

Part of an ancient dwelling.

doctrines, and here, if anywhere, piety would tip his pen once and again with the recollected word and cadence. His witness is borne out by the lesser disciple; and Xenophon says (*Memorabilia*, IV, 8) that the defense was "happy in its truthfulness, its freedom, its rectitude"; and that "he bore the sentence of condemnation with infinite gentleness and manliness." There exists no tradition or assertion to the contrary; and Cicero (*De Oratore*, I, 54) long ago phrased what is likely to remain the permanent judgment of mankind: *Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplex*

aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse iudicium—"he spoke not as suppliant or defendant but as master and lord of his judges."

He lay a month in prison; for it was "the holy season of the mission to Delos." Phaedo explains the circumstance to Eche-crates at Phlius: "The stern of the ship which the Athenians send



SOCRATES IN PRISON.
From the painting by Neide.

to Delos happened to have been crowned on the day before he was tried. . . . the ship in which, according to Athenian tradition, Theseus went to Crete when he took with him the fourteen youths, and was the saviour of them and himself. And they are said to have vowed to Apollo at the time that, if they were saved, they would send a yearly mission to Delos. . . . Now. . . . the whole period of the voyage

is a holy season, during which the city is not allowed to be polluted by public executions....” Let the irony of the situation be remarked without bitterness or rhetoric: the imaginative but fatuous city punctiliously guarding against a formal and meaningless blasphemy only to blaspheme against truth by slaying its prophet.

He spent these days in conversation with the Socratic circle. Means of escape to foreign parts seem to have been arranged for by his friends, which as all the generations know, he firmly declined, though men begin to doubt if his reasons as given in the *Crito* be not primarily Platonic. He would not disobey the laws, but more than that he would not and he could not, by a kind of cowardice which would have ever after thrown its shadow back upon seventy brave years of loyalty to himself, violate the logic of his being. “Socrates did well to die,” said Shelley, speaking for all of us; and martyrdom was not the least part of his mission to men.

The last day is the subject of the *Phaedo*. There is a sublime beauty and justice in Plato’s electing this solemn time for putting into the mouth of Socrates his own doctrines of immortality, though metempsychosis and the ideas were very far from the simple “perhaps” and the ethical trust of the more historic Socrates in the *Apology*. But, when the argument is over, the realism of art seems to draw close to that of poignant and immediate fact. Socrates has bathed to save trouble for those who would have to care for the corpse, and dismissed poor Xanthippe and the children “that they might not misbehave” at the crisis. The jailer appears—“Be not angry with me....you know my errand.” Then, bursting into tears, he turns away and goes out, as the condemned answers his good wishes and farewells. The sun sets behind the hill-tops, visible possibly from the prison windows. “Raising the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drinks off the poison.” The friends weep and cry out; it is Socrates, with the venom working through the stiffening limbs up to the old heart, who comforts and consoles them. Now he has lain down and covered himself over. Perhaps the sobs are hushed in the strain of the ultimate suspense. He throws back the sheet from his face: “*Crito*, I owe a cock to *Asclepius*; will you remember to pay the debt?” These, adds Plato, were his last words, the paganism of which so distressed his admirers in the early Christian church, who failed to see their playful and pathetic gratitude to the god of health who has now—cured him of all earthly ills.

Were the people of the planet, wearied with erecting statues of the admirals and cavaliers, to set up in some city, more en-

lightened than the rest, a memorial to this hero of their ancestral stock, they should cause to be carved upon one oblong of the base, beside honest sayings of the sage's own upon the other three: "*No one within the memory of men ever bowed his head more beautifully to Death.*" The judgment was true when Xenophon wrote it down; and it were to-day far more true than most that is graven in bronze or stone, though since then countless millions have met Death where he came, at the stake, on the scaffold, in the mountains, in the highway, in the house; some with curses, some with exaltation, some with terror, and many with calm courage and noble peace.

CONYBEARE ON "THE HISTORICAL CHRIST."

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

INASMUCH as Conybeare's "searching criticism," so far at least as it touches my work (and it would be officious as well as impertinent for me to mingle in his fray with others), concerns itself mainly with details, rarely considering the case on its general merits, the order of the following comments would seem to be prescribed by the order of strictures presented in his book, *The Historical Christ*.

1. Conybeare holds that if Jesus never lived, neither did Solon, nor Epimenides, nor Pythagoras, nor especially Apollonius of Tyana. By what token? The argument is not presented clearly. One cannot infer from the Greek worthies to Jesus, unless there be close parallelism; that there is really any such, who will seriously affirm? By far the strongest example, on which Conybeare seems to rest his case, is that of the Tyanean. But is it a parallel? Certainly and absolutely, No. How much romance may lie in Philostratus's so-called "Life of Apollonius," we need not here discuss, nor the numerous apparent echoes of the Gospels, but all efforts to show that Apollonius is a parallel to Jesus are idle, now as in the days of Hierocles. Let us consider some specimens.

Page 6 of *The Historical Christ* bewilders greatly. One wonders where to find such data,—certainly not in Philostratus. Exaggeration marks nearly every sentence. E.g., "He had a god Proteus for his father." But Philostratus says, "his father bore the same name" (Apollonius), adding that a "phantom of an Egyptian demon came to his mother while pregnant," whom she undismayed asked what she would bear, and who replied, "Me." She asked, "But who are you?" and he answered "Proteus." That is all, and is interpreted by Philostratus as presaging the versatility of his hero. Philostratus subjoins that the natives say that Apollonius was a child (*paîda*) of Zeus, but "he calls himself son of Apollonius." It is not even hinted but positively excluded that he "was born of

a virgin." The meteoric portents "in the heavens" reduce to this: "the natives say that just as he was born a thunderbolt, seeming to be going to fall on the earth, was carried up in the ether and disappeared on high"—just an ordinary fancy after the fact and symbolizing future distinction, as interpreted by Philostratus.

He "appeared after death to an incredulous believer." Verily, but in a *dream* only! The youth "fell asleep," after praying for nine months that "Apollonius would clear up the doctrine about the soul," then "starting up from rudely broken slumber and streaming with perspiration" he cried, "I believe thee." His companions asking what was the matter, he said, "See ye not Apollonius the sage, that he is present with us, hearkening to our discourse and reciting wondrous words about the soul"? They though see nothing. The youth says, "He seems to come to converse with me alone concerning what I believed not," and then quotes to them what Apollonius said. All a mere dream, such as any one might have of a revered teacher, and told as a dream, of course with some rhetorical embellishment.

He "ascended into heaven bodily." Philostratus gives three stories of his death: first, that he came to his end in Ephesus, tended by two handmaids; second, that it was in Lindus, where he entered into the temple of Athena and disappeared within; third, that it was still more wonderful, in Crete, where he came to the temple of Dictynna late at night; the guardian dogs, though fierce, fawned upon him, but the guardian men seized and bound him as a wizard and robber; at midnight he loosed his bonds, and calling witnesses ran to the temple doors, which opened wide and then closed after receiving him, while rang out a voice of maidens singing, "Ascend from earth, ascend to heaven, ascend." The story is told by Philostratus merely as a story, not as a fact; its symbolic meaning is manifest.

This same note of exaggeration sounds through Conybeare's translation of Philostratus, and almost converts it into a tendence-writing. Thus he says, "Apollonius heals a demoniac boy," but Apollonius had naught to do with it; the actor is "one of the sages," the Indian sages; Apollonius is not mentioned in the chapter (XXXVIII, Bk. III). "The sage" means the Indian sage, who moreover is not even said to heal the boy, but merely to address a threatening letter to the "ghost,"¹—nothing is said of the result. Conybeare regularly speaks of Apollonius as "the sage," but not

¹ εἰδωλον, *idol*; observe that "the demon," possessing the boy, is also called *idol*, the term regularly used to denote the gods of pagandom.

Philostratus, who says regularly "the man" (of Tyana). Another "miracle of healing a lame man" turns out to be setting a dislocated hip; "but their hands having massaged the hip, upright of gait the youth went." Conybeare says "immediately," but not Philostratus. "And another man had had his eyes put out, and he went away having recovered the sight of both of them." Philostratus says, "And one having been flowing as to his eyes (*ophthalmō erryēkōs*) went away all having in them light." The reference seems to be to bleared, rheumy,² weak or watery eyes cured by the manipulations of the Indian sages. "Another had his hand paralyzed but left their presence in full possession of the limb." Philostratus says "another being weak in his hand, went away strong" (*egkrates*, empowered),—as well he might with no miracle. "Abaris who traveled on a broomstick through the air... is rivaled in his enterprise by Apollonius"; but Philostratus merely says that "to some occurred the report of Abaris of old, and that he [Apollonius] might launch into something similar, but he [Apollonius] without even declaring his mind to Damis set sail with him for Achaia."

Examples of this tendency could be multiplied almost *ad libitum*. Undoubtedly Philostratus means to cast a glamour of the extraordinary over his hero (though apparently avoiding any unequivocal affirmation of the miraculous): he tells many traveler's tales and sets down all sorts of popular stories, mainly of supernatural insight, foresight, and second sight. Such legends gather round many or all notable characters, and many not notable. "Heaven lies about us in our infancy," and our neighbor the rest of the time. No one would think of denying the historicity of Jesus, *merely* because miraculous legends had gathered about him. In *Ecce Deus* (pp. 78-79) I have distinctly disclaimed any such notion. The point is that there must be *independent indications of historicity*. The legends themselves are *not* evidence. If the independent evidences be present, the legends make no difference,

² The verb *rheo*, to flow, whence *rheum* and derivatives, was regularly used to denote such conditions, as well as its derivatives *rhyas* and others. To interpret the words "having been flowing at the eyes" to mean "who had had his eyes put out" is like interpreting the phrase "who had been bleeding at the lungs" to mean "who had had his lungs cut out." Besides, the position of the healing between two others, one of a dislocated joint, the other of a feeble hand, shows clearly that it belongs to a series of "minor surgeries."—In Book I, C. X, Philostratus tells of a man who "supplicates the god [Asklepios] to give him the one of his eyes that had flowed out (*exerryēkota*)," for his wife had "knocked out one of his eyes, having stabbed in her brooch-pins." Observe that the historian says just what he means: the stab had ruptured the eye, the humors had literally *flowed out*; hence the prefix *ex*, which is not used in the present case, where the eyes seem to have been affected with chronic rheum, but did not flow out.

but in their absence the legends cannot attest. Here is the distinction with the difference. No such independent witness has been presented for "the historical Jesus."

On the contrary, the whole body of evidence thus far adduced bears strongly against the historical character. When Petrie would prove Apollonius historical, what does he do? "Recognizing how easily the marvelous is accredited to any striking character, we place our faith more on the internal evidence of congruity." The "historical detail" is for Petrie the "basis for our acceptance of the authenticity of the narrative." He then sets forth six pages of details and "in all this mass of allusions to contemporary history and details of journeys there is not a single misplacement or confusion" (*Personal Religion in Egypt*, pp. 39-45). This is respectable reasoning. Will any one hold that it can be applied to the Gospels? Even in a single detail? Surely not. The cases are polar opposites. The stories in Philostratus do not "read exactly like chapters out of the Gospels." A statement could hardly be more misleading; they read neither exactly nor at all like Gospel chapters. In fact, it may be strongly recommended to the unbiased inquirer to read Philostratus, if he would form a judgment. The whole atmosphere is so totally foreign to the evangelic that he may be trusted to perceive that if one is history the other is not. Philostratus shows us clearly enough how a wonder-loving age would write about a remarkable revivalist, an impressive personality, an overmastering man, who lived in waxing fame and reverence for nearly one hundred years, whose disciples followed him from shore to shore and honored him almost as a god ("he came near being deemed both demoniac and divine," *Phil.*, I, 2). The contrast with the case of Jesus is too broad to state in a few words, and it points directly away from the theory of "the historical Christ."

2. "Jesus, our authors affirm, was an astral myth." But Smith is one of "our authors" and, as Conybeare knows, affirms nothing of the kind. At best, Conybeare's statement is one-third false.

3. "In these earliest documents [Mark] Jesus is presented quite naturally as the son of Joseph and his wife Mary, and we learn quite incidentally the names of his brothers and sisters." Who by reading this is prepared for the fact that Mark *never* mentions Joseph, who is named only in Matt. i. and ii., Luke i., ii., iii., (acknowledged late fictions), iv. 22, and John i. 45, vi. 42, also late? Moreover, Mark introduces Jesus *without any family reference* and only in two passages refers to any "brethren," in one of which Jesus declares his mother and brethren to be spiritual; the other passage, in which

they are named, seems to be a mere philologic play on the stem *Nasar*, present both in the Syriac for carpenter and in *Nasarene*. This whole subject of "Jesus's brethren" I have discussed in *The Open Court* (1912, pp. 744-755), showing that there lies in the term no argument for any historicity of Jesus.

4. "In Matthew v. Jesus went up into a mountain," p. 20. Matthew there says "the mountain," a very different thing, showing that he is not speaking of a physical mount but of "the mount" of legislative authority, as the king ascends the throne. What more unnatural than for a man to ascend a physical mountain when the multitudes came to be taught?

5. W. B. Smith is named among those that "insist on the esoterism and secrecy of the cryptic society which in Jerusalem harbored the cult," p. 31. W. B. Smith does naught of the kind, has never said aught of any such society in Jerusalem.

6. Conybeare quotes (p. 32) as a "naive declaration" a statement on page 74 of *Ecce Deus*; but he fails to hint the reasons there assigned. This misleads the reader, who naturally thinks of naïveté as unsupported by reasons.

7. "W. B. Smith's hypothesis of a God Joshua" (p. 35). Conybeare knows I have made no such hypothesis, nor ever used such phrase. He is seeking to identify my views with Mr. Robertson's, though knowing quite well they are widely distinct.

8. Conybeare says the phrase "the things concerning Jesus" "refers as the context requires to the history and passion of Jesus of Galilee." But Mr. Conybeare's peers, as Loisy and Soltau, admit that it can not, but must refer to a "religious doctrine," as I have contended.

9. "The name Jesus, according to him, means . . . Healer." How can Conybeare write thus? Where have I said that Jesus means Healer? In *Ecce Deus* (p. 17) it is stated that Jesus was "practically identical with Jeshua, now understood by most to mean strictly Jah-help, but easily confounded with a similar form J'shu'ah, meaning *deliverance*, Saviour," also "it suggested *healing* to the Greek, "its meaning, which was *felt* to be Saviour" (p. 16). Similarly, in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (p. 38), where it is said explicitly that "Jesus in the Gospels means naught else than *Saviour*." Zahn (whom even Conybeare must respect) sets forth (*Evangelium des Matthäus*, 75-76) clearly that "in assigning a reason for the choice of the name (Jesus) the notion of *saving*, *salvation*, *saviour* is employed." I have never said that Jesus properly meant *healer*, but only that in the consciousness of the early Christian in the Gospels

and other old Christian literature it signified *Saviour*, it was *understood* to mean Saviour. Such was *not the scientific* but the *popular* etymology. This is correct, in spite of Conybeare, as admitted by Zahn and others. Conybeare adds, "note, in passing, that this etymology is wholly false, and rests on the authority of a writer so late, ignorant, and superstitious as Epiphanius." Brave words these, but not discreet. Conybeare seems to forget that Justin Martyr, nearly 200 years before Epiphanius, and held in high repute by historicists, says (Ap. I, 33, C), "But Jesus, a name in the Hebrew speech, in the Greek language means *Soter*" (Saviour); also (Ap. II, 6), "Jesus has both the name and significance of man and Saviour"; also (Iren. II, 34, 3), "But his Greek name [corresponding to his Hebrew name Jesus], which is *Soter*, that is Saviour."³ Still earlier Philo (in *De Nom. Mut.*) translates Jesus more accurately by *Lord's Salvation* (*Iēsous de, sōtēria kyriou*) which is tantamount to Saviour. Enough, the statements of Conybeare are quite reckless.—It may be added that Usener (for whom Dr. Conybeare may entertain some respect) derives the divine name Jasos, almost indistinguishable from Jesus, from *iasthai*, to heal (*Götternamen*, p. 156). It seems incredible, then, that the Greeks should not have *understood* Jesus to mean Healer, Saviour.

10. "It would appear, then, that Apollos was perfectly acquainted with the personal history of Jesus." For this important thesis, where does Conybeare offer the faintest semblance of proof? The word "then" suggests that reasons have been given; but what are even hinted?

³ It is indeed plain from countless passages in Irenæus that *Jeshu*, Jesus, *Soter*, *Salvator* were all practically identical in the early Gnostic-Christian consciousness. Yea, the case is even clearer yet. In Iren. IV, 30 is a notable passage: "His name is glorified among Gentiles. But what other name is glorified among Gentiles than our Lord's, through which is glorified the Father and is glorified man? Both because His own Son's it is, and by Him was made man, His own he calls it. Even as, if a king himself paints his own son's portrait, he justly calls it his own portrait, for two reasons, both because it is his own son's and because he himself made it: So also Jesus Christ's name, which through all the world is glorified in the church, the Father confesses to be His own, both because it is His Son's and because He Himself writing it gave it unto salvation of men. Since therefore the Son's name is the Father's own name, etc." What is this wondrous name common to Father and Son? Let Harvey answer: "Irenæus refers, I imagine, to the name Jesus—JHVH JESHU'AH—*Jehovah, Salvation*." Indeed, there is no doubt; says the Apostle, "and vouchsafed him *the name that is above every name*, that in the name of *Jesus* every knee may bow etc." (Phil. ii. 9f.) Now it is *Jehovah* alone that declares, "Unto me every knee shall bow etc." (Is. xiv, 23), and only the Tetragram JHVH is "*the name above every name*." In some way then the names Jesus and *Jehovah* must be united in one. How? In the oft recurring phrase quoted by Harvey (II, 200). Remember that *Jeshu* (יֵשׁוּ) is the regular form of the name Jesus in the later Hebrew, as in *b. Sanh. 103^a, 107^b*; Irenæus alludes to it as consisting of two and a half letters (II. 34, 4).

11. The rest of page 38 is mere wild assertion. The passage in Luke xxiv. 19 I have treated sufficiently in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, p. 4; repetition is unnecessary.

12. Conybeare thinks it "verges on absurdity" to refer "the things concerning the Jesus" (Mark v. 27) to "the doctrine about Jesus." He gives no reason, merely affirming the hemorrhagic woman was hysterical, and that "in the annals of faith-healing such cures are common." On the contrary, I hold that "the doctrine about the Jesus" is meant, that the healing is purely symbolic like all other healings, that the cure of the unclean world by faith is set forth. The hysterical interpretation of Conybeare does not seem worthy of a mature mind. The Gnostics saw clearly enough that this woman typified something, and they identified her with the twelfth Aeon. For this Irenaeus charges them with inconsistency, perhaps correctly, but he does not defend the historicity of the incident; indeed he seems inclined to think there might be some symbolic interpretation, for he says: "If indeed eleven Aeons were said to have been affected with incurable passion, but the twelfth was cured, it would be plausible to say the woman was a type of them" (II, 34, 1).

13. Conybeare's discussion of the Paris papyrus is simply confident assertion, no proof is attempted. He tells us Dieterich says it can not be older than the second century B. C., but he forgets to add that Dieterich ascribes it definitely to the Essenes who are the "pure men" in question. "But who are the *pure men*?... Let us say it at once: they are Essenes or Therapeutae" (Dieterich's *Abrahamas*, p. 143). Here then among these Essenes, somewhere near the beginning of our era, we find Jesus invoked in exorcism as "the God of the Hebrews." Deissmann can find no way to evade this but by supposing the passage to be interpolated; but the context forbids this conjecture, the passage is necessary to the structure. This testimony to the pre-Christian Jesus remains unshaken.

14. Conybeare's discussion of the epithet Nazorean is too slight for consideration; its force lies in such phrases as "Smith jumps to the conclusion that the Christians were identical with the sect of Nazoræi mentioned in Epiphanius as going back to an age before Christ." If the reader will refer to the original discussion (in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, pp. 54-69), he will see how cautiously inch by inch this jump was effected. That discussion cannot be repeated here, nor the many elaborate articles since written on the subject. Suffice it that the theses of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* have not been shaken and are coming to clearer and more general recog-

niton. Read the recent monographs of Abbott and Burrage to see how "unhasting, unresting" the opinion of critics is turning into position.

In a footnote Conybeare seems to concede guardedly the pre-Christianity of the Nazoræi (which, in fact, it is wildness to deny: Epiphanius may be many undesirable things, but he was surely a diligent inquirer; his witness may be late, but it is in ample measure; he would never have borne it and tried vainly to evade it, had it not been essentially correct. To quote overstrong words, which Conybeare at least will recognize, written about this very matter, "the Christians were great liars, but they never lied against themselves"). If so, then farewell to the derivation of Nazarean from Nazareth, and farewell to Christianity as an emanation from a man Jesus, for, says Conybeare, "the Nazoræi of Epiphanius were a Christian sect." The Matthæan derivation, now generally surrendered, is simply part of the scheme of historization everywhere and increasingly present in the later portions of the New Testament. When Conybeare speaks of "Smith's contention that he was a myth and a mere symbol of a God Joshua," he is confounding Smith with some other—such is his prejudice against accuracy.

15. Similarly on page 45, where he declares Smith insists "that the miraculous tradition of Jesus's birth was coeval with the earliest Christianity," we have another of Conybeare's pious imaginations. I have uniformly spoken of both the Matthean and the Lucan "miraculous tradition" as late, very late—perhaps not earlier than the second century.

16. Similarly, p. 58, Conybeare says of an "ancient solar or other worship of a babe Joshua, son of Miriam," that "it looms large in the imagination of.....Professor W. B. Smith." As I have never anywhere alluded to any such "ancient worship," it would seem that Conybeare is at best a diviner of sub-conscious imaginations.

17. Apparently Conybeare urges no arguments against the symbolic interpretation of the miracles, especially of demon-expulsion. He merely complains that Smith's exposition "is barely consonant with the thesis of his friends," which may be irritating but does not touch the logical situation, since Smith is not accountable for any thesis but his own. But on page 67 he quotes half of page 57 from *Ecce Deus*, in which it is argued that the accepted view of Jesus as establishing a new religion by sending out disciples to heal a few lunatics is quite absurd, and it is asked, "Is that the way the sublimest of teachers would found the new and true religion?"

Conybeare comments: "In the last sentence our author nods and lapses into the historical mood; for how can one talk of a mythical Joshua being a teacher and founding a new religion—of his sending forth the apostles and disciples?" Doubtless Smith sometimes "nods," as do his betters; but he rarely snores so visibly as Conybeare in this comment. A child can see that in speaking of Jesus as "sending forth the apostles" I was not stating my own view, but the accepted view, which I regard as ludicrous. Conybeare would not allow Euclid to use a *reductio ad absurdum*. On page 68 Conybeare exaggerates immeasurably the prevalence of exorcism among Jews and pagans, and finds it strange that the Protochristians should use symbolic language about demons, which might be misunderstood. But such symbolic language was very common; it was a staple of discourse (as is clearly set forth in *Ecce Deus*, e. g. on page 116); it was certainly used about diseases quite as frequently as about exorcism; it harmonizes every way with all the historical conditions, with the temper of the time and clime. Mueller long ago (1861) interpreted the miracles of Apollonius as symbolic, and Kayser (whose text Conybeare uses) adopts the interpretation. The fact is, the symbolism is often so transparent as to be quite unmistakable. After seeing the solution of a riddle or rebus, you cannot help seeing it.

How scandalous is the exaggeration of Conybeare may be clearly seen from two points of view. First, the expulsion of demons appears in the New Testament as a most remarkable exhibition of supernatural power, as a distinctive sign of the divine might of the "new teaching" or teacher. But if "exorcists, Jewish and pagan, were driving out demons of madness and disease at every street corner," then where was the wonder? If everybody was doing it, what impression would it have made, what attention have excited? It seems strange also that classic literature should be practically devoid of allusion to such a dominant element of daily life, stranger that the revered Baur should write: "The belief in possession by demons, at least in the form prevailing among the Jews, cannot, it seems, be found in Greek and Roman authors of the time of Philostratus, even as to the Greek religion also the notion of evil demons remained almost wholly foreign" (*Apollonius und Christus*, 143). Still more, how amazing that Acts gives no example of such a demon-expulsion, not even in xvi. 18, and that early Christian literature can furnish no example. But, secondly, consider Apollonius, the master magician and wonder-worker. Surely he must have surpassed all others in demon-expulsion. How-

ever, Philostratus can tell of only one such expulsion, or at most two or three, and these are so transparently mere figures of speech, as Müller and Kayser have already perceived and shown, that they can not be counted at all. Here then the chief of all thaumaturges of the day lives and works well-nigh a hundred years without expelling a demon! Or even suppose he did expel half a dozen, one every fifteen years, while others were driving them out "at every street corner"! Would not such a prince of miracle-mongers be straightway discharged for "inefficiency"? It is clear as day that Conybeare's statements are the merest caricatures, not worth the least consideration.

18. Page 69. Conybeare complains again of want of harmony between "Mr. Robertson and Mr. Drews" and "Prof. W. B. Smith." Well, what of it?

19. Page 74. Conybeare rejects Smith's "thesis that the Christian religion originated as a monotheist propaganda," as "an exaggeration, for it was at first a Messianic movement or impulse among Jews etc." He offers no proof, nor says what Jews, whether in Judea or in the Dispersion. The steadily accumulating evidence points to the Dispersion and away from Judea and shows more and more clearly that the Christian was one form (itself having a dozen sub-forms) of the great monotheistic movement in the Judeo-Greco-Roman world, especially on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, proclaimed by zealous apostles from shore to shore, and in a more or less definite type of discourse, such as Norden exhibits on pages 6, 7 of his *Agnostos Theos* (1913) under the impressive title of "the Jewish-Christian Ground-Motive." The zeal and energy of this propaganda are attested in Matthew xxiii. 15, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte." How reconcile with this incontestable fact of the wide-spread monotheistic preaching and mission (*Missionspredigt*, Norden) the notion that Christianity emanated from a personal focus, a "carpenter of Nazareth"? Impossible. "A Messianic movement" could be and was a militant monotheism. It was God under the aspect of Heavenly Messiah, of preexistent Son-of-Man, who was the "Coming One" (*Habba*), now to be revealed to the coming world. To see in this movement a semi-political semi-racial agitation of a few Galilean crackbrains is to view history through an inverted telescope. The notion finds no sanction in any well-ascertained facts. As far back as our knowledge extends the goal of the movement is the monotheization of the world.

20. Page 79, Conybeare speaks of "the naïf figure of Jesus, as

presented in the Synoptic Gospels." Herewith compare the chapter on "The Characterization of Jesus" in *Christianity Old and New*, by Conybeare's sober sympathizer, Bacon of Yale, who seems to admit not one trace of naïveté in the thoroughly "conventionalized figure." It is worth adding that Salvatore Minocchi, the leader of Italian and a leader of European modernists, in *Il Panteon* (1914), a study of the "Origins of Christianity," while still championing at great length "the historical Jesus," admits that for Mark even "he is almost throughout a supernatural being," and that the two capital Pauline testimonies (1 Cor. xi. 23-25 and xv. 3-7) are interpolations: "such passages were assuredly never written by Paul"—all of which has already been proved in *Ecce Deus*. Thus leaf by leaf the roses fall. If one would set forth great things by small, Minocchi's abandonment of these three strongholds might be likened to the simultaneous surrender of Belfort, Verdun, and Warsaw.

21. Pp. 84-85, Conybeare sets forth his view of Mark's Gospel, protesting against the notion that Mark represents Jesus as divine, insisting that it is John that deifies. But all this is unsupported assertion; Conybeare never grapples nor comes to close quarters. He passes by the minute discussion in *Ecce Deus*, with a mere "we rub our eyes." Indeed, a hopeful symptom, but Bacon does better; he not only rubs but also opens. While of course not accepting the thesis of *Ecce Deus*, he goes far in that direction. He tells us that the "distinctive and characteristic trait (of Jesus) in Mark is authority," he might have said "divine power," for this "authority" is instantly recognized and obeyed as supreme. From beginning to end "Mark presents his central figure as in heroic proportions. The 'mighty works' of Jesus occupy the foreground." "'Christ' or 'Son of God,' rather than 'Lord,' is Mark's distinctive messianic title," "but this paragraph [xii. 35-37, where Ps. cx. 1 is quoted to show that Christ is 'Lord,' throned in heaven] fully expresses his own Christology, and sounds the keynote for his own conception of Christ. Jesus, from the time of his adoption by the Spirit and the heavenly Voice [i. e., from the first of Mark] became a super-human authority. He already sits at the right hand of God." All this is correct, only still too mildly drawn. Jesus is in Mark plainly an over-earthly being from the very start; the Gospel opens without hint of earthly origin of its hero. As to the title "Son-of-God," who does not know that it has been used for hundreds of years to designate more or less clearly a certain emanation or person of the supreme God, hardly inferior in dignity or power to that God him-

self? All attempts to minimize the meaning of the term are abortive.

As to John, of course it was never said and never meant that he reduced the power or majesty of the Logos, but only that he strove to humanize and sentimentalize, that he sought to ascribe distinctly human traits, and to add a so-called affective hue to his representations, as when he says "Jesus wept." This attempted humanization and sentimentalization runs through the Fourth Gospel and is plain to open eyes.

22. Page 88, Conybeare admits that Christianity was "a protest against idolatry, a crusade for monotheism," "when we pass outside the Gospels." If so, then it must be our own fault that we do not find it in the Gospels themselves. Christianity can hardly be one thing outside and another thing inside the Gospels. The truth is that, as the Apostle puts it, "our Gospel is veiled." The whole healing and saving activity of Jesus in the Gospels is a "veiled" statement of the progress of the early Jesus-cult in redeeming humanity from the sin (of idolatry and its endless train of vices). According to the apocalypticist (Rev. xiv. 7), the "eternal Gospel" proclaimed to all the earth is monotheism pure and simple: "Fear God and give him glory."

From such dreary details one is glad to emerge more into the open in reviewing the next chapter (III) on the "Argument from Silence." Conybeare's discussion must of course contain much that is correct, yet it is vitiated at vital points by rash assertions and tendentious constructions. He tells us that Matthew and Luke "Re-arrange, modify and omit," but adds that their handling of the Marcan and non-Markan documents is "inexplicable on the hypothesis that they considered them to be mere romances." But whoever said they considered them "mere romances"? On the contrary, they revered these documents as much more than historical, as deep religious poems and doctrinal treatises. But the fact that they did "re-arrange, modify, and omit" (nay more, unquestionably, invent wholesale, and contradict each other at will, as Conybeare will not deny) shows clearly as possible that they did *not* regard these documents as authoritative or binding in any historic sense. So much we may uncompromisingly maintain.

Luke's foreword strongly confirms our thesis. True, he says naught about "Osiris dramas" nor yet again about "the facts about Jesus," a fine phrase of Conybeare's own invention; his language is suspiciously vague, certainly not what this modern historicist would have used. For Conybeare speaks thrice of Jesus in six

short lines; Luke does not once use the word in his prologue. Luke says naught about any history, he speaks of "setting in order matters fully accredited among us." The word *peplērophorēmenōn* is rendered *vollgeglaubten* by the German master Holtzmann. If you render it "fulfilled" or "fully established," the meaning is not altered; the reference is not to a biography but to a body of teaching, for these "matters" (*pragmata*) "delivered us those who from the first were eyewitnesses and servants"—of what? of biographic details? Nay, but "of the word" (the doctrine); and why does Luke undertake this task? That Theophilus (God-loved) may know the surety of—what? of a set of biographic incidents? Nay, but "of the doctrines (*logōn*) about which thou wast taught orally." Sane commentators—who is saner than Holtzmann?—recognize that it is here a question of *doctrine*: "The closing words give the whole account a doctrinal purpose," and he renders *logōn* as above, by *Lehre* (doctrine).

Herewith then tumbles this whole chapter III of *The Historical Christ*. It makes no difference whether there were thirteen or three hundred "such documents"; their primitive object was not history but *Logos, doctrine*, which they set forth in various ways, by sayings, by parables, by edifying arguments, by symbolic stories. The idea of Luke, or any other evangelist, as crowding his pages with every form of historic impossibility (as Conybeare cannot deny) and at the same time gravely concerned and deprecating that Theophilus should get any historically inexact "information about Jesus," is one of the most amusing conceits in literature. Does not every one know that his chapters I and II are elaborate inventions contradicting Matthew's similar invention at every point? Does not even Loisy recognize the prevalence of symbolism in Luke, whom he calls "the great symbolist"? Yet this patent doctrinaire appears to Conybeare as a painstaking documentary biographer! We might have expected the like from Ramsay.

This chapter and the whole argument from "independent documents," upon which Conybeare has put forth his most earnest efforts, are disabled by two immedicable maladies: the documents, whether two or a hundred, are not independent, and they are not biographic. They proceed from schools of religious and theosophic thought, their authors are quite unknown, no one knows how many hands have been at work on each; there is not one sentence that may not have undergone revision after revision; the marks of extensive and intensive redaction, of insertion and excision, of every form of overworking, are still visible on nearly every page, and

to speak of such "documents," no part of which we certainly possess in any primitive form, as independent witnesses is to use words apart from their meaning. These schools were indeed not all alike, they differed among themselves like the colors of the spectrum, widely, more widely, and less widely; this fact complicates the general phenomenon but does not change its nature. Conybeare admits (p. 103) that John's Gospel "is half-docetic." Yet it certainly strives to humanize and sentimentalize beyond the Synoptics; it is especially concerned to exhibit Jesus as "the Logos become flesh." On its face this object is historization, to show forth a divinity in the guise of flesh; the very reverse of Conybeare's view that it was to exalt a pure human being into a God.

Conybeare refers (p. 104) to Ignatius's treatment of Docetism. "I too have not been idle," but have discussed the matter through pp. 351-364 of *The Open Court* (June, 1913), with the unequivocal result that the witness of Ignatius is directly and decisively against the historicists, a conclusion reached quite independently by no less a scholar than Salomon Reinach. If Conybeare will uphold his position he must answer these arguments. It is not hard to show that Ignatius represents a *growing dogma* of the humanity of Jesus, that he strives mightily to defend it against an earlier view, and that he has *no historic data* at command to support it, though he might have been alive at the supposed crucifixion, though he might have known the apostles themselves, and though he lived but a short distance from Galilee. Docetism was not primitive Christianity, it was itself a secondary growth, and yet Jerome attests that it flourished "while the apostles were still alive on earth, while the blood of Christ was still fresh in Judea." Conybeare's interpretation of Docetism is quite indefensible.

Page 111, he entirely misinterprets the hostility of the Judean Jew to the Jesus-cult. It was the universalism of the "new doctrine" (Mark i. 27), its breaking down the wall between Jew and Greek, its abolition of the Jewish prerogative, that was naturally enough born in the Dispersion but proved less and less acceptable to the Jews of Judea, where naturally nationalism was far more intense. Hence the *Jews of Jerusalem* are said to have crucified the Jesus, that is, they rejected the Jesus-cult with scorn and disdain. The Judean stumbled, was "offended," at the notion of the Saviour-God of the "new doctrine," the Jesus-cult; hence the plain words attributed to Jesus: "Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me" (Matt. xi. 6). The whole story of the Passion is an additament to the primitive Gospels; it is not in Q, as admitted

even by Harnack. All the historic facts in the case fall into order from this point of view.

In the following pages of Conybeare's work much seems wisely written, especially his frank recognition of the "brotherhood" of "monotheists of the Jewish type" "all about the Mediterranean," who were "something besides" in that "they accepted a *gospel*.... about a Lord Jesus Christ"—all of which I might have written myself, had mine been the pen of such a ready writer. It was pondering just such facts that forced me to the general conception of multifocal Protochristianity as first set forth in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. How any one can interpret such facts as implying the emanation of Protochristianity from a Galilean carpenter crucified a few years before, we shall understand when we learn how an irregular polygon grows out of a point.

In passing it is worth while to note that "Van Manen never for a moment questioned the historical reality of Jesus." Certainly not, for the dark overtook him midway; "the season of figs was not yet." After opposing Loman's view of "Pauline Questions" strenuously for years, with singular nobility and plasticity of mind Van Manen reversed his spear and drove it directly against the dogma he had so valiantly defended. Had his health been spared a few years longer, he might have written not only the third article in the *Hibbert* on "Did Paul write Romans?" but have accepted the radical view as thoroughly as now does his learned compatriot Boland.

Page 123, Conybeare assumes (without any proof) everything in dispute, declaring that "all these documents are independent of one another in style and contents, yet they all have a common interest—namely, the memory of a historical man Jesus." I traverse this pleading *in toto*. It is not true that any of these documents has for its "interest" "the memory of a historical man Jesus." The "common interest" in question is not a "memory" at all, neither of an historical nor of an unhistorical man Jesus. The "common interest" is in a dogma or body of dogmas, a "doctrine *about* the Jesus," a *Religionsanschauung*, as Soltau, reviewing *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, admits. It is notorious that no one can learn from Acts and Epistles anything about Jesus that has biographic content, it is all of dogmatic import. The primitive preaching of Peter and Paul tells us nothing about the life of Jesus, but primarily only that God had "raised up Jesus," where "raised up" (*anestēsen*) is used in its regular (Old Testament and Septuagint) sense of "set up," "establish," "install," "inaugurate," the allusion being to the "new doc-

trine," the Hellenized "monotheistic Jesus-cult" (Deissmann). Afterwards, as the process of historizing went on apace, this primitive proclamation was expanded and pictorialized into a story of "resurrection from the dead," where "raised up" has been dislocated in its reference. All this is set forth in the article "Anastasis" in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, and in substance it is now powerfully confirmed in Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*.

The story of the crucifixion is a similar development, a pictorial representation or symbolization of the rejection of that same Jesus-cult by the Jews of Jerusalem. The proof of this is already elaborated in an essay written in 1913 and perhaps soon to appear in print. But whether these particular interpretations be quite correct is not the real point, which is that the "documents" in question were not primarily, in their original form, historical, nor was their "common interest" historical, but dogmatic and doctrinal; as is clear from the fact that they tell us nothing of strictly biographic or historic scope, nothing that is not thus dogmatic and doctrinal, and from the further fact that they freely and everywhere mould the quasi-historical features to suit the doctrine under consideration.

Of course, no one denies the presence of these quasi-historical features, they are obvious; but perhaps in *every* instance they may be shown to be thus tendentious, to be free inventions, having generally symbolic but often purely poetic or dramatic function. As time went on, these fictions multiplied beyond measure, taking such romantic forms as in the first two chapters of Matthew and of Luke, and gradually all feeling for the original sense of the Gospel was lost, even as feeling for the primal meaning of the Greek myths was lost in bald Euhemerism. "It is curious to observe the treatment which the Greek myths met with at the hands of foreigners. The Oriental mind, quite unable to appreciate poetry of such a character, stripped the legends bare of all that beautified them, and then treated them, thus vulgarized, as matters of simple history." *Mutatis mutandis*, these words of Rawlinson fit exactly the case of Christianity, whose deplorable but natural and inevitable vulgarization has lasted to this day and in its totality constitutes the saddest sight that earth has ever shown the sun.

Page 124, Conybeare thinks it incredible that one tradition (much more six or seven) "should allegorize the myth of a Saviour-God as the career of a man, and that man a Galilean teacher, in whose humanity the church believed from the first." Verily! But in the final clause he quietly assumes the very thing to be proved, the very thing emphatically denied. The "church" did *not* believe

in the humanity of Jesus "from the first." No scintilla of proof can Conybeare show forth. The earliest evidences exhibit a "new doctrine" of a Saviour-God, of "Jesus raised up" by God as a Pro-Jehovah. The traces of gradual humanization are surprisingly abundant; numerous and *manifest*, too, are the *interpolations* made in the interest of the dogma of the humanity (as I have set forth in an elaborate essay soon to be published). But even in the second century the humanity was far from universally accepted. The *Teaching*, venerable and authoritative, knows nothing of it; neither does the learned Epistle of James; neither do other New Testament Scriptures; the most popular *Shepherd* of Hermas, issuing from and addressed to the inmost Roman Christian consciousness and esteemed as "inspired" by the highest authorities, knows nothing whatever of any earthly life of Jesus, whose name it never mentions. All these matters are only mentioned here but are treated at length in essays practically ready for the press.

Passing to "the Epistles of Paul," Conybeare apposes on page 126 two passages from Romans (i. 29-32) and I. Clement XXXV, 5, 6, to show that Clement used Paul. But the apposition is vain and belongs to a stage of literary criticism already overcome. The matter is treated in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, not in eight short lines but in four long pages (170-173), and it is clearly shown that it is reckless to speak of Clement's quoting from Paul, since it is blindness not to recognize in Romans itself a quotation or at least a reminiscence of a Jewish Vidui or Confession for Day of Atonement, an acrostic of twenty-two sins, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. To think of Paul's actually originating such a list in the midst of a heated argument is far more absurd than for a lawyer to extemporize a sonnet in a passionate appeal to a jury. Says T. Rendel Harris in his masterly monograph *The Teaching of the Apostles* (82 ff.): "There is ground for a suspicion that the Vidui of the Day of Atonement, the Catalogue of Vices in the Teaching, and the catalogue in the first chapter of Romans, are all derived from a lost alphabetical catalogue of sins." He might have added the catalogue in 2 Tim. iii. 2-5. Neither Clement nor Paul is originating, but both are quoting from common or related originals. Moreover the whole passage in Rom. i. 18-32, is on its face no original part of a letter to Romans ("Rome" in verse 7 is now admitted by Harnack and Zahn to be interpolated; the whole is no letter but a theological treatise, a precipitate of generations of debate), but is a part of the general "missionary preaching" of the monotheistic propaganda, a bitter denunciation of idolatry, itself

much revised, and has nothing whatever to do with any man Jesus or with the Gospel story.

"The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers," to which Conybeare refers p. 126, is certainly an extremely valuable compendium, for which we cannot be too grateful, but what is its logical worth may be inferred from its classifying the parallelism between Romans and Clement as "A a", to indicate the very highest degree of probability, whereas we have just seen there is no probability worth mention.

Conybeare's statement of the argument of my *Sæculi silentium* has so little relation to the facts in the case as to make any discussion well-nigh impossible. The causes (named on p. 130) of disappearance of Christian literature, alteration of creeds and rivalry of schools of thought, did indeed operate, but not against the canonical writings. To paraphrase the words already quoted, "The orthodox Christians were great destroyers, but they did not destroy their own." But this is not the worst of it. Conybeare seems to have mistaken quite the argument of *Sæculi silentium*. It is not there a question about writings that have disappeared, granted that they are countless; the question is about the works that have not disappeared, but abide with us even to-day. It is the century of such still extant works that is considered, and this century is found to be silent. It seems hardly possible that Conybeare could have read *Sæculi silentium* with any care. On pages 189-194 of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* the matter is clearly presented. The point is this. We have still with us copious works of that century, Clement, Polycarp, Barnabas, Ignatius, Hermas, Justin Martyr. These writers had frequent and urgent need for just such matter as lay at hand in the Epistle to Romans and other Paulines. They delighted in quotation, it was the staple of their argument; they seek diligently and with tears for authoritative utterances. If then they knew anything of our Romans, why did they pass it by in silence for a century? Such is the argument in *Sæculi silentium*, nor can it be answered by exclamation points and by caricature.

Like all other weapons of thought, the argument from silence must be used with discretion, but everywhere both in criticism and in daily life it is used and is indispensable. Hardly a book of criticism can you open but you find it employed somewhere. Thus, Munro (*Iliad*. I, XXVII) and Petrie. That in the case in hand it is used properly, and that it wounds mortally the prevalent notion about Romans, is plain to see in the intense anxiety of traditionalists to show that somewhere the silence has been broken; to every syl-

lable of the Fathers they apply the most sensitive microphone of criticism, if haply here or there they may detect the faintest echo from the Epistle.

Page 131 reveals a precious germ of truth, declaring that the supreme and exclusive interest of the Paulines, as well as the Paul (he might have added the Peter) of Acts, is "in the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Jesus," their author "manifests everywhere the same aloofness from the earthly life and teaching of Jesus." Nobly and bravely said, with enviable clearness and precision. But what other Epistle or (New Testament) writer after the Gospels shows any less aloofness from the early career of Jesus? Is not the supreme and exclusive interest of all "in the crucifixion, death, and resurrection?" And are not these all dogmatic moments? Is it not their doctrinal import with which the writers are exclusively concerned? One trivial amendment may be admitted. As the Paul of Acts never uses the word "crucify," and alludes to the crucifixion only in a section (xiii. 27-31) apparently inserted later in his speech, it cannot be said that he felt supreme interest in the crucifixion. Neither does Peter, who indeed says twice "whom ye crucified" (Acts ii. 36; iv. 10), and in iii. 14; v. 30; viii. 35 also alludes to the tragedy. But all of these notices seem to be secondary additions, and to form no part of the primitive preaching, which turned about the *Anastasis*, the uplifting, the establishment of Jesus as heavenly Son-of-Man, a pro-Jehovah and Lord Christ, quite independently of any resuscitation or any death. All this has been set forth in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (pp. 71-106), also with some natural variation in Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (pp. 1-92). The primitive notion is the *Anastasis* (Installation, *Erhöhung*—Bousset), from which the revival, death, crucifixion etc. have all been constructed *backward*, as in a dream. The first genuinely historic interest that we find is in the birth-stories of Matthew and Luke, admittedly late inventions.

The testimonies to a human birth of Jesus that Conybeare thinks to find in the Paulines are one and all mare's-nests. It seems strange he should cite such a phrase as "born of David's seed according to flesh" (Rom. i. 2), embedded in a concretion of dogmas impossible as a genuine address to Romans, and even there so obviously interpolated that our translators reached forward to the natural sequent (verse 4°) and boldly wrote "Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord," thereby impliedly recognizing the omitted words as inserted, though afterwards introducing them; while our revisers help themselves out by interpolating "even."

All such examples, and there are many, of dogmatic phrases disturbing the context labor under a strong antecedent suspicion of interpolation; many have been recognized as such by the sagest critics, who never dreamed of the present radical theory of anhistoricity. It is practically certain that many such are intrusions into the text, and it may very well be that all are. Undoubtedly the canonic scriptures have been revised and re-revised at many points in dogmatic interest; this none will deny. According to the chief methodological maxim, the law of parsimony, Occam's Razor, we *must* apply this admitted principle wherever we can, and introduce no other principle of explanation until absolutely necessary. Hence the historicist can prove nothing by any number of doctrinal phrases, easily detachable from their context and intelligible as interpolations, which fall out as soon as the text is shaken in discussion.

He must find some document wherein the human birth etc. are threads running through the whole web, which cannot be isolated nor understood as insertions. This he has not done, this he has not attempted to do, and in default hereof he is logically impotent.

The principal Pauline passages such as 1 Cor. xv. 3 ff.; ix. 1; xi. 23 ff.; x. 16, 17, have all been shown in *Ecce Deus* and elsewhere to bear witness not *for* but rather *against* the historical hypothesis. (Compare Guignebert, *Le Problème de Jésus*, for notable concessions.) Until these arguments are answered it is vain merely to point pathetically to these passages.

But on p. 134 Conybeare quotes 2 Cor. xii. 11, "In nothing came I behind the very chiefest apostles," and similar Pauline boasts. This seems suicidal. For admittedly Paul's Christianity, his seeing Jesus, the Lord, was a psychic process, a matter of intellect and not of sense experience; when he puts it in line with the apostles', what clearer indication could there be that their experience also was a matter of intellectual perception, of doctrinal comprehension, of spiritual intuition? Conybeare assumes everything, as so often, when he quietly identifies apostle with "personal follower of Jesus." But decidedly they were *not* "personal followers of the Jesus," the man of historic fancy. They were *missionaries* of "the doctrine about the Jesus," of the Judeo-Grecian monotheism, sent out from here and there all round the Mediterranean, the proclaimers now in the closet now on the housetops, as wisdom dictated, of the great *Missionspredigt*, set forth in type-form by Norden.

Naturally many of these twelve or seventy (both symbolic numbers) might have borne official relations to the early propa-

ganda, of which they were proud. Paul would seem to have been more or less independent, a marked individualist. It is doubtful whether the relations between the official apostles and the self-constituted apostle were ever so strained as would appear in a few passages in the Paulines; the Baurian antithesis did good service in its day, but its usefulness is over: "'Tis but a tent where takes his noonday rest" the critic that is addressed for the final and increasing truth. Apollos was another such apostle, also an individualist. For the more or less official apostles we have preserved in the *Teaching* a kind of manual of preaching and practice. It is a mere pious imagination on page 138 that "the older apostles prided themselves on their personal intercourse with Jesus"; it is not implied in 2 Cor. v. 12, nor elsewhere, save in the riotous fancy of the historicist. Page 138, Conybeare italicizes 2 Cor. v, 16, "*even though we have known Christ after the flesh,*" as one of "some texts which imply that Paul, if he did not actually see Jesus walking about on this earth, yet imply that he might have done so" (sic). But the highest exegetical authorities both conservative and liberal hold that it implies no such thing. Thus Heinrich (p. 172), citing Klöpfer, amends the elder view of Meyer and interprets thus: "Yea, if we considered even Christ himself fleshwise, if we misunderstood him and his kingdom totally" (as does the modern historicist), and (p. 174), "for *known* by no means presupposes *having seen*, but refers to a discursive cognition of the specific dignity of Christ." Notice also with what contempt Holsten dismisses such views as Conybeare's (*Ev. d. Paul. u. d. Petr.*, p. 432). The passage still remains obscure and questionable, but it affords no help to historicism.

On page 146 is mooted the question of the "brethren of the Lord." This matter has been discussed at much length elsewhere (in *The Open Court*) in my article on the "Kindred of Jesus and the Babylon of Revelation" and in my review of Loofs's "What is the Truth about Jesus?" According to the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* my position is there "skilfully defended against an able assailant," Kampmeier. Here be it only observed that had flesh-and-blood brother been meant, the phrase would have been "brother of Jesus" and not "brother of the Lord." Remember that Lord (*Kyrios*) is the Greek for Jehovah, also that Hegesippus quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.*, II, 23, 4-18) gives such an account of this James as makes it clear that he was "brother of the Lord" by virtue of his prodigious piety, and ridiculous to suppose that blood-kinship is meant; also that Origen expressly says he was "brother

of the Lord, not so much because of consanguinity or coeducation as because of his ethics and his doctrine" (*C. Cels.*, I, 47); also that in the Apostolic Constitutions, Book V, we read, "He that is condemned for the name of the Lord God is an holy martyr, a brother of the Lord." Now this James is said in Hegesippus's account to have suffered martyrdom. So, then, all the facts in the case are understood easily and naturally on the supposition that the reference is to religious pre-eminence, and on no other.

Page 146, Conybeare refers to the fact that in Mark iii. 31-35, it is implied of "his brethren" that they did not believe in him, and makes much of this apparent contradiction, as Kampmeier before him. But the solution is simple. There is no reason why "his brethren" should not be used by different writers or even by the same writer at different times under different conditions, in widely different senses. All of us do the like habitually. It was very natural in quasi-historic symbolism to speak of the Jews of Jerusalem as "his brethren" and as rejecting him, because the Jesus-cult was certainly Jewish in origin, though born in the Dispersion. Doubtless the Jews laid special claims to the idea, they were the protagonists of monotheism; although half-pagan "the monotheistic Jesus-cult" (Deissmann) was still theirs. And yet in the main they rejected it. Similarly Jerome speaks of the Church at Jerusalem as the mother of Jesus. Such figurative language was everywhere current in the Orient. The inconsistency then is only a seeming one. But even if the explanation were not so near-lying, the fact itself of the double sense would be incontestable; for in the *same* Gospel "brethren" *certainly* means "disciples," believers (at least so Magdalene understood it, John xx. 17-18), and just as *certainly* means *not* disciples but unbelievers (John vii. 5, "neither did his brethren believe in him"). Here, then, is no need to stumble, unless one positively prefers.

Page 148, Conybeare alleges that "blood relationship is always conveyed in the Paulines as in the rest of the New Testament" (and the *Christian World* of July 2 rolls the statement like a delicious morsel under the tongue), "when the person whose brother it is is named." How is it possible to characterize such a statement? The word in question (*adelphos*, brother) is used in the New Testament about 330 times, thus: Gospels 88, Acts 56, Paulines 132, the rest 54. In the Paulines it is used 130 times certainly in the figurative sense of religious or racial brother, the only two contested cases are those under review "brother of the Lord" (Gal. i. 19), "brethren of the Lord" (1 Cor. ix. 5). Conybeare has used "al-

ways" in the sense of *never*! Similarly in Acts it is used 54 times in the figurative sense, twice only in the literal sense ("Joseph was made known to his brethren," Acts. vii. 13; "James the brother of John," xii. 2). The Gospel usage is about equally divided. In the rest, the sense is figurative 51 times, perhaps literal thrice, twice of Cain's brother, 1 John iii. 12, and of Jude brother of James, Jude 1.

Page 148, "Smith withholds from his readers the fact that Jerome regarded James the brother of Jesus as his first cousin." He also withheld countless other facts just as irrelevant. Jerome's correct notion, agreeing with Origen's, of the meaning of the appellation "brother of the Lord," is not vitiated by his "Encratite rubbish" about first cousins and perpetual virginity of Mary; just as Conybeare's excellent investigations are but little impaired by *The Historical Christ*.

Page 152, Conybeare cites Col. ii. 14, concerning which it is sufficient to refer to *Ecce Deus*, pp. 88, 89, 197-201. Such phrases as are collated on pages 152, 153 have already been adequately noted.

Passing now into the broader campaign of "External Evidence" Conybeare complains that I have mangled Origen in quoting *contra Cels.*, I, 47. The "mangling" consists solely in indicating by dots the omission of irrelevant matter, as must often be done if books laden with citations are not to become unwieldy. Why quote 17 lines when only five are to the point? But on page 159 Conybeare controverts my statement that "the passage is still found in some Josephus manuscripts," and he calls Niese to witness that there are no such manuscripts. "By his neesings a light doth shine." "To-day the Captain is sober." I had incautiously accepted the statement of Schürer, the almost inerrant: "This passage occurs in some of our manuscripts of Josephus and ought therefore certainly to be regarded as a Christian interpolation which has been excluded from our common text" (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II, 18), unheeding the words of Origen's Benedictine editors: "to-day though, in Josephus-codices naught similar is found," and directly against my own wont, to verify every statement to the full extent of library and other resources at command.

But by this merciless massacre of a straggling metic, who richly deserved his fate, has Conybeare disturbed the march of the army? By no means. The peccant sentence was an *obiter dictum* unessential to the general argument. Conybeare, following Burkitt, who apparently follows the Benedictines, regards Origen's thrice-made averment as an error of Origen's commonplace book confusing

Ananus's murder of James with Ananus's own murder. Be that as it may—here is no room to test it. In any case the Josephine passage has passed quite beyond the stage of discussion represented by Conybeare and Burkitt. Harnack followed by Barnes has come to the defense of its Josephinity in a widely read article in the *Internationale Monatsschrift*, June, 1913, 1037-1068, which has rejoiced the hearts of historicists almost as much as his earlier reaction in the *Chronologie* tickled such as read no further than the *Vorrede*. But Harnack's structure has been pulverized by his own colleague E. Norden and scattered to the winds in an elaborate memoir in the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische A., G. u. d. L.*, XXXI, pp. 637-666, after having already been generally rejected by his compatriots.

There has also just appeared in Preuschen's *Zeitschrift* an equally elaborate, if less rigorously reasoned, monograph by P. Corssen on "Die Zeugnisse des Tacitus und Pseudo-Josephus über Christus," 1914, pp. 114-140. All of the Burkitt-Harnack-Barnes contentions are most easily refuted (as I have shown fully in another connection),⁴ and the Josephine witness comes ever clearer to view as in every word one of the most manifest and unmistakable of all interpolations.

Page 160, Conybeare alludes to my contention that the Tacitus passage is spurious, but his misrepresentation of my argument is almost too gross for correction. Evidently he presumes that his readers will never see *Ecce Deus*, pp. 238-265, otherwise he surely would never have printed his own pages. Here it is enough, since Conybeare is quite beyond the pale of discussion, to quote one sentence from an able and honest though unsympathetic reviewer of *Ecce Deus*, Windisch, in the *Theol. Rundschau*: "The spuriousness of the Christ-passages in Josephus is strikingly demonstrated; fully as worthy of attention appear to me his arguments concerning Tacitus."

Page 161, Conybeare states, "It is practically certain that Clement writing about A. D. 95, refers to it" (Nero's persecution). Discreet traditionalists maintain no such thing. The sufferings referred to by Clement are ascribed to jealousy, he does *not* "record that a vast multitude perished in connection with the martyrdom of Peter and Paul," and there is not the remotest allusion to Nero. The passage is obscure and probably corrupt; the "Danaiids and Dirkae" are bracketed by Lightfoot. Apparently the reference is to the *whole course of human history*, for he begins his list of the

⁴ *The Monist*, October, 1914, pp. 618-634.

disasters wrought "by envy and jealousy" with Cain and Abel, brings it on down gradually to Peter and Paul, and then says that "to these men (i. e., all the preceding examples, not merely Peter and Paul) of holy conversation was gathered a vast multitude of the elect"; on its face this gathering together was from the endless stretches of time from which he had taken so many examples. To see in it a reference to a Neronian persecution is to fly in the face of common sense. Compare the magnificent eleventh chapter of Hebrews (especially verses 32-40), of which Clement's chapters IV-VI may be regarded as a feeble echo. The "great multitude" corresponds to the "so great a cloud of witnesses" in Heb. xiii. 1.

As to "the cult of Augustus Cæsar" by the college of Augustals, as compared with the Plinian notice of hymns sung to Christ "as to God," little need be said, since Conybeare himself admits "one might perhaps hesitate about its implications," "if this letter were the sole record etc." Now it is precisely the existence of *any* "record" attesting the "purely human reality of the Christ or Jesus," that is called in question, and that historicists find it impossible to prove,—admittedly impossible, for such as Schweitzer and Noll content themselves with mere "probability." The case of Augustus is not nearly parallel, since there independent proof abounds.

Page 176, Conybeare says that in the "basal documents Mark and Q" "Jesus first comes on the scene as the humble son of Joseph and Mary to repent of his sins etc." What must be said of such writing? Is it reckless or merely "daring, bold, and venturesome"? Compare it with the *facts*, that Q as restored by Harnack contains no mention of any baptism of Jesus, that its first reference to Jesus declares he "was upborne into the wilderness by the Spirit to be tempted by the Devil, etc.," all of which is strictly supernatural; also that Mark says naught about Jesus as "humble son of Joseph and Mary," naught about his confessing sins but merely says "he came and was baptized, and immediately upon his going up from the water he saw the heavens rent asunder etc." The whole story is merely figurative, as Usener has clearly shown, and by no means testifies to historic fact. "Originally John the Baptist had borne only prophetic witness of Jesus. That satisfied neither those who had Jesus walk as God on earth nor those for whom Jesus was born as man" (*Das Weihnachtsfest*, 70). Hence the many varying accounts of the baptism, all of them dogmatic symbolic fictions. As complete corrective of these pages of Conybeare, it is enough to refer to a hostile work both honest and learned, to Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (1913), where the practical immediacy of the worship of

Jesus as "a heavenly preexistent spiritual being descended from above" is strongly stressed, as well as the fact that the Gentile mission "was in flood before the conversion of Paul, whom it upbore on its current" (p. 92), and that the term Lord (*Kyrios*, Greek for Jehovah) was in use among the Gentiles, so far as we can see, from the very first. Conybeare here seems to represent a point of view already overcome.

Like may be said of his remarks on page 187 against the notion that the primitive propaganda was a militant monotheism. At this point he should read Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, as well as Acts, more carefully. A single passage may be quoted:

"I. THE SERMON ON MARS' HILL AS TYPE OF MISSIONARY
PREACHING.

I. THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN GROUND-MOTIVE.

"'Knowledge of God' was a concept known even to the religion of the prophets, but in the Christian religion it became central; in the rivalry of the Hellenic religions, including the Jewish-Christian, 'gnosis of God' was so to speak the password with which the missionaries plied their propaganda: he who brought the true gnosis—and only one could be the true—guaranteed to the believers the true God-worship also, for knowledge and worship (*eusebia*) were in these circles one" (p. 3). Compare herewith a modest footnote in *Ecce Deus* (p. 64): "Hence the genuine Protochristian terms 'gnosis' and 'gnostic.' Knowledge of God and worship of God are the two polestars of the Protochristian heavens." As soon as one sees that the repentance of the New Testament is turning from the sin (of idolatry and its concomitants), that faith towards God is the acceptance of monotheism (or "the monotheistic Jesus-cult"), and that the Kingdom of God is the community of his worshipers, of the world converted to monotheism, all the difficulties that trouble our author dissolve and vanish—and all of these things are treated in *Ecce Deus*. The cure for Conybeare's "Art of Criticism" would seem to be a little more science of criticism.

Page 190, complaint is made that Jesus is taken as human and historical where use is made of the phrase "he said unto them." By no means! We use the Old Testament phrase, "Thus saith Jehovah," with no suspicion that Jehovah is or was human or ever uttered such words. The ancient religionist regularly accredited his own ideas and expressions to his God. On the following pages, 191-198, Conybeare asks many questions, all of which answer them-

selves for the careful reader of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and *Ecce Deus*. Dr. Conybeare also marvels much at many contentions in these volumes, which seem to have such frightful mien as to be hated needs but to be seen. When he grows familiar with their face, we shall see what follows. Meantime let us deprecate any reference to Habakkuk: "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish." But what if the historizing tendency of the Protochristians be queer and hard for Conybeare to understand? Does not Pindar say, "Truly, many things are wonderful"? The real question is not, Was it strange? but, Was it a fact? Did they actually historize? Let Conybeare himself answer, in his *Myth, Magic, and Morals* (p. 231): "Here we see turned into incident an allegory often employed by Philo." And again: "What is metaphor and allegory in Philo was turned into history by the Christians."

Herewith, then, having noted everything relevant that seems worth note, and more, we close the review of this book, a work of learning and power, not indeed bringing new arms into the fray but wielding old ones with strength and with skill. The author deserves and will receive the hearty thanks of all who were curious to see the very best that could be done with "rusty weapons" such as, the able historicist Klostermann says, "should be laid aside in the corner." Regarding the tone I rise to no point of order; Grat-tan has taught us that for some it is difficult to be severe without being unparliamentary. A reviewer in the *Academy* discovers in the book "a fine contempt"—and at times it might indeed appear to display a high disdain for certain things that other men of honor revere. However, the appearance is doubtless deceptive; it is only the zeal of the author that hath eaten him up. Besides, the radical criticism is certainly irritating (it is not every man that will write with Holtzmann: "I am too old now to unlearn everything and learn it all over another way: but for much new knowledge and for many a new insight I thank you most heartily"), and Dr. Conybeare intends to show it all the fairness it deserves. Nevertheless, with all its rare merits and its modest ambition to serve as a model of moderation, the book remains one of heat rather than of light, not always both cool and clear. The judicious admirers of the great scholar will not secretly rejoice as they read it, but they may repeat the consoling words of Pindar: "And yet, with fair fortune forgetfulness may come."

MISCELLANEOUS.

GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION AS FORETOLD BY A FRENCHMAN.

In Major de Civrieux's book, *La fin de l'empire allemande.—La bataille du Champ des Bouleaux 1911.* (Paris and Limoges, Henri Charles-Lavanzelle, 1912), we gain an interesting insight into the Belgian neutrality question as seen through French spectacles, and we get the impression that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was not only expected by France but ardently hoped for in order to make an end of Germany.

The book gives an imaginary picture of the end of Germany in the near future. This takes place in the following way: After the German fleet has been annihilated through a sudden attack by the English fleet, following, as the book says, the example of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war, without any further declaration of war, the invading German armies are defeated by the French at Apremont, southwest of Metz, then at Neufchateau, south of Toul, and on the Ourthe in Belgium; in the latter battle in conjunction with the English and Belgians. After these defeats the victors, strengthened further by the Dutch, press forward from different directions through the Rhine province and Westphalia, and finally make an end of Germany in "the battle of the Birch field" near Hamm. William II is also killed in this battle, as the last German emperor, his headquarters being smashed into a thousand fragments by bombs thrown from French flying machines.

In the book the following sentences are significant. First, that one in the preface, written by Major Driant, representative from Nancy, to the author of the book, and those by the author himself. Major Driant says: "The proposed violation of Belgian neutrality has long ceased to be a secret. True, every one resists this idea, we know that; but in spite of this, and in consequence of the intimate relations between France and England, this violation is unavoidable. It is of the most pressing interest to Germany to march through Belgium as quickly as possible, first, in order to hinder the junction of the British forces and the northern French armies, second, in order to gain the shortest and most weakly defended route to Paris."

The author, Civrieux, says in his imaginary description of the future war: "As long as the Belgian border was barred to the French movements every French attack, which found itself confined within the narrow space between Basel and Mezières, had to go to pieces against the powerful girdle of German fortifications in Alsace-Lorraine, and, behind them, against the fortified line of the Rhine. On this narrow space a campaign having a prospect of victory was impossible. Never could it have carried our troops along with enthusiasm. It would have come to a bitter and terrible struggle, and one of extreme sacrifice, without a spark of hope for victory in the hearts of the fighters. On the contrary, the superior mass of the Germans would have crushed the French through its weight alone, for the mobility of the French would have been restricted by the narrowness of the war area, yes would have been made entirely ineffective. But now, all at once, the plains of Belgium were open to the French armies, where, besides, there were 100,000 Belgians ready to defend the violation of their neutrality. Now the prospect was altogether different. After a victorious fight on Belgian soil there would be an invasion into the enemy's country, toward the Lower Rhine, which was without fortifications, hand in hand with the English ally who ruled the sea and would now set foot on the continent."

A. KAMPMEIER.

IOWA CITY, IA., Feb. 11, 1915.

“BOS ET ASINUS” AGAIN.

That the reading *in medio duorum animalium* is already found in the Septuagint all students of Biblical archeology know, myself not excepted. Note 4 of my brief paper in the January number of *The Open Court* makes mention of this passage in the LXX, and in my essay in *Modern Language Notes* (April, 1914) I quoted the corresponding Septuagint reading verbatim. Prof. H. J. Heuser must then have overlooked my footnote, else he would have known that the Itala did not form the last source of this erroneous version for me. I have mentioned the Itala as the version from which the Roman Breviary has taken the reading *in medio duorum animalium* verbally, but the Itala version is, of course, to be led back directly or indirectly to the LXX, for the Itala undoubtedly represents a Greek original prior to Origen's Hexapla. The Itala is the immediate, but not the ultimate source of the version in the Breviary.

In this footnote, which Professor Heuser seems to have overlooked or ignored in his criticism, I made the statement that the *in medio duorum animalium* reading in the LXX is a patristic interpolation intended to make of this text a Messianic prophecy. It is inconceivable, as Professor Heuser in his comment in the February number of *The Open Court* would have it, that this corruption of the text was made by the Jewish rabbis(?), who, in fact, in their translation of the Masoretic text “were necessarily and entirely guided by the living tradition which had its focus in the synagogal lessons” (*Encycl. Brit.*, article “Septuagint”). I am the last man on earth to take up the cudgels for the Jewish “rabbis,” but as an unbiased student of ancient as well as modern literature I maintain that this wilful alteration of the text cannot be laid at the doors of the Alexandrian Hellenists of pre-Christian days. It is true that the palpable mistakes they otherwise made would go to show that though proficient in Greek they had “an inadequate knowledge of Hebrew” (*ibid.*), but this reading *in medio duorum animalium* instead of *in medio annorum* is beyond the least shadow of a doubt an intentional alteration, and these Hellenists living one and a half centuries before Christ had no motive whatsoever to corrupt the text. We must bear in mind that this erroneous passage is not due alone to a wrong pointing of an unpointed text, though one would expect that the translators, who were well familiar with the Bible, knew the correct pointing of this very common word; in order to mispoint this word it was necessary for them to misread the word following, to substitute false letters. And what is more, this very same word which the translators mispointed, though in order to do so they had to corrupt the following word, was correctly pointed by them in the very same verse. Does common sense not tell us that this change was intentional? And in order to remove just suspicion a commentary was added to the word when it was correctly pointed. To make my meaning clear let me place side by side the two versions.

Habakkuk iii. 2

Septuagint.¹

Domine audiui auditionem tuam et timui. Domine opus tuum, in medio duorum animalium. In medio annorum notum facies cum advenerit tempus demonstraberis.

Vulgat.

Domine audiui auditionem tuam et timui. Domine opus tuum, in medio annorum vivifica illud. In medio annorum notum facies.

Professor Heuser thinks that in rendering the prophecy of Habakkuk into Greek the prophecy of Isaiah (i. 3) may have been ringing in the ears of the translator. Quite aside from the fact that Isaiah could not have meant anything else but the inferiority of Israel to the most stupid animals in his ingratitude to the Lord, the Giver of all life and sustenance, Professor Heuser

¹ The Greek reads:

Κύριε εισακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου, καὶ ἐφοβήθην. κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ ἐξέστην. ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ, ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπὶ γνωσθήσῃ.

might be interested to know that it was reserved to Cornelius to see in the two animals between which Christ was to be born the ox and the ass. First these animals were thought to be the Medes and the Persians. Then Theophylactus saw in these animals the two cherubim, others the two seraphim, others again the two robbers between whom the Man of Nazareth was crucified (Cf. Georges Duriez, *La théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au moyen âge*, Lille and Paris, 1914, p. 240).

But though I hold the Church Fathers responsible for this spurious passage I have not the least doubt of the purity of their motives, and my reverence for their fiery zeal in winning the world for Christ is not lessened by the fact that they had no scruples in putting into the mouth of a man who lived some six centuries before, words he would never have dreamt of saying. We all know that authors in those days were in the habit of attributing their works to men who lived centuries upon centuries before them with the purpose of gaining a better hearing. How many books in the Bible bear the names of men who have by no means written them. We must bear in mind that all the Christian evidence in those days was limited to the Bible. If the Jews interpreted everything out of, and, if need be, even into the Bible, the early Christians had to use the same weapons. Instead of calling this passage erroneous I consider it with Cornelius-a-Lapide (Comment. in Habac. III) prophetic. For though these words did not come from a man who lived six centuries before the supposed event, but possibly from a man who lived a century after it, they were nonetheless inspired—inspired by the loftiest and noblest motives.

Father Heuser is anxious to assure us at the close of his communication to *The Open Court* that the medieval mystery playwright was familiar with the corresponding passage in the Vulgate, a point which I have not touched at all in my paper. Many critics of medieval literature deny Biblical knowledge to the clerical dramatists of the Middle Ages. The prophetic quotations in the medieval mystery plays are so deficient and incorrect, as I have shown in my little work on the prophet-scenes in the medieval religious plays of Germany (Cf. *Die Prophetensprüche und -zitate im religiösen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, Leipsic and Dresden, 1913, pp. 20-21 and App.) that I feel justified in my statement (*Modern Language Notes*, April, 1914) that the Bible was for the medieval playwright a *terra incognita*. For a further defense of my standpoint and a repudiation of the charge of *mal connaître l'esprit du moyen âge* I refer my critic to my review of Duriez's works in one of the approaching numbers of *Modern Language Notes*.

MAXIMILIAN JOSEF RUDWIN.

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NOTES.

The University of Pennsylvania has published, in connection with the Babylonian Section of its Museum, a volume entitled "Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa," embodying the results of research work done by Dr. Edward Chiera, Harrison Research Fellow in Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania, on materials obtained in Nippur by four expeditions conducted by that institution. The book contains 110 pages devoted chiefly to transliterations, translations and annotations of specimen texts, lists of date-formulae of the Isin and Larsa dynasties, and a list of personal names. Following the reading matter and occupying one-half of the volume are a large number of plates, chiefly autograph copies of the tablets in question. μ



FIELDMARSHAL PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF AND
HINDENBURG.

By Rumpf.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 4)

APRIL, 1915

NO. 706

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SOME OLD BLUE-LAWS.¹

BY PRESERVED SMITH.

IF a "blue-law" be defined as the regulation from religious motives of purely private actions, it was not, as many people suppose, an invention of the Puritans, particularly of those who settled in Connecticut. On the contrary, the further back human history is traced the more cerulean does the tint of its jurisprudence become. In primitive societies the whole life of every individual is controlled with minuteness and rigor by a code considered divine. The only criterion of conduct, and therefore of laws governing it, which ever occurs to a savage, is the placation of supernatural powers; the rational motives of protecting public health and order were at first totally wanting. For the hardness of our hearts have the legislators divorced public law and private morality, for in the beginning it was not so. Not only in primitive times, but as late as the formation of the Jewish, Greek and Roman codes, the religious element is preponderant. In the Middle Ages, too, many vexatious ecclesiastical and sumptuary laws carried on the traditions of earlier times.

And yet, after all, there is something in the popular idea connecting the "blue-law" with the Reformation. That movement, by arousing the conscience without proportionately enlightening the understanding, by applying to an old method a new and intensified moral purpose, caused the statute-books to blossom with a whole set of regulations for the conduct of private life,—the "blue-laws" properly so called. This development is one of the many in which

¹ The principal sources for this paper have been the English and Scotch *Statutes of the Realm*, the French *Catologue des Actes Royaux* (in the *Catologue de la Bibliothèque Nationale*), Doumergue's life of Calvin, the *Calendars of State Papers*, Baum's *Capito and Butzer*, Egli's *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation*, Firth and Raith's *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, and the author's *Luther*.

the Protestant revolt for a time accentuated the tendencies it was destined eventually to undermine. There is no doubt in my mind that the total effect of Luther's movement was progressive and rationalizing; and yet there are in it quite enough returns to the past to give Nietzsche, for example, at least specious reasons for calling it reactionary, "a reduplication of the medieval spirit." As an example of this curious tendency, and also for the part similar statutes have played in American colonial history, it may not be uninteresting to set forth some of the more important "blue-laws" found in European codes during the century between the beginning of the Reformation and the foundation of the English settlements in the New World.

It is not always easy to determine in what class any given law may belong. At times motives of finance and public policy entered into the enactment of measures primarily private and religious. The sumptuary statutes prescribing dress, for instance, were certainly inspired by mixed purposes, and were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. The intention of *An Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle*, passed in 1532, was stated to be "the necessarie repressing and avoydyng and expelling of the inordynate excesse dailye more and more used in the sumptuous and costly araye and apparell accustomed by worne in this Realm, whereof hath ensued and dailie do chaunce suche sondrie high and notorious detryment of the common Weale, the subvercion of good and politike ordre in knowledge and distinccion of people according to their estates, preëminences, dignities and degrees, to the utter impoverishment and undoyng of many inexpert and light persones inclined to pride, moder of all vices." The tenor of the act shows that its main object was to distinguish the various classes by their clothes; the garb appropriate to the royal family, to nobles of different degrees, to citizens according to their income, to servants and husbandmen, to the clergy, doctors of divinity, lawyers, soldiers and players, was all fixed. The law was so often re-enacted that it was apparently unsuccessful. The passion for finery, so characteristic of Tudor England, evaded all supervision, and prompted the citizens of either sex to dress above their class in one way when another was forbidden. About 1560 Roger Ascham complained that people at court appeared in "huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colours," and that even "the rabble of mean and light persones," were dressed "in apparell against law, against order, for facion, namelie in hose so without all order as he thought himself most brave that was most monstrous in misorder."

The first Scotch edict on the subject that I have noticed is of 1567, "That it be lauchfull to na women to weir [clothes] abone [above] their estait except howris." This bill was not only "ap-previt" by King James VI, but was endorsed in his own royal hand with the words: "This act is verray gude."

The contemporary French code is crowded with enactments on the subject of dress, the first promulgated in 1543 forbidding all persons except members of the royal family to wear cloth of gold or silver or embroidery or velvet. This was repeated in 1549, and in a fuller form in 1561, forbidding also "satin, silk, taffeta and all other superfluties" save to a privileged few. But evidently *la superfluité* was *chose très nécessaire* as much in the sixteenth century as in that of Voltaire, for the sumptuary laws had to be repeated with great frequency showing that their spirit, at least, was not obeyed. One of these, of 1564 was for the reform of *grosses chausses*, the "montrous hose" of Ascham's French contemporaries.

It is noticeable that none of these laws were aimed at anything but the expense of dress, and yet the fashions of the sixteenth century was not unobjectionable in other ways. Readers of Rabelais will remember what a vast amount of indecent fun the garments of his fellow-citizens afforded him. Montaigne was probably quite right in saying that the nudity of American savages was far less indecent than the clothing of men in France. Though not so bad, the dress of women, too, was not always modest. The fashion of low-necked dresses, which originated, like so many other styles, in the demi-monde, was just making its way from Italy north of the Alps, where it produced various impressions. Rabelais jestingly proposed that it be enforced by law; when the fashion reached Wittenberg in 1545 it received a scathing, and, for the time being, effective rebuke from Luther. In England it was at once adopted by the upper classes, and was sometimes, at least, carried to excess. The vanity of Queen Elizabeth prompted her to go to such an extreme that once the Spanish ambassador at her court reported that at a reception her Majesty's gown was cut *jusqu'au nombril*.

Such styles were soon taken up by the lower classes, and in 1594 a "Mrs Tomison Iohnson," although a pastor's wife, was reproved for the following things:

"First the wearing of a long busk after the fashion of the world contrary to Romans xii. 2; 1 Timothy ii. 9-10. Wearing of the long white breast after the fashion of young dames, and so low she wore it that the world call them codpiece breasts....Whalebones in the bodies of peticotes, contrary to the former rules, as also against nature.... A copple crowned hatt with a twined

band, as yong Merchants wives and yong Dames use. Immodest and toyish in a Pastor's wife....The painted Hipocritical brest, shewing as if there were some special workes, and in truth nothing but a shadow...."

In the seventeenth century the low cut of the dress was retained but a guimpe was worn by modest women, the kerchief that plays so large a rôle in the tender passages of early novels.

All civilized nations have found it necessary to supervise inns and other places of public resort, and this police power may easily be used to correct private vices. Thus in France before a breath of the Reformation had penetrated, Francis I in 1526 issued letters patent empowering the governor of Paris to appoint a lieutenant and twenty archers to visit "streets, cross-roads, taverns, cabarets and other dissolute houses where vagabonds, idlers and evil livers are wont to resort, and to arrest and imprison people without calling, players of cards and dice and other forbidden games, blasphemers of God's name, ruffians and sturdy beggars." The preamble of this ordinance sets forth as the reason for this strictness the fact that the streets of Paris had lately become unsafe by reason of murders, robberies, ravishments and other "great insolences." Among the disorders within the taverns gaming occupied the first place. This was entirely forbidden in public houses on the establishment in 1539 of a public lottery. The real reason for this measure was undoubtedly the financial one, for the profits were large, but the law itself only mentions moral considerations, the evils of private gambling, the general desire of the public for honest games, in default of which they were driven to vicious courses. The example of Venice, Florence, Genoa and other cities is cited to show the advantages of a public lottery. The system has worked so well, at least from the fiscal standpoint, that it is maintained to-day in many European states. In 1577 Henri III passed another edict forbidding dice and cards for "minors and other debauched persons" in public houses, and this was followed six years later by a crushing impost on cards and dice. This act is particularly interesting as being one of the first experiments in checking undesirable pursuits through the taxing power, which is to-day the chief method of such regulation. That such was really the object of the excise is set forth in the preamble which declares that experience has shown that games of chance, far from giving the innocent pleasure intended by their inventors, only give rise to "cheating, fraud, deceit, expense, quarrels, blasphemy, murder, debauch, ruin and perdition of families," especially on holidays and Sundays which ought to be left free for the service of God.

Whereas the chief preoccupation of the French laws was the preservation of public order, neighboring Geneva, under the sway of John Calvin, dealt with the same problem in the most drastic spirit of Puritanism. There, in 1546, the inns were put under the direct control of the government and strictly limited to the functions of entertaining—or rather of boarding and lodging—strangers and citizens in temporary need of them. Among the numerous rules enforced within them the following may be selected as typical:

“If any one blasphemes the name of God or says, ‘By the body, ’sblood, zounds [*par le sang, par les playes*]’ or anything like, or who gives himself to the devil or uses similar execrable imprecations, he shall be punished. . . .

“If any one insults any one else the host shall be obliged to deliver him up to justice.

“If there are any persons who make it their business to frequent the said inns, and there to consume their goods and substance, the host shall not receive them.

“Item the host shall be obliged to report to the government any insolent or dissolute acts committed by the guests.

“Item the host shall not allow any person of whatever quality he be, to drink or eat anything in his house without first having asked a blessing and afterwards said grace.

“Item the host shall be obliged to keep in a public place a French Bible, in which any one who wishes may read, and he shall not prevent free and honest conversation on the Word of God, to edification, but shall favor it as much as he can.

“Item the host shall not allow any dissoluteness like dancing, dice or cards, nor shall he receive any one suspected of being a debauché or ruffian.

“Item he shall only allow people to play honnest games without swearing or blasphemy, and without wasting more time than that allowed for a meal.

“Item he shall not allow indecent songs or words, and if any one wishes to sing Psalms or spiritual songs he shall make them do it in a decent and not in a dissolute way.

“Item nobody shall be allowed to sit up after nine o’clock at night except spies.”

Touring Switzerland in Shakespeare’s time was evidently not without its disadvantages.

Merry England, too, became infected with the Puritan spirit at the end of the century. Unlawful games, such as “tennis, play, bowles, cloyse, dysing and carding” were indeed forbidden as early as 1541 but the sole object thereof was to encourage the practice of archery, “for the mayntenance of artyllarie.” Again in 1555 the licences of public houses in which “bowlyng, tenyse, dysyng, White and Black, Making and Marryng” were allowed, were made void, because it was alleged that they became the resort of conspirators. A very different motive inspired the “Acte to re-

straine the inordinate hauntinge and tiplinge in Innes, Alehouses and other Victuallinge Houses," passed in 1603. Here it is written: "Whereas the ancient true and principall use of Innes, Alehouses and Victuallinge Houses was for the Receipte, Reliefe and Lodginge of wayfaring people travellinge from place to place, and for such Supplie of the wants of such people as are not able by greater Quantities to make their provision of Victuals, and not for the entertainment and harbouringe of lewde and idle people to spende and consume theire time in lewde and drunken manner," therefore it is forbidden to any person "to contynue drinkinge and tiplinge in the said Inne, Victuallinge House, Tiplinge House or Alehouse, other than such as shalbe invited by any Travailer," or to any other man for more than one hour after dinner. Three years later it was thought necessary to pass "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunkennes," which is stated to be on the increase and to be the cause "of enormious [*sic*] Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion and Adulterye." This testimony of the statute-book is particularly interesting when we remember that Shakespeare was accused of being addicted to extreme conviviality, and even that his death in 1616 was attributed to the effects of a hard carouse. The act was repassed in stricter form twice by James I (1609, 1623) and by Charles I in 1625. In this connection it may be remembered that James I wrote a book against the use of Tobacco and that Urban VII (1590) excommunicated patrons of the weed. Under the Commonwealth it was ordered that ministers and schoolmasters commonly found haunting taverns should be ejected.

In 1617 Scotland was also obliged to enact a law "for the restraint of the vyild and destable vyce of drunkenes daylie Increasinge to the heigh dishonor of god." All persons who "haunted taverns" after ten p. m. were to be fined or imprisoned. In 1621 the Scotch parliament also forbade betting large amounts on cards, dice or horse-races. "Honest men," the statute affirms, "ought not expect that anye wyunning hade at anye of the games abone-written can do thame gude," and in order not to belie this maxim all winnings of more than one hundred marks (\$26) within twenty-four hours were confiscated. In England all money won in gambling was declared forfeit by an act of 1657. In 1654 cock-fighting and horse-racing were prohibited.

Another amusement which fell under the ban of some of the Reformers was dancing. There was doubtless something objectionable in many of the dances, and the most scandalous thing

about them was that the Catholic clergy frequently patronized them to the great peril of their professional celibacy. One of the funniest satires in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1515) is the account sent by Mammotrect Buntemantel, Master of the Seven Liberal Arts and professor at Heidelberg, of the dance—evidently a sort of “bunny-hug”—which he had attended, and the disastrous results thereof. That this sarcasm was not without foundation is abundantly proved. Roger Ascham, for example, wrote from the Netherlands in 1550: “I saw nuns and papists dance at a bridal.... It is lawful in that Babylonical papistry to serve Bacchus with what dishonesty they will, so they meddle not with Christ and his word.” A little later the Council of Trent, at its twenty-fourth session, forbade all ecclesiastics to hunt, dance, frequent taverns or gamble.

The opinion of the Reformers on the advisability of permitting this recreation was divided. Luther, the broadest as well as the greatest of them all, was in favor of allowing it, properly chaperoned, because he believed the opportunity given to the youth of both sexes to know each other would lead to happy marriages. He even went so far as to say that the Pope condemned dances because he was hostile to marriage. That great Puritan, Milton, saw no harm in “tripping the light fantastic toe.” But few prominent Protestants agreed with them. Luther’s friend Bugenhagen, parish priest of Wittenberg, denounced the amusement harshly. It was forbidden at Zurich in 1500 and again in 1519 on the advent of Zwingli. Calvin, as usual, was the most austere in this regard. It must be allowed, in estimating his severe ideas, that Geneva appears to have been a particularly licentious city. The dances there were accompanied by embraces and kisses. They were accordingly denounced from the pulpit and then suppressed by law.

The drama, too, has always been considered a proper subject for legal regulation. In this case also Luther showed himself broader than many of his followers, for when the clergy of Magdeburg objected to the plays of Joachim Greff, Luther was in favor of their continuance. Far otherwise was the feeling of Calvin, averse by nature and conviction to all frivolity. At first he was not strong enough to forbid all plays at Geneva. “I see,” he sighed, with evident regret, “that we cannot deny men all amusements, so I devote myself to suppressing the worst ones, but plays are not given with my approval.” The ire of his colleague Cop was aroused afresh by the introduction of the new Italian habit of giving the women’s parts to actresses instead of to boys. Ac-

cording to his view, "the women who mount the platform to play comedies are full of unbridled effrontery, without honor, having no purpose but to expose their bodies, clothes and ornaments to excite the impure desires of the spectators." "The whole thing," he added, "is very contrary to the modesty of women who ought to be shame-faced and shy." With such sentiments as these on the part of the leaders there could be no doubt as to the outcome, and in 1572 the Book of Discipline of the Reformed Church forbade members of that communion to go to any plays whatsoever.

The Latin countries had no such scruples. In 1541 Macchiavelli's *Clizia*, one of the most objectionable pieces of the Renaissance, was acted before the Pope and cardinals. Indeed even the "reforming Popes," Paul III and his immediate successors, maintained a strong troop of musicians, comedians (*improvisatori*), female singers, dancers and buffoons. It is true these diversions did not pass without censure within the church. The Memorial of the Reform Commission of cardinals, drawn up in 1536, proposed forbidding all the clergy to go to the theater, as well as to visit taverns, to gamble and to blaspheme. Another of the public recreations of the Vatican was bull-fighting. Erasmus saw one of these contests presided over by Julius II in 1509, but his protest against it passed unnoticed for nearly a century, when the sport was at last forbidden.

In France there was little supervision of the drama, which was, throughout the century, regarded as a legitimate means of religious instruction. One is rather surprised in reading a patent of Francis I entitled "Licence to the King's Comedians," to find that these comedians were the monks of certain cloisters, who were permitted to give morality plays on stated occasions. Some dramas were distinctly tracts in favor of, or against, the innovating religion. Those not agreeable to the party in power were of course forbidden. Finally in 1641 Louis XIII passed the first act, a much needed one according to modern standards, forbidding the representation of indecent acts, or the utterance of immodest words on the stage.

The tendency to use the drama for partisan purposes was also strong in England. The fashion was set by the court, for on St. Martin's Eve, 1527, Henry VIII attended a play given by the boys of St. Paul's school, representing "the heretic Luther like a party friar in russet damask and black taffety, and his wife like a frow of Almayn in red silk." Fifteen years later the tables were turned when Richard Morison petitioned the king that the plays of Robin

Hood and Maid Marion be forbidden "and others devised to set forth and declare lively before the people's eyes the abomination and wickedness of the bishop of Rome, monks, nuns, friars and such like."

Such "matters of divinity and state" were carefully regulated by the government, which also forbade blasphemy on the stage, but which overlooked almost any amount of indecency. The Puritan spirit protesting against this first made itself felt in the ordinances of the city of London, which in 1559 appointed a censor to eliminate all "unchaste, uncomely and unshamefaced speeches." Again in 1574 the City Council passed an interesting by-law, beginning:

"Whereas heartofore sondrye greate disorders and inconvenyences have beene found to ensewe to this Cittie by the inordynate hauntynge of greate multitudes of people, speciallye youthe, to plays, enterludes and shewes; namelye occasyon of frayes and quarrelles, eavell practizes of incontineneye in greate Innes....withdrawinge of the Quenes Majesties subjectes from dyvyne service on Soundaies & hollydayes, at which tymes such playes weare chefelye used, unthriftye waste of the moneye of the poore & fond persons, sondrye robberies and cuttinge of purses, utteringe of popular, busye and sedycious matter...."

Plays are therefore considered a "great provoking of the wrath of God, the ground of all plagues," and are forbidden within the city limits. They continued to flourish elsewhere, however, and in places so near the city, such as Southwark and Shoreditch, that the citizens of the metropolis could easily attend them. The literature of the times is full of ferocious denunciations of the theater by Puritans, whose triumph in 1642 meant the end of the Elizabethan drama. On September 2 of that year the Long Parliament passed an act forbidding plays during the present distracted state of England, "instead of which are recommended to the people of this land profitable and seasonable considerations of repentance, reconciliation and peace with God." This reduction of the staple of English recreation to meditation and prayer was made perpetual in an act of 1648 which set forth the extreme Puritan view with the greatest severity of language.

Among the matters on the border-line between public and private, the endeavors of the French and Scotch governments to suppress duelling may be considered. On February 9, 1566, Charles IX issued an "Ordinnance forbidding all gentlemen and others to give the lie to each other, and, if they do give the lie, not to fight a duel about it." The extraordinary wording of this proclamation, providing for its own violation, reminds one of the mother who said to her son: "Now, Johnnie, don't go out under any circumstances,

but if you do go out, put your overshoes on." Another feature of the edict of Charles IX is said to have been imitated in the notice displayed in a rural railway station: "Gentlemen will not spit; others must not." In 1609 Henri IV was obliged to reinforce his predecessor's command by a more rigid prohibition of duels, and this was repeated by Richelieu in 1626.

James VI of Scotland was also obliged to deal with the subject in 1600. His Majesty and the Estates, "considering the great Libertie that sindrie persones takis I provoking utheris to singular combattis upoun suddan and frivoll querrellis, qlk [which] has ingenderit great Inconveniencies within this Realm; Thairfoir statutis and ordinis that na persone in tyme cumming without his hienes licence fecht ony singular combatt Under pane of dead and his moveable geir escheat." One is reminded of the statement made by one of Dickens's characters, to the effect that duelling was a royal prerogative wrung by King John from the barons at Runnymede.

It is with no intention of suggesting that marriage is a kindred subject that it is taken up next. The matter which most exercised the governments of Continental Europe in this regard, was the question of the validity of betrothals without the parents' consent. The practice of allowing young people to select their own consorts, now universal in Anglo-Saxon countries, and apparently prevalent in England for centuries, deeply shocked continental opinion. "Secret engagements," according to Luther, "never have been in the world, but are the invention of the powers of evil. Parents should give their children to each other with prudence and good will, without their own preliminary engagement." Betrothal was a more solemn matter then than it is now, and a girl who entered into an engagement with a young man might suffer for it if the promise was later declared invalid. So when, in 1543, a young woman sued her swain who had broken their engagement on the ground of his father's non-consent, the Wittenberg consistorial court condemned him to pay damages for breach of promise. Luther, thinking that immorality was likely to arise from allowing secret engagements—as indeed was sometimes the case—took the matter up with passion, and in a sermon declared:

"I, Martin Luther, minister of this church of Christ, take you, secret troth, and the paternal consent given to you, together with the Pope, whose business you are, and the devil who invented you, tie you all together, and cast you into the abyss of hell in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

His further intervention with the Elector was successful, for the Saxon government shortly thereafter passed a law forbidding betrothal of young persons without their parents' knowledge and assent.

Almost at the same moment Rabelais was attacking the same dangerous innovation in France. Pantagruel declares that he would rather have God strike him stark dead at the feet of his father Gargantua, than that he, the son, should be found married alive against his parents' wishes. "For," he declares, "I never yet heard that, by any law, whether sacred or profane, it was allowed and approved that children may be suffered and tolerated to marry at their own good will and pleasure." French legislators certainly did not allow this, for in 1556 Henri II proclaimed that, having heard "that marriages are daily contracted by children of good family at their own carnal, indiscrete and disordered will, to the deceit and against the wishes of their parents, without the fear of God," such children may be disinherited (which was otherwise forbidden by French law), and this rule applies to sons up to the age of thirty and to girls until they are twenty-five.

The rights of children on the other hand were guarded in a singular edict of Francis II (1560) forbidding widows who marry a second time to prefer their second husbands or their relatives to children of the earlier marriage.

As the great age of religious controversy, the sixteenth century codes are full of provisions about religion. "An Acte for the Advancement of true Religion and the suppression of the contrary," or its equivalent, is a common occurrence, though precisely what the true religion was no two acts agreed, all contradicting each other, each commanding what the others anathematized, and prohibiting what the others declared the kernel of Christianity. The natural result of this condition of things in provoking doubt is one of the most fascinating and least investigated sides of the Reformation. The essence of Montaigne's skepticism is that where all religions give each other the lie, they may all be wrong. Particularly, he argued, it is setting a high value on our own ideas to put men to death for them. Unfortunately few of his contemporaries shared this modest diffidence. That is one of the most instructive as well as one of the saddest passages in the story of our race which tells that the men who were willing to die for their own faith were equally ready to put other men to death for theirs. Well may Lord Acton say that the greatest achievement of modern times is the emancipation of the individual conscience from the bondage of authority.

However much public opinion still needs further enlightenment in this regard, the laws at least are now thoroughly tolerant.

Though perhaps the lines of investigation just suggested are the most interesting to the philosophical historian of religion, they are not within the scope of the present paper. Here, not the great statutes enforcing faith and conformity, but only the petty regulations of daily life in accordance therewith, can be noticed. In this respect, as in so many others, the German Lutheran movement is found to be the most liberal of all. Attendance at church was enforced by public opinion, but very leniently, if at all, by law. Sunday was regarded as largely a day for recreation and pleasure. In the *Catechism* Luther, with his habitual reckless and winning candor, stated that the strict observance of the Sabbath, or Saturday, enjoined by the Ten Commandments, was a bit of ceremonial law binding on no Christian, and that the setting aside of a part of one day in seven for public worship was a matter of convenience only, not of divine right. After the closing of church service he thought the time might properly be spent in what work or pleasure the individual chose. It was Calvin who first carried through the identification of the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath that was to produce the English and American observance of that day. At Geneva complete absence from labor and attendance on church was compulsory. Five sermons were offered to the devout every Lord's day; whether hearing all of them was compulsory or only some of them, I have not been able to ascertain. Another innovation of Calvin was the prohibition on pain of fine and imprisonment of all observance of Christmas. Swearing of course was forbidden, in the same class with masks, disguises and gambling.

The French kings contented themselves with punishing "swearing, cursing, blaspheming, imprecations and other villainous oaths against the honor of God," (in 1550 and again in 1574). In 1561 Charles IX felt obliged to forbid all persons "entering into debate, quarreling, or reproaching each other on any religious matter, on pain of death."

England was far more Puritan, though it was the Catholic Bishop Bonner who in 1542 started the ball rolling by prohibiting, with the approval of the government, all the London clergy from frequenting taverns and other evil resorts at time of divine service on Sundays and holidays, and from blasphemy and swearing. In the same year it was enacted that no person "shall take upon him openlie to dispute and argue, to debate and discusse or expounde Holye Scripture." In 1548 the Protestant Edward VI forbade the

eating of meat on Fridays and in Lent, partly because "due and godlye abstynence ys a meane to vertue," partly to save cattle and to give fishermen a livelihood. In 1559 Elizabeth began to enforce attendance on church. In 1624 the Puritan Parliament passed a severe act against swearing and cursing, and in the immediately following years forbade all work on the Lord's day, as well as profanation of the same by "Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, enterludes, common Playes and other unlawful exercises and pastimes." So far was Sunday observance carried that in 1638 Richard Braithwaite, in the verse often quoted but usually wrongly attributed to Hudibras, satirized it as follows:

"To Banbury came I, O profane one,
There I saw a Puritane one
Hanging of his cat on Monday
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."

Scotland outdid her sister. In 1540 James V ordained that "nane commune or despute of the haly scriptour without thai be theologis apprevit be famous universities." Two years later Mary's Parliament, in an act allowing all men to have "the haly write baith in the new testament and the auld in the vulgar tounge," made the extraordinary proviso that "na man dispute na hald oppuneonis" about it. In 1551 were forbidden "grevous and abominabill aithis sweiring execratiounis and blasphematioun of the name of God, sweirand in vane be his precious blude body passion and woundis." An act first passed in 1551 and frequently repeated thereafter was aimed at "all persounis quhilkis [who] contempnandlie makis perturbation in the Kirk....and will not desist and ceis thairfra for na spirituall monitioun that the Kirkmen may use." All labor was of course forbidden on the Sabbath, as was "gamyng, playing, passing to tavernis and ailhouses selling of meit and drink and wilfull remaining fra the parochie kirk in tyme of sermone." In 1600 it was commanded that all men should communicate at least once every year. It may seem strange to us that in 1587 the followers of Knox also forbade eating flesh in Lent.

The repression of vice hardly lies within the scope of the present paper, and its adequate treatment would require more space than is here available. Nevertheless as the subject is kindred to those dealt with by the "blue-laws," and as it is interesting in itself, particularly in view of the recent efforts of American cities to deal with the social evil, some closing words may sketch the experience of the sixteenth century in the same matter. The ascetic spirit of the Middle Ages of course regarded prostitution with horror, and

yet the disparagement of marriage by the church and the creation of a large class of celibates certainly fostered the evil and connived at it as a necessary one. The concubinage of the clergy became a recognized condition. The same attitude towards prostitution in general was maintained in Catholic countries even after the Protestant Revolt; there was no thought of suppressing it, though men like Loyola might here and there found homes for the reclamation of fallen women.

When the attitude of the church was so lenient that of the state was even more so. Lorenzo Valla defended the institution, proclaiming that a prostitute was a more useful member of society than a nun. The Italian word *cortegiana* or "courteous lady," indicates as tolerant an attitude toward the profession of courtesan, as *bravo* or "brave man" does toward that of assassin. Most cities, not only in Italy but elsewhere, maintained public brothels. At Geneva in the fifteenth century, for example, the women were organized under a queen who was obliged to swear on the Gospels to perform her office faithfully. At the court of Francis I one of the salaried officials was the *gouvernante des filles publiques*.

The Reformation brought in a new spirit of ruthless hostility to the social evil as such. Houses of ill-fame were suppressed at Wittenberg as early as 1521, and this example was followed by many other Protestant towns. Luther was strongly in favor of this course, which he was the first to advocate in his *Address to the German Nobility* of 1520. Twenty years later he wrote a friend: "Have nothing to do with those who wish to reintroduce evil resorts. It would have been better never to have expelled the devil than having done so to bring him back again stronger than ever. . . . We have learned by experience that regulated vice does not prevent adultery and worse sins, but rather encourages and condones them." Melancthon held a similar opinion, believing that the magistrate had a right to suppress harlotry, though he apparently thought it not always wise to exercise this right, and pointed out that even if there were no law against it, the conclusion that the magistrate condoned it would not be valid. At Zurich under the influence of Zwingli the houses of ill-fame were allowed to remain, but were put under the supervision of an officer whose duty it was to see that no married men frequented them,—surely the strangest compromise ever made with the world, the flesh, and the devil. It is interesting to note that the economic factor, recently made so much of, was prominent four centuries ago. When the Reformers Bucer and Capito cleansed the city of Strassburg, the women drew up a

petition stating that they did not exercise their calling for the gratification of their wicked passions but solely as a means of earning their bread. Efforts were made to get honest work for the girls, and even to marry them, but how successful these were cannot certainly be told. As in other matters so in this Calvin's Geneva was the most uncompromising of all the Reformed cities. There the government, served by numerous officers and spies, was extremely efficient, and not only made laws against prostitution but strictly enforced them. The results of their efforts cannot honestly be called encouraging; notwithstanding the severe penalties inflicted for all kinds of immorality, the number of cases which came before the magistrates was appalling. The cities of London (1546) and of Paris (1565) and the realm of Scotland (1567) all made efforts to deal with the same evil, but they were not so drastic as those of the Germans and Swiss, and in all countries they were sooner or later abandoned. The suppression of the social evil has been found impracticable by all those governments which have tried it, and yet in no land can the present condition of things be regarded as anything but bad. Of all the problems at present facing the civilized world, none is more urgent and yet none more difficult than this.

As a whole the "blue-laws" have failed. It is true that there are still, in England and America, statutes forbidding deeds of a purely private nature because they are "to the high displeasure of God," rather than for the protection of the public. The law still prohibits certain acts because they are wicked rather than because they are likely to hurt others than those who do them. But, historically considered, these are abnormal survivals. Whether it is regretted or approved no candid student can deny that the tendency of modern jurisprudence is toward that maximum of individual liberty set forth by Mr. H. C. Wells in *The Modern Utopia* as the ideal. This of course does not mean anarchy, but the restraint of those actions only by which one man infringes on the liberty of another.

NORWAY AND ITS POLITICAL SITUATION.

BY MARTIN NARBO.

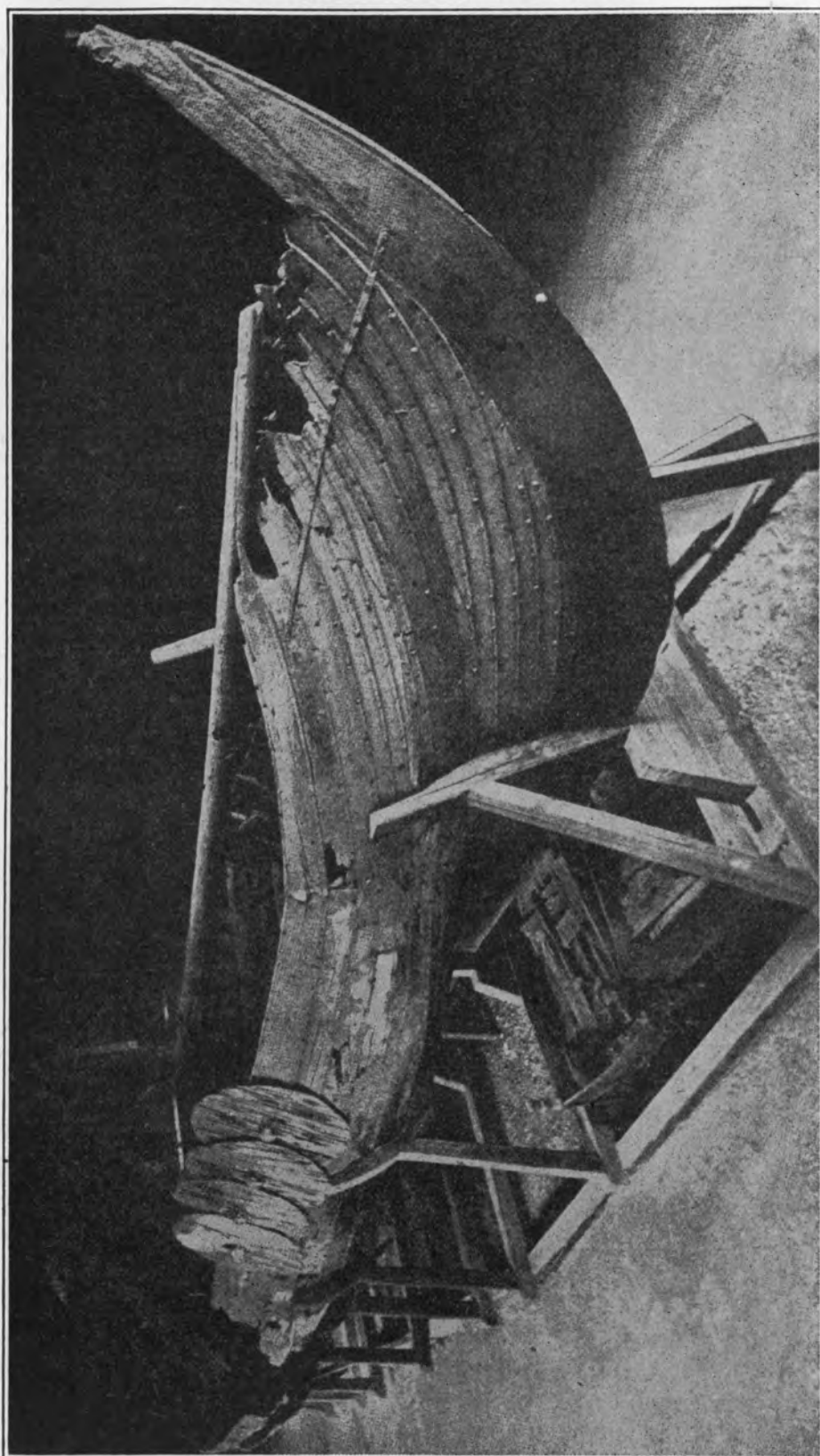
EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

NORWAY is a picturesque country. It is a relatively narrow strip of land sparsely inhabited on account of the rocky character of its territory. Its population counts little more than two millions. With the exception of 15,000 Laplanders and 7000 Finns and Gypsies, the people are of pure Germanic blood and in religion are mostly Lutherans. There are not more than 2000 Roman Catholics and only 700 Jews. Under American influence dissenters have left the established state church and there are now over 10,000 Methodists and 5000 Baptists.

The inhabitants of the country cultivated the soil at an early date, but it was as seafarers and bold conquerors that they gained their fame. Ships of theirs have been found in all parts of the northern seas; one lay buried in the sands of the Baltic, between Düppel and Alsen, and another was discovered in the Seine, not far below Paris. We here reproduce one now preserved in the University of Christiania, a staunch vessel in its time, and one which could easily have held from sixty to eighty armed men.

The habitable portions of the country are the valleys which are hardly accessible except from the sea through the fiords. As a result of this lack of connection, most of the people of Norway are leading a life of isolation which has impressed itself upon their character and prevented the formation of a definite Norwegian language. Almost every valley has a dialect of its own. The literary language had necessarily to come by way of the sea, and so it was but natural that at an early date, in the fourteenth century, Danish became the speech of the pulpit and of the hymns of the church.

In recent times, however, especially after the severance of Norway from Denmark in 1814, Norway began to rebel against



VIKING SHIP PRESERVED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA.

the Danification of its literature, and some of the leading men worked out plans to have Danish words translated into Norwegian. The spoken language assumed a Swedish pronunciation, and a new era brought out grand possibilities in the dramas of Bjornson, Ibsen and the composer of comedies, G. Heiberg.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia tore away from Sweden the province of Finland, and Russia's aggressive policy is still feared by Sweden and also by Norway. With Denmark the case is different. The Danish royal family is related by marriage to the rulers of both Russia and England, and, in addi-

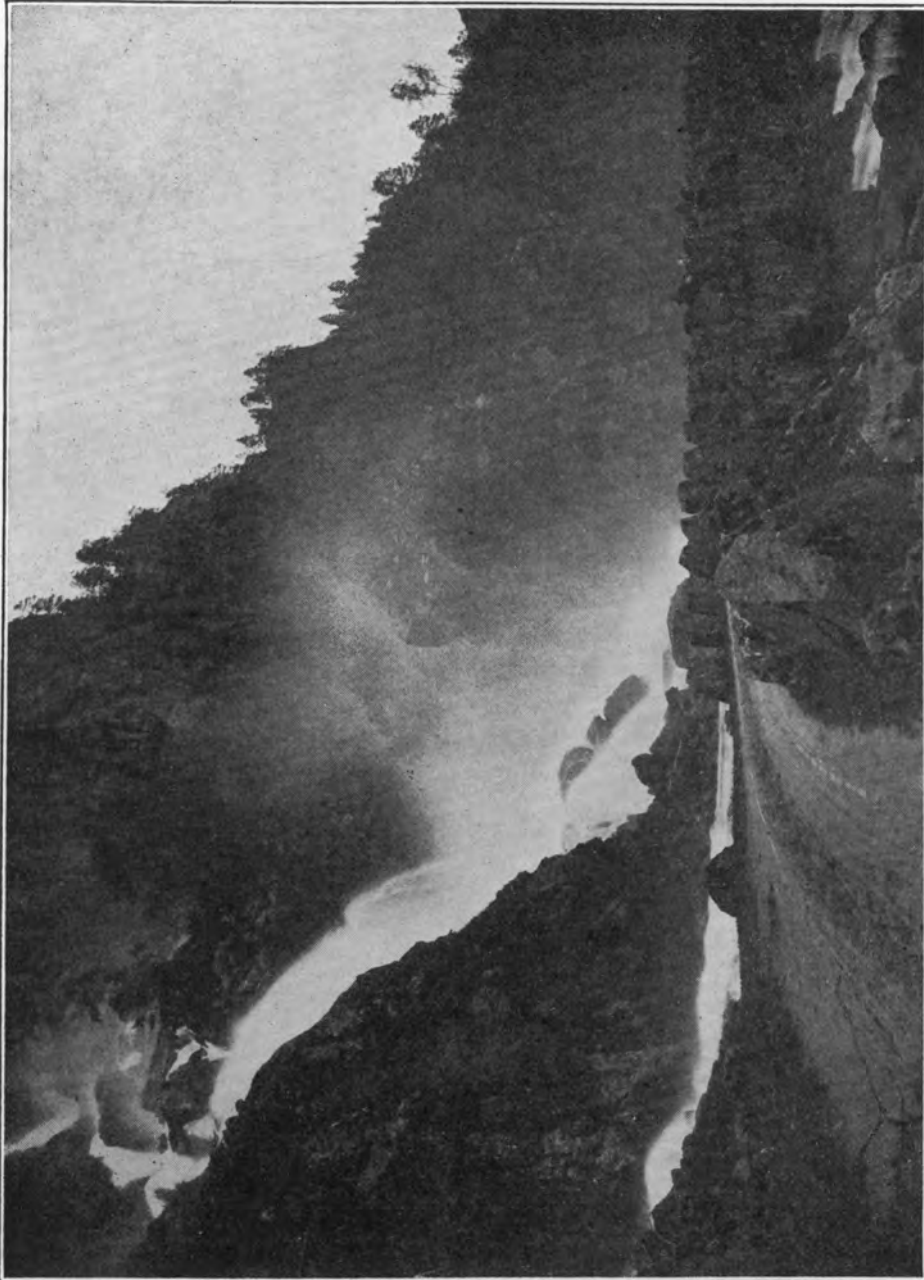


NORMAN SHIP. From the Bayeux tapestry.

tion, the Danes have a grudge against Prussia for the loss of Schleswig-Holstein.

It is true that the Danes have not yet forgotten England's raid on Copenhagen during the Napoleonic wars when Nelson bombarded the capital for several days and took the whole Danish navy captive for no other reason than that Denmark had proposed to remain neutral in the war between England and France. Further, the Danes claim that in 1864 their king had been abetted by England in refusing the traditional oath to keep the constitution of the duchies Schleswig and Holstein. They declare that they never would have allowed themselves to be confronted with a war against Prussia and Austria if they had not relied on England's promised assistance. And there are many who are willing

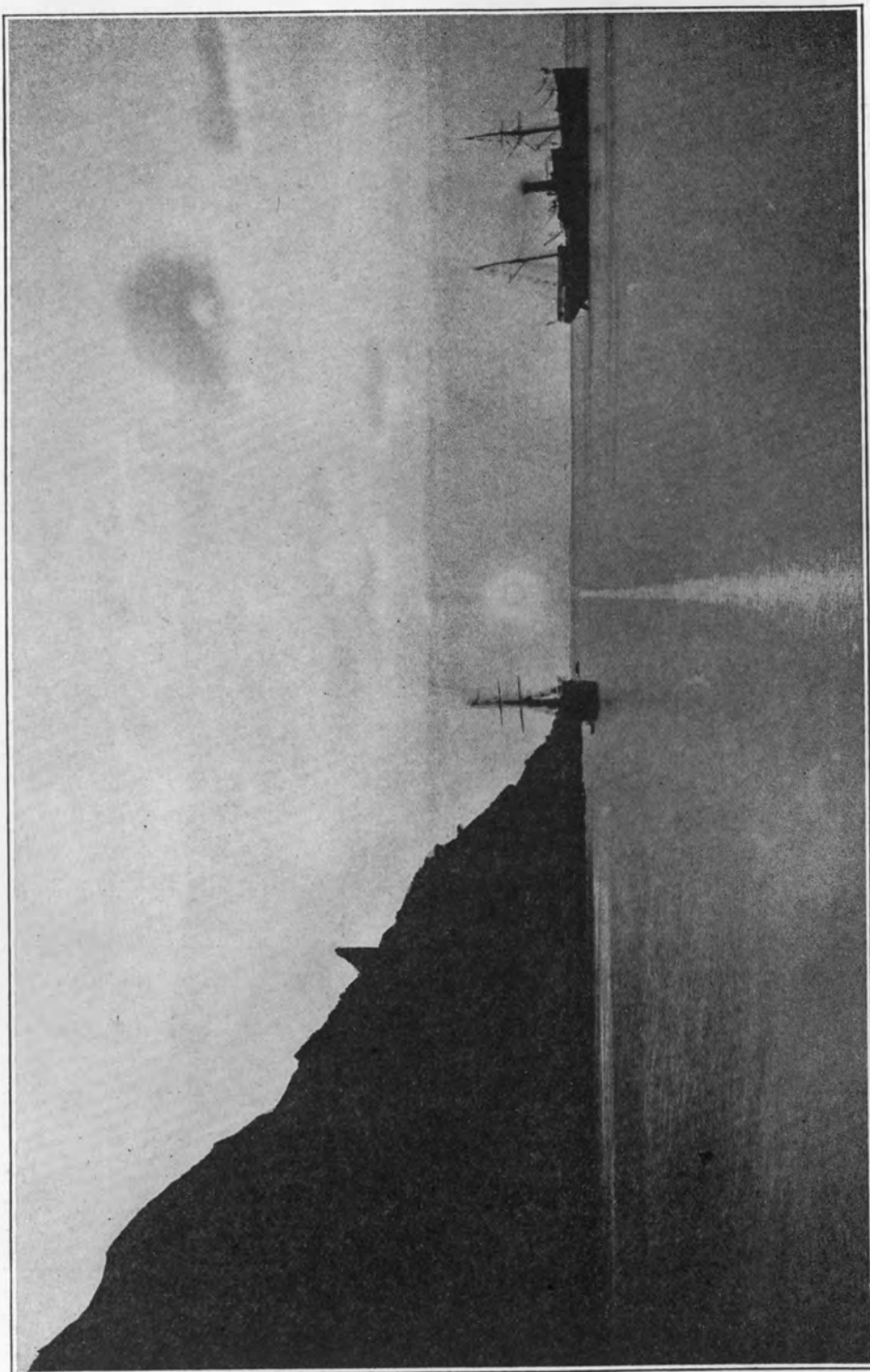
to forgive the Prussians for the conquest of the duchies, but are unable to forget that they were left in the lurch by Great Britain in the critical moment. As a result the Danes are not in favor of



LAATE FALLS NEAR ODDE, HARDANGER VALLEY.

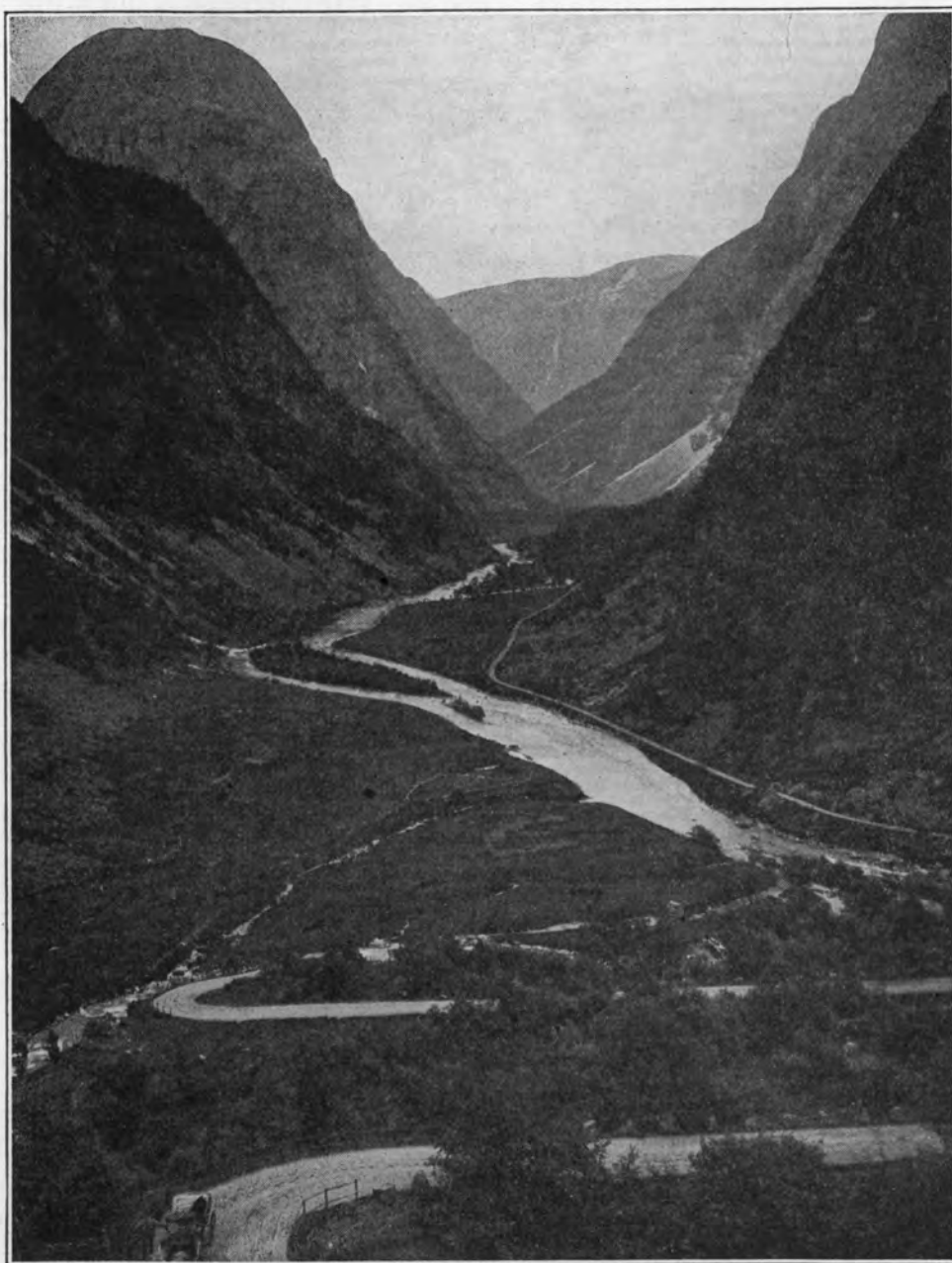
either Germany or England and do not share the fear of Russia as do the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula.

There is a peculiar difference between Morway and Denmark



THE MIDNIGHT SUN AT NORTH CAPE.

which comes out in their national hymns. The Danish national hymn indicates that Prussia is their old enemy, and it preaches hostility to Germany, while the Ibsen poem of Norway to which



NAERDAL VALLEY FROM STALHEIM.

Mr. Narbo refers is strongly anti-British. Mr. Narbo writes of it in a personal letter: "I found in the public library a French and an English translation. The tempo of the western coast of Nor-

way which Ibsen so carefully put into it was lost in both translations, and it was just that which made it a masterpiece. Over the English version there was an explanation, stating that it was very unlike Ibsen, gently excusing it and belittling it, but admitting that it was a 'story well told.' The translator omitted and changed materially its strongest expressions, but what is most important is that the French translator did not go to any such trouble."

Our illustrations will serve to give some idea of Norwegian scenery. They show the character of the valleys and glaciers, North Cape, the wonderful midnight sun, a characteristic group of Norwegian laborers in the fields, also a group of Laplanders.



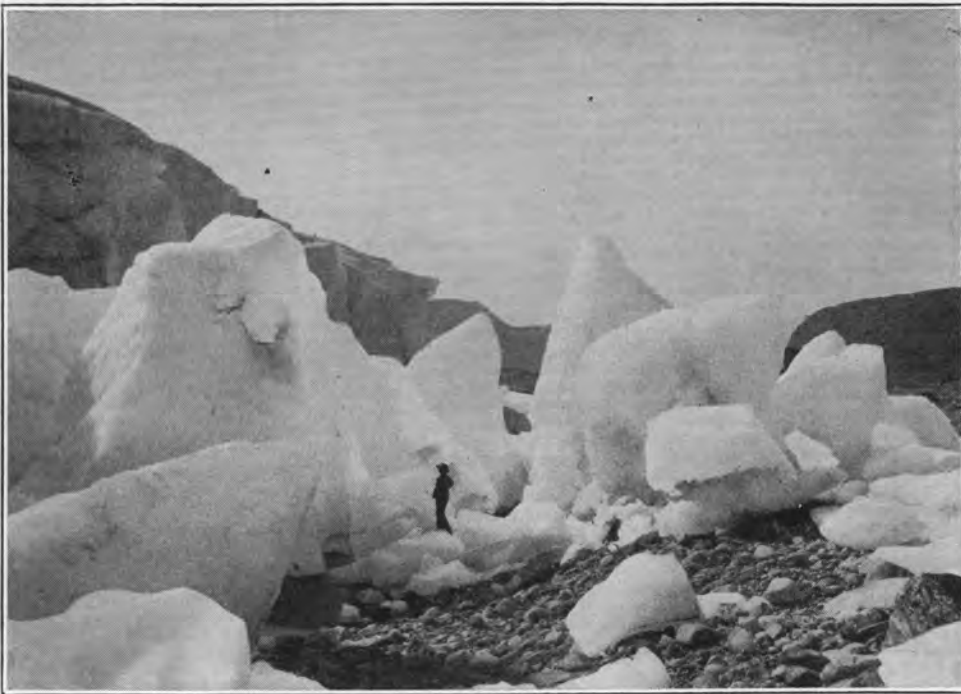
RAFTSUND, LOFODEN, NORWAY.

The author of the present article, Mr. Martin Narbo, of San Francisco, was born in Norway and is the son of a Norwegian schoolmaster. He came to this country as a youth and is proud of having made his living by the work of his hands. He considers himself a laboring man, but the pride he takes in making his living by manual labor did not prevent him from acquiring a fair knowledge of languages. He has traveled extensively on the continent of Europe and gained a wide acquaintance with the characteristics of the common people in different countries. In America he worked as a cowboy and also as a farmer, but after having acquired a homestead sold it again and attended the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where I happened to meet him, and I will say that he

is as singular and interesting as all the Peer Gynts hailing from the rocky land of the midnight sun.

I have had some correspondence with another Norwegian, a graduate of the University of Christiania now living in Minnesota, and he informed me that ninety per cent of the Norwegians are anti-German and pro-British. In order to find out more about Norway, I wrote to Mr. Narbo requesting him to state his view of the situation and this article is his answer.

These two Norwegian correspondents may represent two extreme factions. We leave the final decision to our readers and



DETAIL OF SVARTISEN GLACIER.

abstain from expressing any opinion. It would probably be difficult to state the proportion in definite percentages of those who share either view.

MR. NARBO'S STATEMENT.

It is a comparatively easy matter to express one's views to those who have a clear conception of how Norwegians must naturally stand on questions regarding this world issue, but what are we going to do with such people as the Minnesota man who lumps the Norwegian anti-Germanism at 90%? We cannot disregard them, and it is true that those who know are responsible for those

who do not know. The uninformed have been too great a factor in all wars, and they are too great a factor in this war, to be neglected. It is against such as these we must battle, and indeed I am battling every day the best I know how. Thanks to my workman's experience, and the facts I have gotten from German sources, I have been able to vanquish them by the dozen.

Just to give you an illustration of how impossible it is to generalize a national feeling at a certain per cent without any reservations, I will state my experience in forming an estimate of French national feeling during the two and a half years I was in France, from the point of view of the great mass in society to



NORWEGIANS MAKING HAY.

which I belong, and prior to 1905. Ever since I was a boy I have always been able to feel what another person thought of me, and I consider this as my rarest gift.

Owing to my light complexion I was often taken for an Englishman when I came to France, and equally often taken for a German. I noticed that I excited a certain amount of antipathy in both cases, but with a distinct difference. When they took me for a German, although they tried to hide their feelings, the circuit of thought was very short: it was Sedan, Siege of Paris, an enemy, but accompanied at the same time with a certain amount of self-reproach. When I was taken for an Englishman the circuit of thought was longer. They went over a long list of offenses

they had been taught in school while studying their history. There was robbery, intrigue, unfairness, treachery and sacrilege. With the Germans they were ready to have another bout; but with the English there was not much to be done, or there was a feeling of reluctance to soil their swords with English blood. When they took me for an Englishman they looked at me with contempt and disdain. I could give a hundred specific instances that furnished opportunity to test this feeling, and many of them were very interesting. In some cases I risked my face in making the test. It always brought me a certain amount of relief to tell them that I



FISHING LAPPS OF FINMARK, NORWAY.

was a Norwegian, but there remained the fact that I was a light-complexioned Teuton and resembled an Englishman or a German.

Now how could I be able to estimate these feelings at a certain per cent? The percentage that might be true today probably would be wrong tomorrow. A sociologist would diagnose the anti-English feeling as being dormant, with a chronic character that would prove fatal whenever the conditions happened to be right. There would be a percentage who would at any moment flare up for this reason. The anti-English feeling is of a religious fibre and is not easily done away with. It will act like soot in the chimney whenever English and French will build a fire together. The

quality has everything to do with national feelings and it can only be defined, not counted.

Now in considering the Norwegians, it must not be forgotten that we are just coming out of five hundred years of national misfortunes. I believe one can find in the history of our last five hundred years the reason why I found the Norwegian to be German in Germany, Swiss in Switzerland, French in France and English in England. As soon as they become split up and isolated they lose their identity too quickly. Norway was never conquered, but we became entangled with Denmark through royal intermarriage. Royal love-making left us under the dominion of the royal house of Denmark. The Norwegian officials became Danish. They manipulated with the Danish merchants and sold out the forests of Norway and other natural resources. But the worst of all was that these official parasites insisted that it was not respectable for us Norwegians to talk the language that was so strong and poetic in the mouths of our Viking forefathers. They used their official prestige, and little by little we lost our self-reliance. They taught us to have contempt for our mother tongue and to admire what was foreign to a degree that came close to ending our spiritual existence. Denmark never suffered from the hands of Germany one per cent of what we suffered from the hands of Denmark, but we are trying to forget as fast as we can because Denmark is our Teuton brother. It would be well for Denmark to do likewise and not nourish her grudge against Germany at the risk of her own existence.

Through international complications we became united to Sweden, and for another hundred years the Swedes tried to trick away our liberty. But all that must be forgotten, although the sore is fresh. Now we are just straightening up as an independent country, and some day, if nothing happens again, our Teutonic brothers will be proud of us. But just what can we do in the present case? If we declare ourselves openly on the side of Germany, against Russia and England, England can come along with her navy and destroy our coast cities, and we are more coast than anything else. Russia will have a fine excuse for carrying out her old intentions against Norway. If she could only extend her arms on both sides and make the Baltic a nice little Russian port, how fine! Our five hundred years of outside influence have made us Norwegians timid. We are afraid to make the present situation clear to ourselves, and this timidity is interpreted as pro this and pro that, even pro-Russian. We Norwegians should not deceive

ourselves. For us, disastrous as it looks, we should see that we have only one side to choose.

We are a small nationality, and we have been shifted about; we naturally look for some big brother to protect us. Can we Norwegians look to Russia? Can we trust her word? Do we expect any mercy? Do we expect any fair treatment? Do we look to Russia as a civilizing country? No! England and France may have such illusions, but not the Norwegians; we have been too close neighbors. We have heard directly, without any translation, from the mouths of our brother Finns what Russia is as a master. Do Norwegians forget the sensation of having Russian spies in their midst as they have had at regular intervals? What about the program of the Russification of northern Norway so typical of Slavism? I do not believe in hasty generalizations, but it is safe to lump the Norwegian anti-Russianism at 98%. Yet we are afraid to say so for we must put a plaster on the Russian sore because we are afraid of it. But let us not think for a minute that we can deceive Russia, for Russia expects no good will from the Scandinavians, and that is why she took military precautions against us. Why should we expect anything from her? We are conscious of the fact that she is our natural enemy. When she comes, do we expect that England will skate her navy up over the Norwegian mountains and take a stand in our behalf? No, we are not that foolish. Do we expect the Latin race to protect us? The Latin race had better unite for its own protection. Germany cannot afford to let Norway and Sweden be taken by Russia; it would weaken the effectiveness of the Kiel canal. The Norwegian cause is naturally the German cause, and the German cause is naturally the Norwegian. I would to God the Norwegians would get some of the old Viking daring in themselves and be brave enough to announce that, sink or swim, they would stand by the German cause even at the risk of another disastrous five hundred years—even at the risk of eternal Slav slavery. But there is no danger, says that man who reasons only for his own selfish period of existence. There is only one big brother to whom we can naturally look for effective protection—and that is Germany; if he should be weakened Norway would have no big brother. But there is more at stake than the existence of Norway.

There are two main influences which determine the real feeling in choosing between our Teutonic brothers, England and Germany. One is the spirit of the German Reformation, the other the foreign spirit of emigrants returning with English culture. Perhaps the

only outside influence from which we Norwegians have gained great benefit is the influence of the German Reformation and philosophy. When I was a boy the pictures of Luther and Gustavus Adolphus could be seen on the walls of every peasant home. The deeply religious spirit embodied in the vigorous German hymns, so powerfully sung by Norwegian worshipers, has been a wonderful tonic to Norwegian spiritual life. If it were not for this spirit Norway would not have accomplished her splendid humanitarian results, she would not have her small percentage of criminality, of illiteracy, of divorce, of child mortality, school mortality, and pauperism. In all the years I have been away from Norway I have never felt as much at home in any church as I did in the German Lutheran church when I was in Germany. The closeness of this religious tie between Norway and Germany is immeasurable. In the last few years, this spirit has been opposed by an English spirit coming from Baptistism and Methodism and other isms emanating from the United States. These returned emigrants have started an agitation against the state church with the purpose of ridding Norway of what they call German atheism. They object to the systematic teaching of religion in schools and to the government having a German Lutheran church department as well as a school department.

Intelligent Norwegians realize that one good church is enough—a systematic teaching of morality is just as necessary as a systematic teaching of mentality. This class has been contending against the English-American invasion. I have three cousins in this country who are Lutheran ministers, and one cousin married to a man who was an American Lutheran missionary to China. They are all prating about the German atheistic tendency in Norway. They want to go home and harvest some of the respect that well-brought-up Norwegians are ready to pay the servants of God. Now they are not qualified by the Norwegian church department and so when they come home they have to go about like ordinary mortals, and that is not a pleasant experience to many a one who went out in the world as a little boy expecting to become great. The returning emigrant comes home with the idea that what he has learned while away from home is the only thing the world has to teach, and so he becomes more one-sided than the man who has been staying home taking an interest in other countries as well as England and America. The result is a natural clash, and anyone who knows how every parish in Norway has been visited by returned emigrants will realize that that clash is great. English culture has been mainly represented in Norway by these emigrants who to a

great extent have forgotten their mother tongue and have learned none in its place. Thus English and American culture have not had a good representation in Norway, and in intelligent minds and among religious circles there has grown an aversion to this bragging culture.

It is also an important fact that Norwegians are very loyal to those of their own people who give evidence of superior knowledge. In 1905 the people expected and hoped for a republic; but when those who were their leaders, although in the minority, presented their reasons the public silently acquiesced and chose a kingdom. This same leading class in Norway is today with Germany, but they control their tongues and we do not hear much from them. They are wise; I am sure they know just what they can do, and it is possible they have on a diplomatic cloak, but there is no doubt as to where their hearts are.

In our school readers there is a long poem covering two or three pages which is one of Ibsen's masterpieces. The name is *Terje Viken* and in it he breathes a contempt for the English that never leaves any Norwegian who is worth calling a Norwegian. England has taken active steps in Norway to discourage literature that deals with English misdeeds. One poem about St. Clair in the same reader states that the English burned and slaughtered wherever they went, and that the child was killed in the arms of the mother even while a smile was on its face. We have raised a statue where St. Clair fell, and the poem says *Weh* to every Norwegian who does not get hot when he sees this statue. Both of these poems use such strong language that 95% of the Norwegians in this country as well as in Norway will not forget it. This Norwegian feeling is dormant, but England will feel its effect if ever anything comes along to stir it up. England starved us once, too, with a blockade, and a real Norwegian remembers it. Those who are not Norwegians, those who have lost their identity, are governed by the conditions prevalent in the country where they live, but I venture to predict that in the future politics of this country Germans and Scandinavians will fuse together more and more, and I hope their influence will be felt.

The Catholic church, of course, has caused some dissension where Teutonism is concerned. The Scandinavian press is not vigorous, but rather moderate in its expression—except the Danish which is particularly venomous. The Danish press is often quoted as the Scandinavian press, but this is very misleading. If I had plenty of money I would start a pro-German campaign in the Nor-

wegian language; it would be a relief to do something. Still, with the experience I have gained, I will come along later on when another great issue appears, and it is surely coming. It will be the second chapter of this war.

I believe that the only people who has a right to call upon the God of the Christian for help is the people that has endeavored systematically to do the most for the widows and fatherless. I have had plenty of proof from actual experience that Germany is that country. I looked into the eyes of the German emperor Wilhelm II; he did not avoid my eyes but answered that look only as a good man can, and all the bad that I had heard about him vanished. I lifted my hat and bowed with respect and devotion; he bowed in return and gave me personally a smile that I shall never forget—not because he was the emperor, but because he was a man with tremendous influence for the good. May the God he has a right to call his, be with him!

There are a few things that I see absolutely beyond the slightest doubt. The most ignorant and premature term used today is the term "militarism." Until we agree on an international government backed by an international force strong enough to enforce the will of this government we will have militarism—unless the spirit of the golden rule controls every individual, and then we must all want to be done unto in the same way. Another thing that I think is ridiculous is to be looking for precedents in a war where submarines play an important new rôle. The rules of blockade will never be the same in the future. Neutrals should realize that this is a war of the biggest nations, the rule of catch as catch can. Here in San Francisco there is a mixture of sentiment, also a good collection of foreign papers, and to see how different nationalities treat the same fact is sickening. For instance, *The Toronto World* to-night prints this three column headline: "United States Threatens Germany with Reprisals if Vessels are Attacked." I always enjoy the excitement in *Le Temps*. There is where I get my only laugh. I also find in *The Toronto World*: "United States very mild in note to England. Germany is ordered to respect American rights on seas."

I have one argument, illustrated with much personal experience and studded with German facts, with which I am very successful in my class. I give it as a reason for this war, that years ago the German government with their splendid system took care of the producers of capital by making capital responsible. The effect was the same as when a man takes care of his horse, for that is

better for the man and better for the horse. Both will do better and they will like each other better. The result was that they produced things made in Germany at a lower cost, and this threatened to outclass the irresponsible capitalism of England, France and Russia. I tell them of the barbarism of this capitalism, and I present specific cases that appeal to my class, and I defy them to show me what else Russia, France and the rest have in common except this slovenly, lazy, blood-thirsty, free capitalism. I tell them these countries are too far behind to catch up with the same system and they are doomed, and that is why they fight. I tell them that this is why the press of the United States takes the stand that it does, and they believe me. As to the outcome, I believe in the might that comes from living in the right.

There have not been any incidents of importation of arms to Russia where the government has stepped in. There is no such importation I am pretty sure. From a commercial point of view, Norway is interested in the welfare of her merchant navy. She has felt English competition keenly, but she has also met England in many parts of the world as a brother sailor. The feeling from this point of view can be argued on both sides. I have often seen in Germans a distrust and suspicion of the Norwegians, and I would like something to occur that would show our loyalty to Germany. Some of the Danish dislike may have crept into a certain class of Norwegians, but not many.

THE THOUGHT OF SOCRATES.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

I.

EVERY exposition of Greek thought, from the most pedantic to the most popular, has been divided into the two chapters: "Before Socrates," "After Socrates"; between which has stood a third, devoted to Socrates himself. Though he published no book in prose or verse, no philosophic hexameters on nature, no dialectic treatise on the Absolute, no criticism on ethics, politics, or the divinities that shape or refuse to shape the ends of man, his centrality to the development of speculation, as the mind which, while itself indifferent to the activities of its predecessors, brought to light other principles not only directive for thought in hitherto uncharted realms, but essential for any rational solution of those problems already broached, has been until very recently beyond all dispute, and will always in any case challenge disproof. And the importance of his practical wisdom for the unwritten history of conduct is presumably quite as great. Thus we are now face to face with one of the five or six most impressive and vital questions in the history of intelligence (as opposed to the history of human vanities and insanities—the rise and fall of dynasties and the interminable slaughters on land and sea): just what did this man stand for who lived so long ago under the hill temple-crowned, in the market-place girded by porticoes, within the walls against which even then the hostile armies were more than once encamped?

The question is difficult not alone because it is so much larger than every writer who would answer it; but because it is just here that our sources are so difficult and confusing. Biographical reports, when uncontaminated by miraculous elements or by suspicion of rhetorical purpose or partisanship, when squaring with the public customs and affairs of the times, and finally, when tending toward a consistent portrayal of character and conduct, we may trust, in

default of any contrary evidence. Allowing for some possible ambiguities of imperfect expression, I suppose no scholar would seriously quarrel with the statements of the preceding chapter, as not being founded on serviceable authority. It called for no special gift to note and record the concrete events, whatever gifts were needed to record them beautifully. But to understand thought, thought new and deep, expressed symbolically, whimsically, mischievously, trippingly on the tongue, now to this one, now to that, now here, now there, now touching this matter, now that, did call for an alertness of attention, a keenness of perception, a steadiness of memory, and an objectivity of judgment not present at Athens, nor indeed commensurate with man's limited brains yet anywhere; while to set it all down as if verbatim was, as shown in a previous chapter, the attempt either of self-delusion or of literary fiction. We are shut up forever to reading between the lines and to estimating the cumulative evidence of innumerable hints, which, taken separately, we would have no means of testing, and no right to feel sure of. We can bring the difficulty home to ourselves, if we imagine posterity, without the *Essays*, dependent for its knowledge of Emerson's thought, on (hypothetical) miscellanies of conversation reported and edited by Alcott, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and other neighbors of the Concord apple-trees and pines.

The histories of philosophy, despite the imposing names on their title pages, mislead us (to borrow the language of Frau Academia) with the specious clarity of a rationalizing schematismus. Here just what Socrates repudiated and contributed is numbered and sectioned and paragraphed with that illuminating precision which facilitates preparation for the final examination. The studies of Grote and of Zeller, based upon a wide erudition and developed with a philosophic grasp it were pedantry to commend, convey also a misleading impression of certainty, which the contradictory results of the German scholarship of the last fifteen years, of Doering with his Xenophontic Socrates, of Joël who clings to Aristotle, of Roeck who picks his data from portions of Xenophon and from much indirect and elusive testimony in the attitude of contemporaries or in the comment of tradition, tends to destroy, without, however, furnishing any constructive substitution in which we can feel full confidence. The new critics confuse while they help; and the day has gone by when even a popular essayist can content himself with compiling from the old. Tentatively and modestly I will set down my own opinions, which, I suppose, will differ from those of better men in lacking the organization and definitiveness that, though

much to be desired, it is impossible for me with intellectual honesty to reach.

II.

What thought had been busied with before Socrates is, from the point of view of its dynamic contributions, far more important in the case of Plato in whom unite elements of the Eleatic, the Heraclitic, and the Pythagorean speculation, than in the case of his master who is notorious for his break with the past. From the point of view of a crisis in the human intellect, however, it is necessary to make some mention of that thought here. A few words, then, with the emphasis on antecedents rather than on influence.

During a generation or two preceding Socrates, in the sea-washed colonies to east and west had developed a number of theories of universal nature, as free and large and intangible as the starry heavens and salt winds about them. The search for the universal explanation of things which had begun in the naive materialistic monisms of the Milesians, Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, as deductions from the apparent omnipresence of water, the atmospheric indefinite, or air, turned, with that sudden acceleration which characterized Greek progress everywhere in the fifth century, very shortly to rational analysis of concept and sense-impression of the phenomenal world. The Eleatics of Magna Graecia, holding the primacy of reason over sense, discovered the antinomies which forced them to deny reality to change and plurality; the first of metaphysicians, they proclaimed the absolute and pointed a way to scepticism. The great Ephesian, though positing like the physicists of Miletus, a material principle, fire, as the substratum of the multitudinous visible universe, is chiefly notable for paradoxes, as analytically derived as those of the Eleatics, which forced him to deny ultimate and permanent reality to anything but the Logos, the law of change itself, and to affirm relativity, the absolute instability of all things, as the inherent logical implication of being—pleasure conditioned by pain, life by death, thesis by anti-thesis. In the eternal flux there can be no certainty of truth, and Heraclitus, too, points a way to scepticism.

Pythagoreanism, coming after all pretty close to the intellectual basis of the world-ground in its doctrine of numbers, however fantastically applied and involved in that hocus-pocus which so often has accompanied primitive mathematics, is an esoteric cult of religious mystics with liturgy and rites.

Empedocles of Agrigentum, imagining a cosmogony almost as mythical and arbitrary as that of Hesiod, yet peopling it with eternal substances (earth, air, fire, and water) and eternal principles of cosmic energy (attraction and repulsion), is, from our point of view to-day, physicist rather than philosopher. So too chiefly Anaxagoras of Athens, as far as we can judge, who taught infinite atoms and a universal mind-stuff.

Contemporary with Socrates off at Abdera in Thrace Democritus was teaching in numerous books now lost a mechanism of nature—atoms, motion, and the void—which, with modifications and extensions and a more elaborate terminology, is the physics and chemistry of to-day—or at least of yesterday.

These courageous efforts to master experience were all primarily directed outward. The challenge came from the majesty and mystery of the external universe. But in meeting it thought soon became conscious of its own mystery, and man himself became part of the problem. In the irremediable flux of Heraclitus and the cold atomism of Democritus men's minds tend to vanish into mere sensations differing for each: truth is as multiple as humanity: there is no universal principle of knowledge or thinking or conduct; man is the measure of all things. So Protagoras, the sophist. Meantime the later Eleatic, the sophist Gorgias, perhaps in half-jest, has pushed the dialectic reasoning of the school to the negation of being itself.

The path is open to absolute scepticism. The exploration of reason is ending in unreason. Speculation has thus far approached man from without; and that way madness lies. It must make a new start,—with man himself, man in his humble activities and daily round, irrespective of atoms clashing in the void and theories clashing in the brain. The philosophic implications in the simple mental life of an Athenian cobbler or saddler or armor-smith may bring us back to some conviction of permanence and certainty in thought. Thereafter it will be time enough to look again at the cosmos. Socrates, beginning and ending with man, ultimately saves Greek philosophy from self-slaughter. It is not for nothing that he is an Athenian.

But it is easy to present the situation too academically. Scepticism is troubling a few speculative heads. Their notions are abroad in Athens, imported over seas in parchment-rolls, well boxed from the damp salt air, or stalking the streets on the lips of the traveling professors. They are affecting not only the intellects of the abstracted, but doubtless the moral conduct of some of the

active young men; but that Socrates in his new direction was consciously phrasing a philosophic task, or by saving philosophy was saving mankind, are propositions which distort both the larger mission of the sage and the relatively secondary importance of technically philosophic systems for the public health. From Socrates, as must be noted later, most subsequent Greek schools seem directly or indirectly to derive. But he was not aiming to reform philosophy. Nor could his re-formation of philosophy be a revolution—except in philosophy, a fairly negligible phase of human progress, if we take into account the few in any age who mull over its puzzles. No, Socrates's interest was in men and his aim to reform men; and, though he doubtless checkmated philosophic nihilism in more than one aggressive young dupe, he awoke to a sense of their ignorance and their heritage in the laws of the spirit many more, less sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought than ailing from that moral lethargy which still keeps out the kingdom.

It is easy in another matter to misrepresent the situation. It is not as if philosophy and morals came to a standstill, say about 440, to await help from Socrates. Historians distort the chronology. Gorgias, Protagoras, and Anaxagoras were teaching in Athens long after that date, and scepticism itself may not have been full blown when Socrates began his public work. Direct evidence is lacking, but there is plausibility in the conjecture that his first conversations antedated even the first appearance of the sophists. Gorgias, for example, came to Athens in 427, only five years before Socrates was lampooned in the *Clouds*.

In still a third matter the situation may be misrepresented. Socrates, during his long life, was not the only teacher at Athens who held that the proper study of mankind is man. Protagoras himself laid the stress there, as the logical result of his own scepticism, and the later sophists seem to have occupied themselves entirely with intellectual conduct and with moral conduct, like Socrates, independent, as to the former, of cosmic speculations and, as to the latter, of mere tradition. They certainly also used the cross-examining method, associated now with Socrates, on which a word below. As with Socrates, their business was the education of youth.

But Socrates is a greater sophist—not simply because he tarries in Athens, and they wander from city to city; not only because he teaches in the Agora and they in private homes; not altogether because he gives and they sell instruction, nor even because his wisdom is humble that it knows no more and their knowledge sometimes proud in that it learned so much—greater because of greater

moral earnestness. There were honest sophists, although contemporary writers and later anecdotists testify that some even then were the unprincipled jugglers with reason that have given the name its long current and unfortunate association. But none except Socrates made truth and righteousness the be-all and the end-all. A greater sophist, also, it need not be added, because a greater intellect and a greater personality.

And now, if with a little more imagination than poor Wagner, the student has begun

"Sich in den Geist der Zeiten zu versetzen,

let him attempt

"Zu schauen, wie vor uns ein weiser Mann gedacht."

III.

The thought of Socrates is implicit in his method. He was not a formal lecturer, as other sophists doubtless were at times, and as Plato and Aristotle were later. He talked, as all Athens was talking; he asked questions, and applied the answers to the business of further questions, as men had done before and have done ever since. He utilized on occasion the keener procedure of the disciplined mind, the dialectic which, applied first by Zeno the Eleatic to abstract matter and motion, etc., it was now the sophists' service to apply to human conduct. He shared, I repeat, his cross-examining method of instruction with the sophists, just as Jesus shared his parabolic instruction with the rabbis. But like Jesus, by a powerful originality he made a common device so much his own that we now connect it only with him.

Aristophanes, as we have seen, represents him as formally teaching his method, but this appears to be a wilful or reckless identification of Socrates with his fellow sophists who we know imparted the art of clever reasoning as a practical instrument, whereas Socrates, according to all other traditions, used it to impart truths beyond itself, teaching method merely by showing it in operation.

"He conducted discussion by proceeding step by step from one point of general agreement to another" (*Memorabilia*, IV, 6), and "by shredding off all superficial qualities laid bare the kernel of the matter" (*Memorabilia*, III, 2). He begins with the point of view of his interlocutor or opponent and, with an irony kindly or irritating according to circumstances and with frequent use of

homely illustrations, leads him on inductively to one admission after another, until he sees the implication in his own thought, that is, until he is face to face with himself as the unwitting possessor of a particular truth. Each man has within him truth, though as yet foetal and powerless to be born; Socrates comes calling himself the midwife. This was presumably his interpretation of the Delphic adage, "know thyself"; and, far from proud of his midwifery, he was "eager to cultivate a spirit of independence in others" (*Memorabilia*, IV, 7). He bored deeper into the strata of thought than the other sophists, and knew better its hidden caverns and springs; and, more than they, tapped it for living waters. The *intellectus sibi permissus*, "the intellect left to itself,"—the phrase is Bacon's—the spontaneous reason of haphazard man he strove to make conscious and self-directive. His aim implied confidence in universals of the truth of which each individual partook, as well as confidence in human nature capable of self-salvation.

All our sources indicate that Socrates was unwearied in his inquiries for the *τί ἐστι*, the What, the essential meaning of a thing. In Xenophon he appears discriminating, defining. The Platonic figure is presumably dramatically true to his intellectual attitude. The nub of the satire of the *Clouds* is rationalizing fanaticism corrupting the youth (for which Aristophanes surely should have borrowed Schopenhauer's Aristophanean coinage applied to Hegel—*Windbeutelei*, windbagery). And Aristotle says in a famous passage (*Metaphysics*, I, 6, 3) that has caused a deal of trouble: "Socrates discovered inductive discourse and the definition of general terms," in contrast, as the modern critics point out, to the mere grammatical distinctions of the sophists. But our critics have certainly exaggerated what were for Socrates simply short formularies of the factors to be examined, not logic-proof concepts of abstract philosophy. My Socrates was not a *Begriffsphilosoph*, and would have enjoyed the practical joke of Diogenes (of the school of Antisthenes, a disciple of the midwife), who, hearing (as the story goes) of Plato's definition of *homo sapiens* as a featherless biped, plucked a rooster and carried it over to the Academy as an example of Plato's "man."

IV.

But these short formularies of the factors to be examined were of prime importance. Socrates emphasized the rational, the cognitive, aspect of virtue, as no other teacher: τὰς γὰρ ἀρετὰς ἐπι-

στήμας ἐποίει—"He made the virtues knowledges" (Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, I, 1), and since our first historian of philosophy recurs to the theory at length a dozen times (in all three *Ethics*), to explain and refute it, with that modernity and subtilty that forever astonishes us in

"Il maestro di color che sanno,"

we must accept it as true at least to one side of Socrates's thought. Virtue is knowledge. In a sense: "To be pious is to *know* what is due to the gods; to be just is to *know* what is due to men; to be courageous is to *know* what is to be feared and what is not; to be temperate is to *know* how to use what is good and avoid what is evil" (*Encycl. Brit.*).

Various comments difficult to organize crowd upon us for expression. What of this dynamic relation between right thinking and right conduct, between ignorance and evil? How did Socrates arrive at the idea? How far did he admit its modification by other factors in human nature? Has it an element of truth?

The idea, in the first place, were a witness to the character of Socrates, whom a noble serenity of reason dominated like an irrefragable god. It were, too, an idea typically Ionic, Athenian, sprung from that stock which stressed the λόγος of life, even as the ideal of the Doric (Sparta) was the ἐγκράτεια, the ἔργα (deeds).

Socrates saw the actual identity of knowing and being in the theoretical sciences: to know geometry is to be a geometer. He may not have appreciated the difference of aim in the practical arts. He may have said that to know medicine is to be a physician, and thus have construed conduct itself as the science-art of life, so that knowing virtue was the same as being virtuous, and he may not have sufficiently perceived that the aims of the theoretic science are self-inclusive, and those of the practical arts in every case respective somewhats beyond themselves.

However, I do not care to push the Aristotelian critique further, as my imagination is haunted with something like an uncomfortably reiterated and all but inscrutable chuckle of Socrates that yet seems to say: "This great man's subtilty and system takes the old beggar too solemnly. And I didn't reckon in the irrational part of the soul (ἄλογον μέρος ψυχῆς)? And the will being in my view subservient to thought, the result is determinism? And was the marketplace, then, such a poorly equipped laboratory that my researches left me so ignorant of the twists and starts and explosions of human nature? And will he deny the larger implications for systematic

thought (if he must make me a system) which may be read out of my dealings with men?"

Granted that Socrates in speech and practice proceeded from the proposition to know is to be, applied specifically to conduct; granted that like every new and great thought, like the Copernican astronomy, like Biblical criticism, it was at first formulated too absolutely; granted that Socrates was not a theoretic psychologist and that indeed the psychology of the will and the emotions was not very extensively developed even till long after Aristotle; granted that life is forever in advance of all speculation upon it and that the first serious speculations on morals may as such have been an inadequate or inconsistent phrasing of impulses, motives, and ethical stimulus obvious even in the veriest honey-smeared brat screaming under his mother's sandal in an Athenian alley-way: it is yet impossible to square the thought and service of Socrates entirely with Aristotle's report; it is yet impossible to identify my Socrates entirely with him of the text-books.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, said the adoring Hebrew; to know the right, as implicit in thy nature, is the beginning of wisdom, doubtless said the quizzical Greek: each in his own tongue. Knowledge is the *sine qua non*: not following a Pythagorean ritual, not following the Attic sires, not in itself following the laws of the state, but ethical insight. Socrates preached the self-reliance of an individual moral vision which was yet founded in universal man.

After the insight, what? For a finely balanced soul, in a sense, nothing. Insight merges into conduct; the initial readjustments of knowledge become, if not considered too curiously by the analytic psychologist, the readjustments of action; there is no fight pending with the world, the flesh, or the devil; he sees and he forthwith is what he sees. This was, I think, Socrates's ideal man. Socrates made less than we do of character up-built by struggle and of the glories of doing one's duty against the grain. He was a Greek; we are Teutons with a Hebraic education.

Note, however, the condition: "for a finely balanced soul." Self-control, balance, poise, is the cardinal Socratic virtue. When present, moral insight is moral conduct. But more than that, its presence is practically identical with moral insight as well. "Between wisdom and balance of soul he drew no distinction"—*σοφίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν* (Memorabilia, III, 9) is Xenophon's comment, and not too much stress is to be laid on the fact that his word is *σοφία* (wisdom), not *ἐπιστήμη* (knowledge). And in a

neighboring passage, "He said that justice, moreover, and all other virtue is wisdom."

Is, then, complete insight itself possible without this balance? If we take Xenophon absolutely, apparently not. Wrong conduct is either blindness or madness, i. e., either failure of insight or lack of soul balance; but these are practically two aspects of the same thing. Balance of soul, insight, right conduct is the Socratic manhood, the not entirely mysterious three-in-one of this pagan anthropologist.

But what of the avowed situation of Ovid's Medea, and of so many others less damned to fame—

"Video meliora, proboque:
Deteriora sequor"?

Would Socrates have denied the major?—Presumably he would first have questioned it; but often enough he was face to face with gifted men, like Alcibiades, who knew right and did wrong, with intelligent but vicious humanity where the cure, if any, could not be alone merely more intellectuality. He believed in training soul and body to self-mastery, not only as right conduct in itself but as the prerequisite for right thinking and right conduct (cf. *Memorabilia*, IV, 5). This is potent to any one who reads between the lines of our sources; and has perceived that Socrates's identification of different factors, is, if anything, more than an insistence on the primary importance of moral cognition, but an immortal hyperbole of an original mind, not busied with a formal system, and not bothered by its inconsistencies, as when perhaps he said "courageous men are those who have knowledge to cope with terrors and dangers well and nobly," the adverbs seeming to imply the recognition of traits of character antecedent to the knowledge.

He recognized, though he may never have formulated, back of self-control, insight, and conduct, the facts of temperament and environment, without wavering in practice from his belief in the relative teachability of virtue analogous to the teaching of a trade or art. He does not, however, seem to have valued over-much teaching through the emotions. There are hints that he more than once stirred the emulous heart by noble examples cited, but the oft mentioned enthusiasm of his listeners was roused usually either by his sweet reasonableness or the unplanned and unmediated effect of his own brave and kindly personality. Of the blazing passion, in plea or threat, of Mohammed and the Hebrew prophets, or of the

austere yet plangent appeal of the loving Jesus there is not a trace. There are many different voices for the schooling of man.

The new pedagogy stands quite across the world from where Socrates stood. With its experiments on the ethical emotions of cats and dogs, its statistics of innocent nursery prayers and depravities, its questionnaires on the moral agitations at puberty, and its roll-calls of public pensioners in Sing Sing or Fort Leavenworth, it has all but demonstrated the negligibility of knowing as a factor in virtue. And the parlor-philosopher, calling Sunday afternoon, shakes his head and assures me there is no connection between education and morality. Sad. And true, possibly, if by knowing we mean knowing mathematics and by education education in linguistics or the new pedagogy; verbiage, if we mean knowing moral values. The intellectual is still fundamental, and great character is still impossible without just thought as a big block in the underpinning. Meantime the common sense of mankind is rather with Socrates at bottom than with the new pedagogy, unconsciously testifying something of its unshaken view-point in countless familiar turns of speech: "*Know* the right and do it;" "You ought to *know* better;" "Poor fellow, he didn't *know* how disgraceful his actions were;" "What could you expect from a man who never had a chance to *know* the ideals of good citizenship;" "You're wrong, can't you *see* it?" etc., etc., all of which adumbrate the cognitive (without psychologizing it away from the imagination) and neglect the emotional altogether, as dynamic for conduct.

Kant founded the moral life in the good will; Socrates in right thinking. Yet each implies the factor made paramount by the other: Kant says act so that the maxim of thy conduct is fit to become universal law and implies the rationalizing, generalizing, judging, knowing mind; Socrates says a man without self-control is little better than the beasts, and implies that energy of soul to which modern psychology gives the name will. A worthy moral life is impossible without both, but the romantic ethical tendencies of to-day need the propaedeutic of Socrates more than of Kant. The good will we have always with us, giving often enough, with ghastly best wishes, unwittingly a serpent for a fish and a stone for bread; but the intelligence to see the practical bearings of conduct and to discriminate between higher and lower ideals is too often lacking—to the dwarfing of the individual and to the confusion of society. The fool in Sill's poem (which goes deep) prayed not for the good will, but for wisdom; and therefore the less fool he.

Socrates associated *ἀρετή*, "virtue," with some further ideas

more prominent in his thought than would be presumed from the brief mention that can here be made of them.

He was, I believe, an incorrigible utilitarian. The measure of any thing's worth was to him in its adaptation to use. But after all, the crux is in the content of use; and Socrates recognized only noble uses. Reason as we will, we cannot reason away his implicit idealism: such and such conduct is useful—for what—for making you useful to the state, a brave soldier? for making you worth while to yourself, self-respecting? "But what the use?" We can not go far without standing before the mystery of the approving or condemning moral consciousness itself. Socrates appears never to have thought the matter out; nor need we just here. In spite of his rationalistic bent, he accepted as instinctively as most men the obligation to the ideal.

He preached companionship; and boasted himself to be both lover and the pander too. "I am an adept in love's lore"...the disciples "will not suffer me day or night to leave them, forever studying to learn love-charms and incantations at my lips." These words are found not in Plato's Symposium, but in the prosaic narrative of Xenophon, whose placidity in assuring us in another passage that "all the while it was obvious the going forth of his soul was not towards excellence of body in the bloom of beauty, but rather towards faculties of the soul unfolding in virtue," is a good indication that we have here an element of the historic Socrates. But friendship was founded on character: "In whatsoever you desire to be esteemed good, endeavor to be good" (*Memorabilia*, II, 6); to be a good friend, you must be a good man. Love was also fellow-service: the good friend tried to make his friend better. On the other hand, it was useful to acquire friends—they were the best possessions. The politic utilitarian peeps out again. But useful for what?—for the cult of generous helpers, for the freemasons of the Good. We come round again and again to the center of the Socratic utilitarianism which measured finally the useful things in the moral realm by their usefulness for the ideal manhood. I have employed the vilified name for rhetorical surprise. It has here little in common with its use in modern philosophy, though modern utilitarians have been too ready to exclaim, "Lo, he has become as one of us."

Socrates would not have been a Greek if his ethics had not had a social and political reference. Ideal manhood and ideal citizenship would have been for practical teaching one thing to him. He would have been hugely impressed with the adroit patience and

clever tinkering amid loneliness and deprivation of Robinson Crusoe; he would have admitted doubtless that the brooding, skinclad sailor was not without some insight and some self-control which is of virtue; but for Socrates he would have lacked both the main opportunities and the main ends of good conduct: a state of fellow men. Thus the Athenian stands in almost brutal contrast to those gentle hermits of the inner life who have in times past peopled the caves of Egypt and the crags of the Himalayas.

This is clear for instance in the emphasis he seems to have put upon the ideal of a leader, the man best equipped to manage something, whether the drilling of a chorus for the theater, or the marshalling of soldiers into battle, or the ruling of a commonwealth.

Some aspects of this ideal are to be sure extra-ethical. The Greek *ἀρετή* means human excellence, *Tüchtigkeit*, efficiency, with or without what we would call an ethical connotation, and it illustrates that differing focus of thought, that differing idea-group, that differing line of cleavage that so often strikes the student of a foreign tongue. I have not hesitated, however, heretofore, to translate it "virtue," for it is its aspect of moral efficiency that is so prominent in Socrates, though its absolute sense of simple efficiency doubtless tended in his thinking to specious analogies. Our word "good" offers a modern parallel, both in its double sense and in its sometimes ambiguous and misleading use in thought.

Socrates would not have been a Greek if he had not emphasized the sanctity of the sovereign laws as a guiding principle of conduct. The Greeks often spoke as if the state were the end of man; that is, as if man received his justification only in so far as he contributed to its perfection. That a state is but the wise communal means to opportunity, variety, unfoldment, manhood, of the only earthly reality that counts, individual human beings, is scarcely the point of departure of Plato's Republic or even of Aristotle's Politics, but is the result of a long development in political science, fascinating, but irrelevant here. Just how far Socrates failed to see it as we do, we have no certain knowledge. It is, however, on several grounds, to be confidently presumed that he derived the sanction of the civil law from justice, and not as is often declared, justice from the law. In the corrupt and shifting politics of Athens there were laws which he condemned and deliberately disobeyed in the interests of higher laws. And he would have taken courageously by the arm the Sophoclean Antigone, as she determined to bury her brother Polyneices in spite of the state decree, and have said, "Thou art right, my child; indeed,

'The life of these laws is not of to-day,
Or yesterday; but from all time, and, lo,
Knoweth no man when first they were
put forth.'"

V.

That Socrates conceived the laws of right thinking and doing as organic and not statutory, as not imposed from without but as implicated in the nature of the organism and as universal as man seems clear from the general tendency and headway of his teachings. A ship may tack more than once in its course, but we measure the meaning and purpose of the voyage correctly only when we have absorbed the casual deviations into a more comprehensive cartography. His conception of virtue has the transcendental implication; it roots in a beyond; conceptually, in the universality of the ideal; categorically, in his naive and unexamined assumption of man's sense of obligation to the ideal when discovered.

This is the thoroughfare from ethics to religion. When the soul, finally conscious of that transcendental implication (though it be named more simply, or named not at all), and awake with rejoicing or dismay to the realization that virtue streams ultimately from the shining foreheads of the gods, it perforce reaches out with trust or prayer. It becomes Micah uttering the finality: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Nor is the essential attitude altered if for his baffled spirit the Divine Singular or Plural merges into the Infinite Mystery that rebukes our petty vocabularies. There is no other highway. The philosophic reason that, examining the transcendental bearings of logic and nature, arrives at a world-ground, arrives only at the intellectual last, at the speculative satisfaction, which, though it may bulwark religion, can scarcely compel it. The feeling of physical helplessness or dependence or terror, the suggestions of spirit-things from dream or hallucination, or eery winds or nodding tree, may issue in beliefs with incantations and petitions and burnt offerings, reachings out to a Superior or a Host, but this is religion only in the Lucretian sense, denying often enough even the majesty of man himself—

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

A not ignoble morality is possible, unaccompanied by the reaching out which merges it with religion; but religion (apart

from anthropological investigation) gives over not only its dignity and its beauty, but even its meaning if sundered from exalted morality.

If to Socrates was not revealed the transcendental implication of his life, if Socrates reached not out for the justification and sustenance of his ethic towards a Divine, then Socrates, though at the temple door, and though a servant there who worked righteousness and thus, according to bluff and honest Peter, also acceptable to Him, was still not a teacher of religion. His character, his service would remain lofty memorial of humanity, lofty witness of a god unknown; but he were still not a religious mind. This *if* we have yet to consider.

It becomes more and more plausible that the fatal indictment is rooted in observed fact: "Socrates is guilty of not worshipping the gods whom the city worships." If he had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries at that time newly popular, his apologists would have risen forthwith against the dicasts. Plato's Apology practically dodged this charge of the indictment. Aristophanes, years before, had formulated it, and we cannot any longer throw Aristophanes peremptorily out of court as a mere irresponsible buffoon in an ugly temper. Satire makes no appeal unless it phrases a common belief: there would be nothing fetching about a satire on Roosevelt as an atheist, or on Emerson as a hunter and rough-rider, except as a cheaply comic inversion of well-known habits and traits, and Aristophanes was hardly perpetrating that sort of jest. His satire on the sordidness of the school-house was founded on the fact of the poor and mean estate of Socrates's person; his satire on the Socratic speculations was founded in the fact of Socrates's perpetual rationalizing; his satire on the corruption of youth on the fact of Socrates's influencing young men to think new thoughts unprescribed by the elders; and his satire on Socrates's irreligion must likewise have been founded on fact—misunderstood fact, possibly, but fact misunderstood only as most of Athens may have misunderstood it. The Socrates of Plato, perhaps, helps us little; but it is to be observed that his remarks on dreams, oracles and the gods have an elusive playfulness or poetry, pointing if pointing at all beyond Plato, to a mind rather mischievously at ease in Zion, but not hostile to contemporary beliefs only because so far above them; and that his beautiful prayer to "Pan and ye other gods who frequent this spot" asks, quite contrary to popular petition, "in the first place to be good within"; and that the nearer Plato's Socrates seems to approach historic reality the more his

religious allusions approach the indefinite "Divine," and the more eloquent is the expression of the moral law. The movement of thought with which Socrates was most nearly associated was away from the folk religion. Socrates was so much with Euripides, the infidel poet of the Enlightenment, that rumor accused him of dramatic collaboration. The chorus at the end of the *Frogs*—a satire on that poet—sings with meaning: "Hail to him who [unlike Euripides] neither keeps company nor gossips with Socrates." And again, the keen intelligence of Socrates, as we have tried to analyze him, consorts awkwardly with the popular Olympians.

Against all this, we have the explicit testimony of the *Memorabilia*: Socrates was the most orthodox son of the state religion; the pillar and deacon of the church; the ambling odor of sanctity, now closeted with this priest now with that, running about from altar to altar with incense and winecup or telling his beads to every saint in the calendar. We share Xenophon's own puzzlement that the state could have condemned to death such a simple-minded old gentleman for impiety.

But this was not the man they condemned. As suggested in the first chapter, it was almost a formula with Xenophon, when he admired a man (and he had in excess the goodly gift of admiration) to extol him for the piety and pious practices which played a dominant part in the eulogist's own life. That he deliberately grafted these domestic pieties upon Socrates is impossible; if he had conceived Socrates as the impious neglecter or defamer of the gods, he would have been the last to attach himself or to rise in defense of the man. But that he absurdly misconstrued him seems patent. Socrates shared, as no other teacher, the life of his city; and the religious rites were so closely associated with folk-habits that he may well have attended them from time to time in the satisfaction of the social instinct of man. He may well not have sloughed off some deep-rooted ancestral prejudices: even Emerson raised his hands with the dismay of all his Puritan sires when he discovered the children in the house playing battledore and shuttlecock one Sabbath morn. He may well have used often enough the current coin of speech, in Greek, as in all languages full of conventional religious phrases. But it was not alone in whatever unconscious relations Socrates may have maintained to the state religion that Xenophon misconstrued him. The profounder interests and ideas and temperament of Socrates he equally misread. Socrates visited everybody and studied everywhere: but he was not necessarily more a hierophant for visiting a seer than he was

a shoemaker for visiting a cobbler. "When any one came seeking for help which no human wisdom could supply, he would counsel him to give heed to divination" (*Memorabilia*, IV, 7): the Socratic irony Xenophon presumably never half mastered. And, again, if Xenophon had asked him if he believed in Zeus and Athene and Apollo, he would doubtless have said yes, without hypocrisy, but also without explaining the ethnic period which lay between Xenophon's meaning of belief and his own. I myself believe in those resplendent deities. The fact is that religious narrowness always naively interprets the religious life of another by its own, unless kept back by clubs and spears. Give it the salute of mere human recognition, and it claims you for its sect. I have heard of an old lady who was moved by the orthodoxy of "that devout man, Mr. Gibbon." Joseph Cook, after an impertinent pilgrimage to Concord, announced so blatantly his conversion of Emerson that the family finally caused a printed denial to be circulated. The evangelist's methods were sometimes disingenuous; but here he seems merely to have fallen victim to his fatuity. The apostle probably asked: "Mr. Emerson, do you believe in sin? in salvation? in the saviour? in rewards and punishments? in the scriptures?" And the patient heathen as probably nodded a winsome assent of infinite detachment. I used to see at Cambridge my revered teacher William James crossing over every morning at nine o'clock to the brief chapel exercises in the yard, and have heard him both commended and ridiculed by students who equally misconceived the simplicity and depth of that analytic yet brooding mind.

But we are approaching a point of view. If Xenophon cannot be taken literally, he adumbrates a positive truth. If Socrates was not religious in the folk-sense, he was religious in a higher sense. He did recognize the transcendental implication. Even Xenophon now and then seems to have caught his larger phrase: "His formula of prayer was simple—Give me that which is best for me." And it is difficult to imagine Plato making an absolute atheist even the dramatic protagonist of an ethical philosophy in which the transcendental implication is consciously conceived as fundamental. But much further it seems impossible to go. Socrates recognized the divine foundation and sanction of the moral law, whether he ever uttered the argument from design so rhetorically developed by Xenophon or not. But the rest is silence. Whether he held to one divine being, as is not unlikely; and whether immortality was more than the high hope of the *Apology*, as seems doubtful—we can not report. An early tradition tells of a Hindu conversing with Soc-

rates (and it is not historically impossible that some soldier from the Indus, impressed into the Persian armies, remained in Greece, as exile or slave, after the defeat). And he said, "Tell me, Socrates, what is the substance of your teaching?" "Human affairs." "But you can not know human affairs if you don't know first the divine." Socrates, though no Oriental, may have assented in his own fashion. Yet the tradition hints at the true situation. He proclaimed the nobility of man, rather than the decrees of a god. He found the divine written in the human heart and brain, not on tablets of stone in the mountains. He came with no avowed revelation; he burned with no wrath against the folk-religion; he inaugurated no specifically religious reform. He was a messenger, a ministrant, a saviour, whose ethical idealism in word and conduct had its conscious religious aspect; but he was not primarily a religious leader. Mohammed passed from Allah down to man; it was man who led Socrates on to Zeus.

Yet the indictment went on to accuse him of introducing gods of his own. Of this there is no evidence in the sense apparently intended. Plato makes Meletus call Socrates during the trial "a complete atheist"; and, when Meletus hung up the indictment he was either wilfully lying or but stating an assumed corollary to what was possibly to him the sum of atheism—denial of the city's gods. Or the historic kernel may be to seek in Socrates's modes of thinking and speaking about the Divine. What's in a name? Everything for popular thought. Emerson's "Brahma" is to many people either a meaningless or a blasphemous poem; change the name to "God" and they would paste it in their hymn-books. Describe with all science and beauty the life-habits and appearance of a flower, and then halt in a momentary slip of memory, and your amateur botanist supposes you an ignoramus because you can't name it. For most people a rose, if named *Symplocarpus foetidus*, would *not* smell as sweet. If the originality of Socrates ever invented new names for divine things, that would have been sufficient grounds for his enemies to suspect him of inventing new divinities; just as his use at other times of familiar names seems to have been a good ground for such friends as Xenophon to suppose him orthodox. For the rest, to me this specification in the indictment is but one more proof that the Socratic message of righteousness was often enough verbally associated with the transcendental implication. For, when we say that Socrates was not primarily a religious teacher we do not forget that he was put to death partially on a charge of religious teaching: the inconsistency is merely formal.

Xenophon refers the charge to a misunderstanding of the *daimonion* which, according to common tradition, Socrates often mentioned as his warning voice or sign. Whether this explanation be in line with a hint in the preceding paragraph or not, may be left to the reader. We are forced, however, to examine the phenomenon in itself. What was the *daimonion* (τὸ δαιμόνιον)? The question is double: what was it to Socrates? what is it for us? Though Socrates seems to have treated it, or pretended to treat it, somewhat like a familiar spirit or good genius, the word has properly no personal or theological meaning. Euripides and Thucydides, both men of the Enlightenment, use it of that which, given by fate, man must adjust himself toward and to. It was not synonymous with "demon"; Cicero rightly translated it *divinum quiddam* (*De divinatione*, I, 54, 122). To Socrates it may have been a literal voice, sounding in the inner ear. Not alone visionaries like Joan of Arc and Swedenborg, have heard voices: Pascal and Luther heard them, though the former was the shrewdest intellect and the latter the soundest stomach of his age, and both men rooted on solid earth. If so, we turn the problem over to the psychologists—without, however, implying the neurotic decadence that becomes the business of the alienist. And they may name it a manifestation of the transcendental ego, or an instance of double personality, or an objectification of an unusually developed instinct of antipathy or of an abhorrent conscience, a non-rational residuum in the most rationalistic of men. Or to Socrates it may have been but a playful mode of referring to his disapproval of whatnots of conduct, ethical or otherwise, a disapproval reasoned out or immediately felt. The suggestion, tentative as it is, is still not an arbitrary assimilation of an ancient mind to modern rationalism. We know the ironic habit of Socrates, ironic not only toward others, but, with that deeper wisdom, ironic toward himself. We know he was given to playful exaggeration, especially to quizzical tropes. His pedagogic method he called midwifery; his faculty for friendship and for bringing friends together he referred to as incantations or pandering, using the most erotic expressions, which, in literal use, referred to things often even from the Greek point of view immoral; so too he seems to have spoken of his mantic, his oracular power, meaning simply foresight or premonition. The conception of the mind and temper of Socrates to which I have come inclines me to number the *daimonion* also among the tropes.

Again, if we take the Daimonion literally, what of the Dog? The Platonic Socrates is found of enforcing his asseverations by a

blasphemous canine oath, which sounds like a historic reminiscence and may hint at another source of the charge of impiety and new divinities. "By the Dog they would" (Phaedo) ; "By the Dog, Gorgias, there will be a great deal of discussion before we get at the truth of all this" (Gorgias) ; "Not until, by the Dog, as I believe, he had simply learned by heart the entire discourse" (Phaedrus) ; and "By the Dog" he swears again in the Charmides, in the Lysis, and in the Republic. By what Dog? Molossian hound or Xanthippe's terrier? or some Egyptian deity that barks, not bellows? or Cerberus? More like. Strange and gruesome idolatry, which troubled some patristic admirers of the old pagan, as much as the cock his dying gasp bade sacrifice to Asclepius.

WHY WE ARE AT WAR.

BY J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

[The labor parties of the world have been growing almost from year to year not only in numbers but also in political influence, and they give fair promise of becoming an international power which will make for peace in the world.

The labor party in Germany is democratic and socialistic. It is a strong peace party, and its leaders were in favor of supporting the peace movement with all their strength. But at the outbreak of the war, after an investigation of the case, the German labor leaders saw clearly that the present war was forced upon Germany with the obvious intention of crushing her for the benefit of her rivals, and they stood by the government and voted in favor of the subsidies for war. They stated their reasons in speeches and published articles, and there can be no better argument for the justice of Germany's cause.

The labor party in England was branded as unpatriotic, and Mr. John Burns resigned his position in the cabinet, while the leader of the advocates of peace in the French labor party was even more quickly and directly disposed of by being shot, the murder being acquiesced in by the public to the extent of letting the assassin escape punishment. There was not even a serious attempt made at investigating the crime or prosecuting the criminal.

The laborers of different countries have formed an alliance which is called "the International," and if it had been only a little stronger it might have been able to prevent the present war; but Germany was the only country in which the labor party was well organized, and there they did not veto the war because they saw that for Germany it was but a war of self-defense.

We here republish from *The Continental Times*, of December 4, 1914, a short article by J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., leader of the English labor party and a man well conversant with the inside of English politics. The article is little known, almost unknown, even in England. So far as I know it has never been printed in the United States, and yet it ought to be read. Mr. Macdonald knows whereof he speaks. He states facts, and in the light of these facts he places the responsibility for the war.—EDITOR.]

ON that fatal Sunday, the second of August, I met in Whitehall a member of the Cabinet and he told me of the messages and conversations between foreign secretaries and ambassadors which were to be published for the purpose of showing how we strove

for peace and how Germany immovably went to war. "It will have a great effect on public opinion," he said, and he was right. It is called "Correspondence respecting the European Crisis," but is generally referred to as "The White Paper." I wish to comment upon it for the purpose of explaining its significance.

It begins with a conversation between Sir Edward Grey and the German ambassador on July 20 regarding the Austrian threat to punish Servia, and finishes with the delivery of our ultimatum to Germany on August 4. From it certain conclusions appear to be justified, the following in particular:

1. Sir Edward Grey strove to the last to prevent a European war.

2. Germany did next to nothing for peace, but it is not clear whether she actually encouraged Austria to pursue her Servian policy.

3. The mobilization of Russia drove Germany to war.

4. Russia and France strove, from the very beginning, both by open pressure and by wiles, to get us to commit ourselves to support them in the event of war.

5. Though Sir Edward Grey would not give them a pledge he made the German ambassador understand that we might not keep out of the conflict.

6. During the negotiations Germany tried to meet our wishes on certain points so as to secure our neutrality. Sometimes her proposals were brusque, but no attempt was made by us to negotiate diplomatically to improve them. They were all summarily rejected by Sir Edward Grey. Finally, so anxious was Germany to confine the limits of the war, the German ambassador asked Sir Edward Grey to propose his own conditions of neutrality, and Sir Edward Grey declined to discuss the matter. This fact was suppressed by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in their speeches in Parliament.

7. When Sir Edward Grey failed to secure peace between Germany and Russia, he worked deliberately to involve us in the war, using Belgium as his chief excuse.

That is the gist of the White Paper. It proves quite conclusively that those who were in favor of neutrality before the second of August ought to have remained in favor of it after the White Paper was published.

That Sir Edward Grey should have striven for European peace and then, when he failed, that he should have striven with equal determination to embroil Great Britain, seems contradictory. But

it is not, and the explanation of why it is not is the justification of those of us who for the last eight years have regarded Sir Edward Grey as a menace to the peace of Europe and his policy as a misfortune to our country. What is the explanation?

Great Britain in Europe can pursue one of two policies. It can keep on terms of general friendship with the European nations, treating with each separately when necessary and cooperating with all on matters of common interest. To do this effectively it has to keep its hands clean. It has to make its position clear, and its sympathy has to be boldly given to every movement for liberty. This is a policy which requires great faith, great patience, and great courage. Its foundations are being built by our own International, and if our Liberal Government had only followed it since 1905 it would by this time have smashed the military autocracies which have brought us into war.

But there is a more alluring policy—apparently easier, apparently safer, apparently more direct, but in reality more difficult, more dangerous, and less calculable. That is the policy of the balance of power through alliance. Weak and short-sighted ministers have always resorted to this because it is the policy of the instincts rather than of the reason. It formed groups of powers on the continent. It divided Europe into two great hostile camps—Germany, Austria, and Italy on the one hand; Russia, France and ourselves on the other. The progeny of this policy is suspicion and armaments; its end is war and the smashing up of the very balance which it is designed to maintain. When war comes it is then bound to be universal. Every nation is on one rope or another and when one slips it drags its allies with it.

As a matter of practical experience the very worst form of alliance is the *entente*. An alliance is definite. Every one knows his responsibilities under it. The *entente* deceives the people. When Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey kept assuring the House of Commons that we had contracted no obligations by our *entente* with France they said what was literally true but substantially untrue. That is why stupid or dishonest statesmen prefer the *entente* to the alliance; it permits them to see hard facts through a veil of sentimental vagueness. Had we had a definite alliance with France and Russia the only difference would have been that we and everybody else should have known what we had let ourselves in for, and that might have averted the war. Italy could keep out of the turmoil because its membership in the alliance imposed only definite

obligations upon it; we were dragged in because our *entente* involved us in an indefinite maze of honorable commitments.

It is interesting to gather from Sir Edward Grey's speech of August 3 and the White Paper how completely the *entente* entangled him. There were first of all the "conversations" between French and British naval and army experts from 1906 onwards. These produced plans of naval and military operations which France and we were to take jointly together. It was in accordance with these schemes that the northern coasts of France were left unprotected by the French navy. When Sir Edward Grey evoked our sympathy on the ground that the French northern coasts were unprotected, he did not tell us that he had agreed that they should be unprotected and that the French fleet should be concentrated in the Mediterranean.

These "conversations" were carried on for about six years without the knowledge or consent of the Cabinet. The military plans were sent to St. Petersburg and a Grand Duke (so well-informed authorities say) connected with the German party in Russia sent them to Berlin. Germany has known for years that there were military arrangements between France and ourselves, and that Russia would fit her operations into these plans.

We had so mixed ourselves up in the Franco-Russian alliance that Sir Edward Grey had to tell us on August 3 that though our hands were free our honor was pledged!

The country had been so helplessly committed to fight for France and Russia that Sir Edward Grey had to refuse point blank every overture made by Germany to keep us out of the conflict. That is why, when reporting the negotiations to the House of Commons, he found it impossible to tell the whole truth and to put impartially what he chose to tell us. He scoffed at the German guarantee to Belgium on the ground that it only secured the "integrity" of the country but not its independence; when the actual documents appeared it was found that its independence was secured as well. And that is not the worst. The White Paper contains several offers which were made to us by Germany aimed at securing our neutrality. None were quite satisfactory in their form and Sir Edward Grey left the impression that these unsatisfactory proposals were all that Germany made. Later on the Prime Minister did the same. Both withheld the full truth from us. The German ambassador saw Sir Edward Grey, according to the White Paper, on August 1—and this is our foreign minister's note of the conversation:

"The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions upon which we could remain neutral. He even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed."

Sir Edward Grey declined to consider neutrality on any conditions and refrained from reporting this conversation to the House. Why? It was the most important proposal that Germany made. Had this been told us by Sir Edward Grey his speech could not have worked up a war sentiment. The hard, immovable fact is that Sir Edward Grey had so pledged the country's honor without the country's knowledge to fight for France or Russia, that he was not in a position even to discuss neutrality. That was the state of affairs on July 20 and did not arise from anything Germany did or did not do after that date.

Now, the apparent contradiction that the man who had worked for European peace was at the same time the leader of the war party in the Cabinet can be explained. Sir Edward Grey strove to undo the result of his policy and keep Europe at peace but, when he failed, he found himself committed to dragging his country into war.

The justifications offered are nothing but the excuses which ministers can always produce for mistakes. Let me take the case of Belgium. It has been known for years that, in the event of a war between Russia and France on the one hand and Germany on the other, the only possible military tactics for Germany to pursue were to attack France hot foot through Belgium, and then return to meet the Russians. The plans were in our war office. They were discussed quite openly during the Agadir trouble, and were the subject of some magazine articles, particularly one by Mr. Belloc.

Mr. Gladstone made it clear in 1870 that in a general conflict formal neutrality might be violated. He said in the House of Commons in August, 1870: "I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to an assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

Germany's guarantees to Belgium would have been accepted by Mr. Gladstone. If France had decided to attack Germany through Belgium Sir Edward Grey would not have objected, but would have justified himself by Mr. Gladstone's opinions.

We knew Germany's military plans. We obtained them through the usual channels of spies and secret service. We knew that the road through Belgium was an essential part of them. That was our opportunity to find a "disinterested" motive apart from the obligations of the *entente*. It is well known that a nation will not fight except for a cause in which idealism is mingled. The *Daily Mail* supplied the idealism for the South African war by telling lies about the flogging of British women and children; our government supplied the idealism for this war by telling us that the independence of Belgium had to be vindicated by us. Before it addressed its inquiries to France and Germany upon this point, knowing the military exigencies of both countries, it knew that France could reply suitably whilst Germany could not do so. It was a pretty little game in hypocrisy which the magnificent valor of the Belgians will enable the government to hide up for the time being.

Such are the facts of the case. It is a diplomatist's war, made by about half-a-dozen men. Up to the moment that ambassadors were withdrawn the peoples were at peace. They had no quarrel with each other; they bore each other no ill-will. Half-a-dozen men brought Europe to the brink of a precipice and Europe fell over it because it could not help itself. To-day our happy industrial prospects of a fortnight ago are darkened. Suffering has come to be with us. Ruin stares many of us in the face. Little comfortable businesses are wrecked, tiny incomes have vanished. Want is in our midst, and Death walks with Want. And when we sit down and ask ourselves with fulness of knowledge: "Why has this evil happened?" the only answer we can give is, because Sir Edward Grey has guided our foreign policy during the past eight years. His short-sightedness and his blunders have brought all this upon us.

I have been reminded of one of those sombre judgments which the prophet who lived in evil times uttered against Israel. "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land: The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

Aye, what will ye do in the end thereof?

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR.

CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO HUMAN CONDUCT.

BY ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR.

FROM the beginning of human thought, fear has been regarded with contempt. To fear, to be afraid, is considered the earmark of cowardice, and as all the world is said to love a lover, so all the world scorns a coward. And because it occupies in our estimation such an unenviable position it serves a useful purpose. Since fear is considered contemptible man tries to divest himself of it; he is ashamed of its existence; he hates its profoundest and most beneficent manifestation. Yet the truth is that this useful emotion occupies an ignominious position unjustly, and should be lifted, by a more comprehensive understanding, to a plane of eminent respectability.

Fear is the great force that prompts to acts of self-preservation and operates as effectively in the brute as in the human animal. Even in plant life we can trace evidences that indicate the presence of a natural law operating very much as fear does upon brute instinct and the human mind.

When we analyze the fundamentals of the world's religions, we find they make their first and final appeal to man's inborn sense of fear. Religion provides a place of punishment and another of reward. The first appeals to man's fear, the second to his venality. The fear of hell and the pictured horrors of a place of eternal damnation, are intended to coerce man into righteous living; and a reward for such righteousness is offered in the form of a place of eternal bliss. On the one hand the fear of evil is calculated to deter, and fear of losing the delights of heaven is intended to lure man from his natural tendency to evil.

This reflection may not be stimulating nor gratifying to human vanity but it is nevertheless true.

Courage, the opposite of fear, readily divides itself into the

moral and the physical. One may be a moral coward yet physically brave; and obversely the physically brave may in certain circumstances prove a moral coward. It is not our purpose to praise the one or condemn the other, for this does not lie within the purview of this discussion.

At risk of incurring the indignant disapproval of the unthinking, it is necessary to say in some respect or particular all men are cowards—all in some circumstances are dominated by fear. The self-sufficient ego will naturally rebel against the charge of cowardice, but in the last analysis, if he is honest with himself, he will find the statement absolutely true, that no man can be in all things fearless.

As men differ physically, so they differ mentally, morally and spiritually, and what will delight the one will leave the other quite unmoved. If yielding to the domination of fear signifies cowardice, then as stated above, every man at some time, in some way, will prove himself a coward. Men living in communities yield their private views to the rigor of convention, and refrain from the pursuit of desires because they fear the condemnation of their fellow men—ostracism. It is due to fear of this condemnation that men observe the conventional laws.

Moreover, obedience to the decalogue is found to be due to the fear of consequences which may be either material or spiritual; thus, those commandments which deal with the spiritual side of man are obeyed because of fear of spiritual consequences already referred to; the other commandments, which involve the natural rights of man, and the breach of which results in criminal punishment, are obeyed by fear of public condemnation, arrest, imprisonment, or death.

The old Blackstonian dictum "that every law must have a sanction," meaning that every law must provide a punishment for its breach, makes its appeal to just that fear in man which causes him to shrink from the unpleasant, and deters him from the commission of acts that must eventuate in the loss of liberty or life.

Fear springs from the biological law of self-preservation. Scientists tell us that this law is necessary for the preservation of species and that it ranks in importance with the "survival of the fittest" and "the struggle for existence." Fear of injury and death makes every rational being fly from danger, and were this otherwise it is easy to believe life would become extinct because unresistingly yielding itself to the destructive forces of nature and human experience.

We may say then that every rational being is dominated by fear of consequences, mental, moral or physical, and only those devoid of rationality can be said to be devoid of this protective emotion. Lunatics, defectives, and those whom powerful emotions temporarily control because the sense of fear is either extinct or in a state of suspension, are without the range of this beneficent law.

We see in zoology constant manifestations of the influence of fear upon brute creation. Thus a lioness will brave dangers to herself in her efforts to protect her offspring. Here the stronger maternal instinct has overpowered the biological law.

It is common nowadays to speak of the man who in a fit of rage commits a murder as emotionally insane—as a victim of brain storm—which translated into plain English means that a state of mind has been created by anger, hate, revenge, blood lust, or a kindred emotion, which for the moment has mastered the natural fear of consequences and placed in suspension the law of self-preservation.

When analysis is made of acts of so-called heroism it will be found that immediately preceding their performance one or the other mental states, hereafter set forth, existed:

1. Absence of imagination whereby the individual becomes incapable of foreseeing, and therefore unable to count and measure danger.
2. Impulse whereby reflection is prevented and the individual unthinkingly assumes the dangers he has disregarded.
3. Superlative egotism which begets an inordinate appetite for the approbation and applause of one's fellow man.
4. Fear of contempt (which is the obverse of the last proposition) impels to conduct seemingly heroic.
5. An idealized selfishness which finds true happiness in the service of others, even though that service necessitates the assumption of serious personal risk.
6. An inordinate vanity whose development is so abnormal that it conquers, for the time, the biological law.

An illustration of each of the foregoing will suffice to make the meaning clear.

First: Lack of Imagination. Highly sensitive nervous natures have active imaginations which by emotional stimuli will picture, in exaggerated form, the dangers of the act. Appreciation of these dangers begets the deterrent fear, and an act or non-act results,

which the unthinking call cowardly, and the guilty wretch is spurned as a coward. Experience produces knowledge and knowledge of danger begets fear. A nervous nature in moments of stress exaggerates this knowledge born of experience. Thus a child is wholly fearless of fire until it is burned, but becomes fearful in its presence once experience has taught it that pain will follow from contact.

Second: Impulse. An act of impulse is one where the act follows so swiftly upon the will to do, that sufficient time does not intervene for reasoning reflection. Fear of consequences is therefore suspended, and only after the act is done does the danger become apparent. Women will perform heroic acts and then fall into a swoon when all danger is past. The realization of this danger produces the shock to the nerve centers and causes unconsciousness.

Third: Superlative egotism. Men attain to states of mind when they believe themselves divinely or otherwise appointed to do some act by which humanity is expected to profit, and that they are appointed to perform the act regardless of the incident danger. History affords many illustrations of this form of superlative egotism, and these, facing dangers, pursue their appointed course conscious of, yet overcoming, the biological law.

Fourth: Fear of contempt. In this class may be placed the so-called heroic soldier, who, standing on the firing line is impelled to run away yet stands bravely facing the enemy just because he fears the contempt and condemnation of his fellow men. Here pride overcomes fear and a hero may be the result.

"He is not brave who in great danger knows no fear;
He is who does, and masters it when danger's near."

Fifth: An idealized selfishness. All rational action springs from motive; motive impels the doing of the act. Without motive the act is irrational. What then is the fundamental motive that prompts man to action whether good or bad? Selfishness—self-interest. Thus greed may prompt a robbery and this would be base selfishness; altruism causes acts of beneficence and this we call idealized or refined selfishness. The robber selfishly wants the gold he robs; the altruist wants the approval of his own conscience and the good-will of his fellow man. The robber does an evil act from base selfishness; the altruist does a noble act from idealized or refined selfishness; the robber desires that agreeable state of mind which the satisfying of his greed affords; the altruist acquires a pleasant state of mind from the knowledge of having done right and won the approbation of society. The poverty of our language

makes it impossible for us to use a less odious word than "selfishness" for which fact we take no blame. As there is no other word that accurately describes the antithesis of selfishness we must resort to the use of this word, however unwillingly, and make the meaning reasonably clear by characterizing the one as "base selfishness" and the other as "idealized or refined selfishness."

Sixth: Inordinate vanity. The hunger for notoriety is so phenomenally developed in some persons that in the pursuit of its gratification dangers are assumed that the normally constituted persons would shrink from. To this class belong those law-breakers who, guided by vanity, commit crimes in order to attract public attention. In order that they may occupy prominent positions in our daily newspapers which unfortunately pander to their abnormality, these persons will defy law and order, go to prison and submit willingly to shame and disgrace and the odium of public condemnation in order to gratify their inordinate vanity. So long as these persons are influenced to conduct by their vanity, fear of consequences will be held in suspension, and they rise above or fall below (as the reader may prefer) the biological law.

It is not claimed that the foregoing list is by any means complete, but it is hoped it will suffice to make clear what we have contended for all along, namely, that the so-called coward is not nearly so contemptible as the world believes him to be; and that cowardice or fear of consequences, is as much a biological law governing conduct, and as useful in the preservation of the species, as hunger which is a desire for food and therefore provokes to eating, and thirst which is an evidence of the need of drink and therefore prompts to drinking.

Reference should be made to certain abnormal forms of fear for which no excuse can be offered except that they are congenital and perhaps due to ante-natal states of the mother; severe fright of the mother is known to mark the child by an unnatural sensitiveness to certain kinds of danger. As abnormal appetites are thus created, so an unnatural fear may be born in the offspring.

Fear is naturally produced by ignorance. In seeking a reason for an unknown phenomenon the ignorant mind will arrive at conclusions that associate such phenomenon with the supernatural or fearful.

It is said that when the early European explorers first landed on our shores, the aborigines were more terrified at sight of a horse than by a regiment of men. They had never seen a horse, and were ignorant of its innocent character, and therefore their

ignorance ascribed to it supernatural qualities. The same is said of the Rachshasas and Azuras of pre-historic India.

In ancient times ignorance begot fear of epileptics because supposed to be possessed of devils, and these unfortunates were consequently shunned; to-day man, being better informed, makes these unfortunates objects of pity and medical care. Ignorance of natural law, and priest-made fables, produce fear of death. Yet death is a beneficent law of nature and its terrors are entirely due to ignorance of the unknown hereafter which the vivid imagination of man has peopled with countless horrors, or equally impossible celestial delights.

Reflection on this subject would result in greater justice being done to so-called cowards, and a lessening of the exuberance in our hero worship.

Let us not forget that the real hero is one who in the face of evil is a coward.

MISCELLANEOUS.

GERMAN SCHOLARS AND THE LARGER VIEW.

Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, president of the Monistic Alliance, and the right-hand man of Ernst Haeckel, expresses his views on the present war in the official monthly organ of the Monists, *Das Monistische Jahrhundert*, page 860. He shows a conciliatory spirit, and we quote from his article the following paragraphs:

"Amid the noise and hubbub of war the scientifically minded man must not lose sight of the fact that war is after all an abnormal state. Peace is the aim and end of war. But this peace we must endeavor to shape in such a way that it does not render unnecessarily difficult the resumption of normal relations between the great civilized peoples of the earth. We are dependent, materially and spiritually, on other nations and states, as they are on us.

"Above all let us beware of imputing to a race or people the deeds of its government or of small groups of isolated states. Let us guard against generalizations which lead to rash judgments concerning the national character of individual peoples.

"It avails nothing to wage a war which has for its object the wresting of world dominion, or the acquiring of a political hegemony which would be but the prelude to a bitter struggle of the other nations against the formidable dominating people. We are waging war to preserve our independent national existence. We are battling for the life of our political organism, which is the foundation for the further development of German culture.

"We consider the community of German culture, however, as part and parcel of the international fellowship of men throughout the world. We value

our labor of civilization not only as a labor for the German nation but as a contribution to the development of mankind. Even in time of war we must remember that this labor will be the more fruitful, the livelier the exchange of material and spiritual things,—the same interchange which has carried human development to its present stage. An international interchange of culture is the chief essential even for flourishing national civilizations, as well as for the unimpeded progress of man.”

Similar sentiment is to be found in the fourth yearbook of the Schopenhauer Society, where Prof. Paul Deussen writes: “‘Not to my contemporaries,’ says Schopenhauer, ‘not to my countrymen, but to humanity do I commit my work which is now completed, in the confidence that it will not be without value to the race.’ Science, and more than every other science, philosophy, is international.... Foolish, very foolish, therefore is the conduct of certain German professors who have renounced their foreign honors and titles. And what shall we say of a member of our society who demanded that citizens of those states which are at war with us should be excluded from the Schopenhauer Society, and who, when it was pointed out that our foreign members certainly condemned this infamous war as much as we Germans, protested that she could not belong to an association in which Frenchmen, Englishmen and Russians took part, and announced her withdrawal from our society, indeed even published her brave resolution in the columns of a local paper in her provincial town. We shall not shed any tears for her having gone.”

FIELD MARSHAL HINDENBURG.

The Chicago Tribune recently published a series of articles by James O'Donnell Bennett which give an excellent pen picture of Field Marshal Hindenburg, Germany's most popular hero. In the first of these Mr. Bennett describes the personal appearance of the German commander as follows:

“His gray-white hair is cropped close at the back and sides of the head and in a wide, flat pompadour on the top, and that emphasizes the squareness of his head. His forehead is low, his nose smallish, his complexion pale, and the skin like fine parchment.

“The notable feature of his face is the eyes. It is they and the big mustache and the strong jaws that give the man his leonine aspect. There are deep, heavy, sad lines under the eyes and at each side of the mouth. Even the large black mustache does not conceal the latter.

“The eyes, too, are sad—small, sad, searching eyes—small, not wonderful when the general's attention is not roused, but at once startling and commanding in their effect when he becomes alert. When he turns them on you, you know it—and the realization is accompanied almost by a gasp. One glance searches a man.

“There is power in the well poised head and in the erect shoulders, and that impression of power is increased because the man moves so little. For many minutes he seems to sit motionless, and when he does move it is with slow deliberation. His countenance is not stern, but melancholy and meditative: not gloomy, though, for there is a sweetness in it that none of the portraits can convey, for the painters are inclined to make him burly. It is the victor of the awful week at Tannenberg whom they paint and not the man of the long years of patient waiting.”



"ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN" by Rubens.
An example of Belgian Art.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XXIX. (No. 5)

MAY, 1915

NO. 708

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THE FUTURE OF BELGIUM.

BY GEORGE SARTON.

I N my childhood several masters spent long hours trying to teach me the history of nations, but I never understood much about it and gained little profit from their teaching. Was I a bad pupil or were they bad teachers? I think both these reasons must be taken into account, but the true explanation evidently is that most facts of political history are beyond childish comprehension. We were told, for example, of the migrations of peoples: some which invaded peaceful countries as conquerors, others which were forced into exile. But not one whit of it all stirred our feelings nor awakened our imaginations; it was all simply a string of words, and alas! of dates. Now I am beginning to understand history, and it may be that the young European children, and particularly the little Belgians, will also find it easier to discover the real and living meaning of historical facts.

Poor Belgians! There is said to be a million of them who have had to leave their native land and seek refuge in Holland, France or England. I believe this figure is exaggerated, but in any case it is certain that more than an eighth of the total population has had to go into exile. And what has become of those seven-eighths who have remained. How many have been able to stay in their own homes? Even the most fortunate of them have had to lodge and keep hostile soldiers and have undergone the direst privations. All this is so cruel that one cannot imagine it fully who has not lived through it. And note that I am not even thinking of the towns that have been burned, of the houses destroyed, or of the pillage and crimes of all sorts.

What then has happened? I will try to put it briefly and dispassionately. The neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the

Treaty of London, signed on April 17, 1839, on the one hand by King Leopold, and on the other by the Emperor of Austria, the King of France, the Queen of England, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia. The seventh article of this treaty decrees that Belgium shall always remain a neutral and independent state, on condition that she should herself preserve her neutrality. This treaty obliged her then to defend her independence in the case of its being menaced. Let it be said in passing that the neutrality of the grand duchy of Luxemburg was guaranteed in the same way by the Convention of London in 1867. But Belgium's neutrality, solemnly guaranteed by Germany, was violated by her on August 4, 1914. Germany had already violated the neutrality of the Luxemburg duchy¹ two days before, on Sunday, August 2. I think that no one of good faith has any doubt that Germany has in truth broken her word, after France and England had confirmed their promise. Besides, the fact has been officially recognized in the speech made on August 4 in the Reichstag by the Imperial Chancellor: "We are in a state of legitimate defence and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgium. This is contrary to the dictates of international law. France has, it is true, declared at Brussels that she was prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as it was respected by her adversary. . . . For the wrong which we are thus doing we will make reparation as soon as our military object is attained."² Now, what makes this crime especially abominable is that it has been perpetrated in the twentieth century, by one of the greatest nations of the world, by that very one which proclaims the superiority of its civilization with the most emphasis and pride!

At first the Germans did, then, confess to their crime, and thought to absolve themselves by promising reparation(?). But afterwards, feeling themselves condemned for their treachery by public opinion all the world over, they have tried other tactics. They try to make their friends believe that they have not really violated Belgian neutrality, because this had already been violated before them, either by the French or the Belgians themselves! Now it is absolutely without a doubt that the French did not penetrate into our country until quite a long time after the Germans,

¹ In what follows I shall speak of Belgium only, but it must be understood that little Luxemburg is also a victim of German treachery and that Germany has violated the neutrality of *both* nations.

² Dispatch from Baron Beyens, Belgian minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Belgian minister of foreign affairs. Berlin, August 4, 1914. Official translation.

and many inexperienced Belgians have been only too tempted to deplore that the former were so long in coming to their rescue. Hardly had Germany declared war upon Belgium than three German army corps were at our gates! At that moment France was still struggling with the arrangements for her mobilization. It is from this point of view that it can be fairly said that Belgium saved France and so, Europe. The simple fact that the Germans were ready for the war *bodies and souls* for so many years has given them an immense, an incalculable, military advantage; but this very fact carries in itself their condemnation, for it proves conclusively on which side the aggressor is to be found.³

As to the Belgians, up to the very last hour, up to the very last minute, they did everything in the world to guard the strictest neutrality. Their efforts in this direction have been at least as great as those made by the Netherlands or by the United States. Concerning this, here are two significant facts: On August 1, at the moment when all minds were excited to the highest degree by the European crisis, the Belgian Home Secretary telegraphed the following circular to the governors of the nine provinces: "In the midst of the impending crisis Belgium has resolved to defend her neutrality. It must be respected, but it is the duty of the nation to take every measure required by the situation in order that it may be so respected. Therefore, the people must join with the government to secure the avoidance of all demonstrations which might cause friction with either the one or the other of our neighbors. With this object all burgomasters should at once publish notices forbidding the assembling of public meetings likely to manifest sympathy or antipathy toward either power. It is also proper that the corporations—burgomaster and sheriffs—should forbid the exhibition of any cinematograph pictures showing military scenes of a nature to stir up feeling or provoke popular emotions which might imperil public order. I must ask you therefore, M. le Gouverneur, to take measures to secure that these instructions are carried out without delay."⁴ Meanwhile, a Belgian paper, *Le Petit Bleu*, having disregarded the order, and having openly taken sides with France in its number of August 2, the minister of justice caused all copies to be seized. This took place only a few hours before the German ultimatum was delivered.

³ It is well to remember that this war is the fourth European war initiated by Germany in the course of half a century: 1864, Schleswig-Holstein; 1866, Austria; 1870, France; 1914, the Great War.

⁴ Translation published by the *London Times*, January 1, 1915, p. 6.

The German accusations make me think irresistibly of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. It was the lamb who began! The aggressor is not content with killing his victim, he insults it; after taking its life, he tries to stain its honor! This sort of argument appears to me even more odious than the crime itself.

I know the Germans claim that they found decisive proofs that Belgium had abandoned her neutrality into the Allies' hands many years ago. These proofs are contained in three documents which they found in the records of the Foreign Office in Brussels. I have the facsimile of these documents before my eyes;⁵ they date from 1906, 1911, 1912. They simply reproduce the confidential interviews between the Belgian General Staff and the British military attaché. These documents show us that England had been studying for several years the means of sending armies to succor Belgium, *in the eventuality of menace to that country's neutrality*. In the most important of these documents, that dated April 10, 1906, it is explicitly stated (in a note in the margin) that "*the entry of the English into Belgium would only take place after the violation of our neutrality by Germany.*" In what do these interviews and arguments violate Belgian neutrality? They were in truth simple precautions of which events have shown the utility. It was perfectly natural that England should ascertain what measures Belgium intended taking to defend her independence, so much the more that this little country, blinded by careless enjoyment of extraordinary prosperity, might have appeared unconcerned, and was so indeed. Moreover, Germany's criminal intentions were but too evident. I need only cite in proof the strategical railways and the military stations established close up to the Belgian frontier. These constructions so obviously implied the possibility of a violation of our territory, that Belgium would have had the right to protest to the German government (but what was the good? what could she obtain?). In any case, they amply justify the interviews about which Germany has bluffed so much, thus proving the weakness of her own cause. Far from considering these interviews as blameworthy, it appears to me on the contrary extremely to be regretted that they were not pursued more methodically and tenaciously, and that the Belgian government should not have taken more into account the

⁵ They have been published in a *Sonderbeilage der Norddeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung*, No. 292, November 25, 1914. Very probably they have been reproduced also in the German-American papers. Since last October, I have had opportunity to read the German papers and to get information as to the state of mind in Germany; so I cannot be accused of having heard only one side.

dangers that her powerful and ambitious neighbor evidently exposed her to. I repeat that unheard-of prosperity had made the Belgian government and people extremely careless and selfish. The European crisis, more and more acute in later years, had not sufficed to lift our people out of their apathy nor to lead them to ask for, or even understand, the sacrifices that these growing menaces rendered more and more necessary. The last warning was given to King Albert by the Kaiser himself and by the chief of the German General Staff;⁶ but at that moment it was too late to regain the time lost. It is known that the reorganization of the Belgian army was hardly begun when the war broke out. I have even heard it stated by well-informed persons that this fact was taken into consideration when the German General Staff decided to precipitate events.

The conclusion that we are forced to come to is that Germany—in spite of all the odious calumnies with the help of which she tries to show herself innocent—really and deliberately violated the neutrality of Belgium and the Luxemburg duchy in the month of August, 1914. And when one sums up for one instant all the destruction, all the misery, all the horrors this violation implies, when one tries to measure the immensity of the crime so committed, one's imagination recoils. There are things one must have lived through to be able to understand or realize.

Before using force towards Belgium, we know that the Germans had vainly proposed to this poor little country that she should allow them free passage⁷ and thus dishonor herself. We also know what reply Belgium gave twice over to this infamous proposal, and how by so doing she has won for herself imperishable glory. This proposal was particularly infamous because it dissembled fresh treachery, for Germany promised Belgium to restore her territory and to make good the harm caused, knowing perfectly well that such a promise was impossible to carry out. Once Belgium became the basis of military operations it is clear that her exhaustion and

⁶Letter from M. Jules Cambon, ambassador of the French Republic at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, minister of foreign affairs. Berlin, November 22, 1913:

"...The German Emperor is no longer in his [King Albert's] eyes the champion of peace against the warlike tendencies of certain parties in Germany. William II has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later.... General von Moltke spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success; 'for,' he said to the King, 'this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes.'"

⁷Ultimatum of August 2, 1914. Proposition of August 10, 1914.

her partial or total destruction were practically inevitable. Can one indemnify a people for such devastation? Is there a price for a medieval town? Can one rebuild historical buildings and churches each of whose stones has been consecrated by centuries of time? Is it not simply barbarous to have such ideas? From the moment that the Germans crossed her frontiers did not Belgium once more run the risk of becoming Europe's battlefield and so undergo the desolation of desolations? *All of which the Kaiser knew.*

The violation of the neutrality of a state is not only the breaking of a promise—that is to say, a moral crime which all mankind is saddened by—it is a material disaster for that country as well. This violation, when one fully grasps its whole significance, is in itself so terrible and so odious that there is scant need to render it more odious still by the recital of atrocities which the Belgian and French official reports and the pastoral letter of Cardinal Mercier have brought to light and rendered incontestable. Let us pass over this.⁸

* * *

I will not stop to examine the causes of the war nor weigh the responsibilities; it would carry me too far from my subject. For

⁸ I only know the Belgian official reports by the account of them published in the papers. An English translation of the French report has been published by *The Daily Chronicle*, London, 1915. The official translation of the pastoral letter has been published by Burns and Oates, London, 1915.

I do not wish to talk of the German atrocities, but it is necessary to unveil certain calumnies with which the Germans have once again tried to justify themselves. When they entered Belgium, in every town or village notices had been posted up advising the inhabitants to remain calm and begging them to bring their arms and ammunition to the Town Hall. I myself saw these notices in many places, and in my village (Wondelgem, near Ghent) a large quantity of arms were in this way gathered together. Each gun etc. bore naturally the name and address of its owner on a ticket, to facilitate its return after the war: the Germans have concocted out of this, that there were stores of arms ready to be distributed to the inhabitants!

I am absolutely certain that not one single act of violence against the German soldiers can have been concerted. It is obvious, on the other hand, that individual crimes may have been committed by Belgians, but these acts could not in any way justify the terrible German reprisals. Of course it was impossible to oblige the inhabitants to give up their arms, and certain people preferred to keep them. I myself kept my revolver at home. I had German soldiers and officers quartered upon me (one night we had to put up 26) and my revolver might have been necessary if acts of brutality had been committed upon the persons of my wife, little girl or the servants. It would have been my duty to use it. Yet had I found myself under this terrible necessity, it is probable that my whole village would have been wiped out! Who would then have been the criminals?

I could not do better than recommend to all those wishing to enlighten their minds upon these matters, to read *The German War Book*, issued by the General Staff of the German army (London, John Murray, 1915). All the methods now being practised by the German forces, however wrong, are there foreseen and an attempt made to justify them.

it is evident that beneath the more apparent causes—the examination of which is fairly easy (most of the diplomatic documents having been published by the different countries concerned⁹—there are others deeper and graver the study of which is on the contrary extremely difficult and complicated. There are economical as well as psychological causes which are so obscure—so intimately bound up with the aspirations of groups and of individuals—that it is hard to define them. And besides such an inextricable medley could not be analyzed: longings for glory and hegemony; scientific, industrial and commercial jealousies; race antipathies; conflicts between diverse ideologies and between different systems of education; and at the root of all these the clashing of irreducible sensibilities, also basing themselves upon the whole and taking advantage of all these differences, embittering all: despicable financial and political calculations—briefly a whole world of realities, arguments, sentiments, above all of instincts, where the worst is mingled with the best; a great deal of unconscious ignorance and of kindness worked upon by a few selfish and criminal intellects; rare ideals and a mass of human mire. I cannot stop to examine all this here. Each one must do so to satisfy his own conscience. Nor will I prophesy as to what will be the result of the great war. Such prophecies coming from me would simply be worthless and quite unnecessary for the subject before us. *I have indeed the deepest conviction that the future of Belgium is in great part independent of the issue of the war.*

Whoever be the victors or the vanquished, it is obvious that Belgium will draw from this great war lessons never to be forgotten and everlasting glory. It is not less certain that Germany, despite the marvelous efficiency of her armies, despite the heroism and spirit of sacrifice of which she has given proof (in a measure unequalled I believe by any other of the belligerent countries), will come out of it dishonored by her fundamental treachery.

I think that this treachery has already been expiated partly by events themselves. If Germany had not violated Belgian neutrality, she would not have been obliged to defend a front of such great length in the west and could have turned the great majority of her forces against Russia; her chances of victory would thus have been much greater. If Germany is vanquished she will owe

⁹ To tell the truth the collection at our disposal is not yet complete for we have not seen the correspondence between Germany, Austria and Italy, but the fact that this correspondence has not been published is in itself very significant.

it then in great part to the fact that she violated Belgian neutrality. It would be a just chastisement.

A large number of Belgian people have had to abandon their country, their belongings, their homes and take refuge abroad. The greatest number have gone into Holland; many have gone into France and lastly a certain number have crossed the sea and asked England's hospitality. I have no exact information as to the state of the Belgian refugees in France and in Holland. I only know that in the latter country—less thickly populated than Belgium—the number of refugees received is far too great, so that most of them are living under miserable conditions. It has gone so far that now a new emigration movement has set in from Holland to England; about 5000 refugees are brought over each week. As to the state of the refugees in England I am much better informed not only by personal experience and by various information gathered from different sources, but above all by the official report published recently.¹⁰ In December there were 110,000 Belgian refugees in England. A small number only have been able to be employed so far. A rule was made not to give employment to any young unmarried Belgians between the ages of 18 and 30 who were fit for military service, for it was considered the duty of these young men to join their army and to help regain their native land. There are estimated to be about 5000 that come under this head. I hasten to add that this decision was taken upon the special request of the Belgian government, for it is clear that the British could not oblige their guests to fight as long as the same obligation did not rest upon themselves. One must render homage to the intelligent generosity which the English people have shown toward the Belgian emigrants. Numbers of organizations sprang up everywhere to help the poor refugees in the most efficient and discreet ways. But such a situation being without precedent in our time, the different schemes have not all been successful and mistakes have sometimes been made. It would, however, be most unfair to judge English hospitality by these.

One of the most important results of this great war is the extraordinary intermixing which it has brought about among European peoples. Invading soldiers, prisoners sent from one part of Europe to another, emigration of all sorts, cause an incredible *mêlée* of which no one can foresee all the consequences. I sometimes feel as if Europe were like a gigantic caldron where the

¹⁰ Government Belgian Refugees Committee, 1914. *First Report*....presented to parliament by command of His Majesty, London, 1914.

peoples are being whirled around and are mixed up together in every sort of way, stirred by prodigious and invisible forces. For example it is particularly difficult to say how all these good folks of Belgium will adapt themselves after being received with open arms into an environment so different from their own, and what their remembrances of it all will be like. As always, the results will largely depend upon the individuals concerned, but I think as a whole they will be considerable.

Meanwhile it is certain that English hospitality has unfortunately been the occasion in one way and another for a good deal of friction on both sides. No one likes to speak of it, but I think that is a mistake, for all these things are just misunderstandings which silence will only deepen.

That there should be misunderstandings between Belgians and English is almost inevitable. The former—easy-going, familiar, *sans-gêne*, at one and the same time mystical and sensual, boastful, fond of a joke, and undisciplined; the latter—stiff, methodical, traditionalists, phlegmatic, much less sentimental, too conscious of their superiority (as real in some domains as it is debatable in others). With such wide differences, is it to be wondered at that mutual shocks and friction should take place? Above all, the sensibilities of the two peoples differ too widely for them to agree well.

Need one be surprised then that English generosity, often magnificent but too methodical, untinted by sentimentality, discreet but distant, has been sometimes misjudged? And on the other hand have not the English sometimes taken for ingratitude what was simply awkwardness? One must not forget that most of the Belgian refugees in England are people of very little education, still dazed by their terrific misfortunes and by the unheard-of circumstances in which they find themselves suddenly placed; also that their exile in a country of which the language and customs are so different from their own makes them feel utterly bewildered. Probably some of them, absorbed in the sufferings and irreparable losses they have undergone for the salvation of Europe and democracy, allow themselves to be led away by this idea and to measure everything by it, and so to consider the kindness shown them as ever inadequate. One need hardly say that such an attitude is absolutely wrong, but what helps to excuse it is that this frame of mind is due in great part to German insinuations. It is a fact that as soon as they arrived in Belgium the Germans set themselves to show the Belgians that the latter had been deceived by their allies—chiefly by England—and sacrificed to their selfishness. They did this with

that common accord and that methodical discipline which characterize them, partly in order to justify their own cause and partly to make themselves agreeable to the inhabitants at England's expense.

Now I fear they may have succeeded in persuading many Belgians, for the latter are very credulous. Did they not say: "The allies could have come much more quickly to your help if they had wanted to. . . . they could have saved Antwerp. . . . and see what they have done"? Why indeed did not the allies come sooner? The good folks of Belgium did not think of the very simple explanation that the Germans were ready and the allies were not, nor that this is also the best proof of the righteousness of their own cause. I am speaking from personal experience, for I had occasion to discuss these questions at great length with German officers, and men of my village gathered the same impression from conversations with the soldiers. One can conceive that having been duped in this way many simple-minded Belgians may have had exaggerated ideas of what was due to them. But if the English have numberless duties toward their poor Belgian brothers it is clear that the latter have no positive rights.

Another frequent cause of misunderstanding is that many English people are too easily convinced that their particular methods of living are infinitely superior to the continental ones (it is often true but not always—and above all not *necessarily* true), and the least intelligent and the least kind among them are thus ready to spoil their generosity by ill-concealed condescension. We all know that there are no more irritating misunderstandings than those of this sort. What is perfectly true is that the standard of life is much higher in England than in the corresponding social classes living in Belgium, but that is only a relative and questionable superiority. I must repeat that at bottom the essential cause of misunderstanding must be looked for in the different sensibilities: the English mind is more empirical, more cautious, more inclined to politics, more keen as to social and religious *rites*; the Belgian is more of an artist, and in spite of a certain unruliness and many sins against "respectability" he is at heart more religious. Of course I know quite well that definitions so brief are necessarily incomplete.

I have thought it useful to make known these differences and misunderstandings for the reason that they are interesting in themselves and because it is only possible to attenuate them after admitting their existence. Moreover, painful as this friction may be,

it will in the end be a source of progress. At least, the intelligent people of both nations will gather from it all sorts of lessons and will come through these vexations more experienced, broader minded and better armed for life's struggle. The friction will be quickly forgotten—at least we shall only remember the comic side of it—and later there will remain to us the remembrance of English generosity and of the thousand and one things we learned in our exile.

* * *

Whether they be in Holland, in France or in England, I think that most of the exiled Belgians are always dreaming of the time when they will be able to go back to their own dear land and take up their daily work in security once more. What deep emotion will be in each man's heart when he sees his village from afar—or the ruins of his village—his home, his workshop; when the scientist shall cross once more after so long a time the threshold of his laboratory or his library! What a mad longing to work will take hold of all those whom the war has not exhausted! Belgium will be one great cemetery piled up with ruins and blood-stained remains; what sums of energy will there not be needed to rebuild the towns, to establish new homes, to restore and renew public and private life everywhere!

To imagine this to oneself even in a measure one must first of all remember what Belgium was before this disaster. Briefly: it was the most thickly populated country in the world, the country possessing proportionately the greatest length of railways, and where the average business transacted by each inhabitant attained the highest figure.¹¹ It is hardly necessary to add that Belgium was not only distinguished above all nations by qualities of a material sort (as significant as these are) but that she was also a center of civilization of corresponding value. Without recalling the past it is enough to quote a few of the glorious names of our own time: Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Constantin Meunier. Now if I venture, though a Belgian, to praise my country so warmly it is because I

¹¹ Here are a few figures which will give a more accurate idea. There were in Belgium 652 inhabitants per square mile. In the continental United States there are only 31. The two states the most densely populated, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, have respectively 508 and 419 inhabitants per square mile. In Belgium there is .47 of a mile of railway per square mile; in the United Kingdom there is only .19 and in the United States less than .09. The "general trade" done by each inhabitant in the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium amounts respectively to £8, £27 and £67. These last figures are only approximate and refer to 1911. I think that the figures relating to the Netherlands would be still greater than the Belgian, but I was not able to find out.

am distinctly conscious that this activity, marvelous for its quantity and quality, is not only due to the exceptional racial characteristics of its people, but also to its privileged situation in rich land, well watered, in the center of Europe at one of the principal crossways of the civilized world. It is particularly tragic at the first glance that peoples should fight in this, the most thickly populated region of the world; that is to say, on the spot where a war must obviously cause the greatest number of victims and the greatest amount of damage, but one soon sees that it is perfectly natural that it should be so. For the same causes which have brought about the creation and accumulation in this place of so much wealth, must also periodically bring to it all the horrors of war. Belgium has often been called the battlefield of Europe. So long as Europe remains what she is, Belgium will be an incomparable center of exchange and of civilization, but alas! she will continue to run the same risks. We had rather forgotten it, yet the experience of to-day is not the first we have been through.

Just as Belgium was rent and tortured by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, so the same sequence of historical events predestined her no doubt to be the victim of German atrocities in the twentieth. Yet we can only accept the fact of this destiny with infinite sadness, for it seemed to be too late for such events to repeat themselves, and no one would have dared dream that the sons of Goethe, of Beethoven and of Kant would have been in these circumstances the pitiless instruments of fate. I cannot adequately express my sorrow that Germany—the Germany that I admired and loved and cannot help still liking—should thus have belittled herself.

* * *

In speaking of the resurrection of Belgium, I have constantly inferred that she would retain her independence. And indeed not only do I hope so, but I am convinced that Belgium will be whole and independent after the war as before it. When the time comes to settle accounts the neutral powers, and principally the United States, will not allow this independence to be questioned. As a matter of fact, to permit Belgium to be wholly or partially annexed by Germany would be to participate in the iniquity and to ratify the crime. Moreover, from that moment the very existence of all other small countries would be threatened. Now it must not be forgotten that small countries are the best trustees of the world's peace. It is never the small countries that tend to upset the equi-

librium of nations, but the big ones. Small countries, well fortified and well armed, interposed between bigger ones—*états tampons* as they have been called—appear to me the surest factors in the European equilibrium. They alone may arm themselves without awakening suspicions or susceptibilities.¹² It is quite likely that one of the results of this great war will be to increase the number of the small European nations, and in any case these will be of ever-growing importance in the future. They will become in a way the police of Europe. The more the great nations disarm, the more the little nations placed between them, at the principal European cross-roads—Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian and Balkan States and perhaps Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Albania, a Jewish Palestine and others still—will be obliged to arm themselves better. They will receive grants, of course, for this purpose from the great powers, on a scale to be equitably determined by an international court.

When all the great nations of the world assemble to fix the conditions of peace, it is then almost certain that whatever be the fate of arms they will restore to the heroic Belgian people the entire proprietorship of their territory. Perhaps the treaty of 1839 will be replaced by another having the same purpose but providing that all the treaty powers shall guarantee her neutrality to Belgium for ever and aye, while obliging her to make better preparations for her own defense. But that will not be sufficient. It seems to me that the violation of the old treaty should be punished in some way, if only to render the new one more binding. For justice to be done it is really necessary that Germany—even if not actually vanquished—should be obliged to pay a considerable indemnity to Belgium. I would further suggest that she be condemned to pay a very heavy fine to some international foundation. This fine ought to be so heavy that it would force the great powers to reflect before they would violate the neutrality of a small state. And if I propose that this fine should be paid not to Belgium herself but to an international fund, it is in order to evidence the disinterestedness and judicial character it ought to possess.

This fund could be employed for all sorts of international aims and could serve notably to pay the cost of organizing greater intercourse between the nations and subsidize the great works of human

¹² Doubtless the large countries may also surround themselves with fortresses without their neighbors reasonably taking offense, for it is evident that fortresses can never serve for offensive purposes, and I believe personally that for long centuries to come it will be the peoples' duty to protect themselves by this means as it is the duty of individuals to put locks on their doors.

progress and solidarity. The realization of this idea would be, I think, the first great sanction of international law. After the payment of this fine no one will again have the right to say that international law is essentially frail because—at least in important cases—it is impossible to get it sanctioned. In very truth the realization of this idea would mark the beginning of a new era in the relations between different peoples.

On the other hand, the nations will have a thousand opportunities of showing their gratitude to Belgium for her heroic stand for the right—the most splendid example of collective heroism that has been given to the world since the days of antiquity. When the poor Belgians shall once more enter their native land to find it empty, devastated and blood-stained, they will *then* above all need help from all sides. The task before them will be immense, yet not beyond their strength. When to their own passionate devotion and united strength, shall be added, I am sure, offers of work and collaboration from every corner of the world, when all the nations shall give credit cheerfully to this people which has shown such energy and resource in the past—then there will arise a new Belgium revived and made greater by her fiery ordeal.

I have still another idea. A Roman citizen, Henrick Christian Anderson,¹³ has dreamed the splendid dream of building a world's city, where would be harmoniously grouped all the central offices of international endeavors. But where to build this city? The nations would dispute as to the honor of possessing it, and, whatever the choice, much jealousy would be aroused. Now it seems to me that this choice has become a very simple matter. The world's city should be erected in Belgium, in the country sanctified by glorious wounds, and I believe that none of the other nations would protest. This choice, moreover, would be all the more legitimate since even before the war Belgium was the one among all the countries in which the greatest number of international associations had fixed their headquarters.¹⁴ The fact that the Palace of Peace is at the Hague and that the peace conferences meet in that town need be no real obstacle to this scheme. It seems to me on the contrary desirable that there should not be excessive centralization. Then, too, the Hague is not very far from Brussels.

If this city were erected in Belgium such a manifestation of the world's homage would be really the most beautiful and noble

¹³ I have spoken of him before in *Isis*, Vol. I, pp. 488-489.

¹⁴ In 1913, of 169 international associations having fixed headquarters, 45 were to be found in Belgium (*La vie internationale*, Vol. IV, pp. 59-60, Brussels, 1913).

recompense and consolation for the Belgian people, not to mention the benefit which humanity as a whole would receive.

In any case, whatever aid the other nations may bring her at this critical period of her existence, there will emerge out of this war—whatever its issue—a Belgium purified and ennobled by suffering. Too great prosperity too easily attained had to a certain extent corrupted Belgium's soul. Commercialism had gradually invaded this little country which Karl Marx rather aptly called "the capitalists' paradise." The standard of life of its working people was scandalously low and much misery existed side by side with great riches. A growing thirst for pleasure and enjoyments filled men's souls. The Belgian mind was becoming mediocre. It became truer and truer that the Belgian was too easily satisfied and contented himself with approximate results. Political aims became year by year lower and meaner. A humdrum, lukewarm self-satisfaction steeped the moral atmosphere.

We shall rebuild, I hope, a better Belgium—healthier and inspired with higher ideals. But alas! there are things we can neither rebuild nor create anew. Nothing can replace for us those marvelous edifices which had come down through the centuries, which even the Spaniards had refrained from spoiling, and all those admirable little medieval towns: Malines, Louvain, Ypres, Furnes, Dixmude—each a jewel in the glorious crown of souvenirs bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Their presence was a continual inspiration and a living influence upon all our people.

These are indeed infinite and irreparable losses. I cannot think of them without my heart bleeding, without a feeling of mutilation—alas! alas! But after allowing for that which is irreparable, bravely facing our destiny, I am certain that our new Belgium will come forth more strenuous, more productive than ever. Our energies will never flag till we realize that she is fairer than that which has been destroyed. We shall be at one and the same time humbler and stronger. Little Belgium will soon become once more the busy, swarming bee-hive that strangers looked upon with admiration, and will also become a factor of progress and peace in the civilized world.

Belgium may slumber, but die—never! She has never ceased to exist. In spite of our losses and sufferings we are all ready and eager completely to restore and reestablish our motherland, and because of that we look with confidence and joy to the future.

* * *

In conclusion I wish to add a suggestion. It is extremely

desirable and urgent that the neutral countries should appoint an official commission to investigate into the transgressions of the laws of nations committed by the belligerent peoples. Similar commissions offering serious guarantees have been already instituted by Belgium and by France, and trustworthy reports of their proceedings have been published. However, it is obvious that they cannot have the same weight as if they had been made by neutral and disinterested personalities. This commission should also undertake to visit the different prisoners' camps; naturally the same persons should visit all, in order that a fair comparison might be arrived at. America could not, under present circumstances, initiate a nobler or more useful work than this. (The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace organized such a committee during the war in the Balkans.) The work accomplished by this commission would be most precious to the future historian after the great war, and would of course be invaluable when the settlement of accounts takes place.

THE PEOPLE OF BELGIUM.

BY THE EDITOR.

BELGIUM is the borderland between the Teuton and the Gaul. The population is mixed. The northern provinces are Flemish and the southern districts are inhabited by the Walloons, who are neither Teutons nor Gauls, but a remnant of a more primitive population which held the country before the arrival of the Celts.

The Flemish are a Teutonic race and speak a dialect belonging to the Germanic languages, one almost identical with the Dutch. It holds a middle position between English and Low German, which is on the verge of extinction, and in fact the Dutch and the Flemish have preserved more faithfully than any other Teutonic tribes the traditional language of northern Germany as it was spoken centuries ago before the rise of High German.

Low German was spoken all over northern Germany until the Reformation, but then the literary language, which was High German, began to crowd Low German out of the pulpit and also out of the school. The language of Luther's translation of the Bible, a literary dialect which was the official intertribal language of Germany, became generally recognized and gradually replaced the popular dialects of Low German speech. The process of this change has been slow but irresistible. Some of the present generation in such northern cities as Bremen and Hamburg may still remember having talked in their childhood to the servants in the house in Low German, while in school the accepted language was High German. In this sense we may say that both the Flemish and the Dutch have remained better Germans than the Prussians, Hanoverians and other northern Germans. It would be difficult to-day for a German whose knowledge is limited to High German to understand either Flemish or Dutch.

The Walloons have lost their original prehistoric language, echoes of which are probably preserved only in some ancient names.

They speak a language which is commonly regarded as a French dialect because it is nearest to the French and originated under Roman influence at the same time and in the same way that French developed among the Gauls under the influence first of the Roman and then of the Teuton invaders, the Franks, the Burgundians and the Visigoths. Nevertheless the difference between the Walloon language and French is probably greater than the difference between Flemish and German, and a Frenchman would be greatly disappointed if he should try to make himself intelligible to the common people in the Walloon districts of Belgium.

The district of the Walloon population is centered about Liège, but formerly extended into Germany, so as to embrace the ancient capital of Charlemagne, Aix-la-Chapelle. The German portion of the Walloon district, however, has been so entirely Germanized that the last traces of the Walloon language have disappeared.

The type of the Walloon is quite pronounced. They differ from the surrounding people as much as do other remnants of prehistoric races, for instance the Basques. Such little islands of a more primitive population exist in other places in Europe, but in Germany they have been so thoroughly assimilated that there is only the tradition left of their separate existence. For instance in Halle the Hallores are a remnant of the primitive population of the place, who even to-day possess certain privileges, a circumstance which recalls the fact that they were spared by the conquerors to attend to the salt-works at a time when the invaders did not know how to obtain the salt. Even to-day the Hallores in Halle are distinguished by a special dress and are subject to special regulations which, however, although originally imposed upon them, have come to be regarded as a privilege and an honor. On New Year's day the Hallores furnish the Duke of Saxony, to whom they were subject in primitive times, with a tax of eggs and bread, and to this day they send a deputation to the successor of the Duke of Saxony, now King of Prussia and Emperor of the Germans, to carry in person this old tax levied upon their little community.

The Walloons differ more in their appearance from the surrounding population than do the Hallores in Halle. The latter have changed completely into Germans, but the Walloons are still a peculiar people endowed with certain prehistoric qualities very different from both the Gauls and the Teutons. They are rather undersized, but of vigorous and muscular stature. During the Middle Ages they were frequently compared in vigor to a bull and a boar. At the same time they are known to be irascible



A MARKET TEAM IN FLANDERS.
From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art*.

and indomitable in fight, whether in battle or in brawls. Strangers are rather unwelcome among them, and in former centuries this caused travelers and merchants to give a wide berth to their country. The quarrels with their dukes or superiors have become notorious in history, and it would lead us too far here to enter into details. It seems that even in the United States the Belgians who come from Walloon districts are known to be a restless element among striking miners.



CHATEAU OF WALZIN AT DINANT.

From Boulger, *Belgian Life in Town and Country*.

It is noticeable that Walloons have rarely become leaders in national or popular affairs. They have been satisfied to be led either by the Flemish or by the French and would submit so long as their personal wants were satisfied and their rights not interfered with. There are traces of Walloon literature, but these have become very little known outside of their own country. The country affords rich soil to folklorists and is a veritable treasure-trove of ancient and prehistoric traditions. In fact, critics of their country-

life go so far as to reproach them with still cherishing superstitions which are taken quite seriously among the common people. The name Walloon is apparently the same as Welsh, and was given them by their Germanic neighbors who called by that name all the Celtic or non-Teutonic population with whom they came in contact. So, for instance, the French and the Italians are called Welsh by the Germans, and the people of Wales were given the same name by their Saxon conquerors. What the name originally means is doubtful. It is commonly believed that it originated in Belgium. The French called those tribes Walloons or Welsh, which were known to the Romans as Volcae.

In the valley of the Upper Rhone the country was called Wallis



VIEW OF DINANT AND THE VALLEY OF THE MEUSE.

From Boulger, *Belgian Life in Town and Country*.

(Valais) which means vale, from the Latin *valles*, but the similarity of sound between Wallis and Welsh seems to be accidental. Otherwise it would suggest another possible origin of the word Welsh as the inhabitants of Valais.

The word Welsh appears in the Old and Middle High German where it is spelled *Walh* or *Walah*. The word is still preserved in the English name "Cornwall," which means a district inhabited by what we may call the Cornwelsh people; and a trace of the name can also be seen in the word "walnut," the nuts known by this name having originally been introduced from Italy, a "Welsh" country. If the word is derived from the name *Volcae* it may be an ordinary Celtic word whose meaning has been hopelessly lost.

There is a peculiar condition in Belgium with regard to the official language, which is quite unusual. French has been adopted by the government for the reason that since the Middle Ages it has been the language of diplomacy and fashion. The first civilization reached the inhabitants of Belgium from Rome through the Romanized country of France, although French is not the language of any one of the tribes that made up Belgium. It is neither Flemish nor Walloon, but it is more foreign to the people than even the German language would be. Although it has taken a firm hold on the country, in having become the language of intercourse among



GREAT ROCK OF DINANT ON THE MEUSE.

From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art*.

the Flemish and the Walloons and also between them and strangers, it is not used generally as is usually assumed by foreigners. It touches the international relations of the population, but not so much the home life of the people as it exists in the old native families. An extract from a book written by Demetrius C. Boulger, a writer who has made a special study of Belgium, will give us a fair and interesting insight into the nature of popular life in that country. We learn here some astonishing facts as to the insistence of the Flemings on their own language and the struggle they have entered upon to retain their popular speech. Although written in

1904 the facts still stand, with the exception only that the numbers of the population have increased; the proportions given in the statistics, however, remain approximately the same.

The passage in Mr. Boulger's book, *Belgian Life in Town and Country*, reads as follows:

"The Flemish movement began at Ghent in a modest way about the year 1836. Half a dozen literary and scientific men founded there a Flemish review called *Belgisch Museum*, and, meeting with considerable success, they soon afterwards formed a club, taking as their motto, *De taal is gansch het volk* ("The language is the whole people").



A MILKWOMAN OF BRUSSELS.

From Boulger, *Belgian Life in Town and Country*.

"In 1844, Jan Frans Willems, the leader of the movement, summoned a congress, not, it is true, for a political purpose, but merely to exhort the Government to preserve the literary treasures of Flanders by the publication of its ancient texts. Assent was given to this request, but the necessary funds were not voted for ten years, which proved that the Government regarded the Flemish movement with distrust and even dislike. Willems died soon after the first congress, but the congresses went on, and were sometimes held in Holland as well as in Belgium.

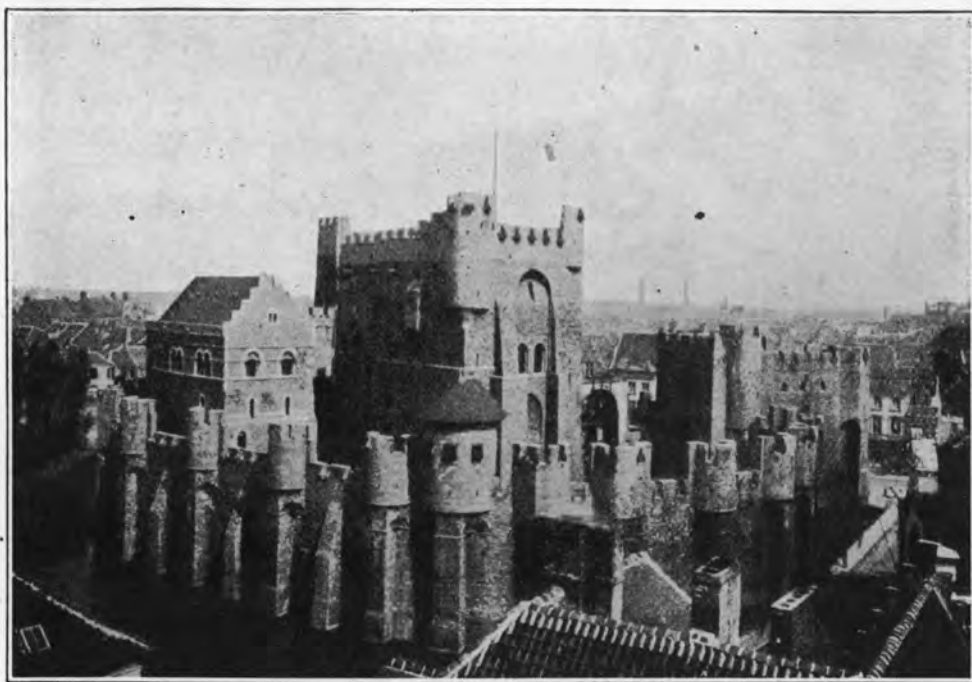
"The work of Willems was continued in a more efficacious man-



A FLEMISH MILKWOMAN.
From Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians*.

ner by Henri Conscience, whose romances stimulated Flemish pride and aspirations and recalled the great days of Flanders. His "Lion of Flanders" (*Leeuw van Vlaanderen*) became not merely the most popular book of the day, but it idealized for all time the thoughts and longings of the Flemish race. It has without much exaggeration been called the Flemish Bible.

"The efforts of Conscience were well seconded by those of the poet Ledeganck, whose ballads were sung or recited from one end of Flanders to the other. There were many other writers in the

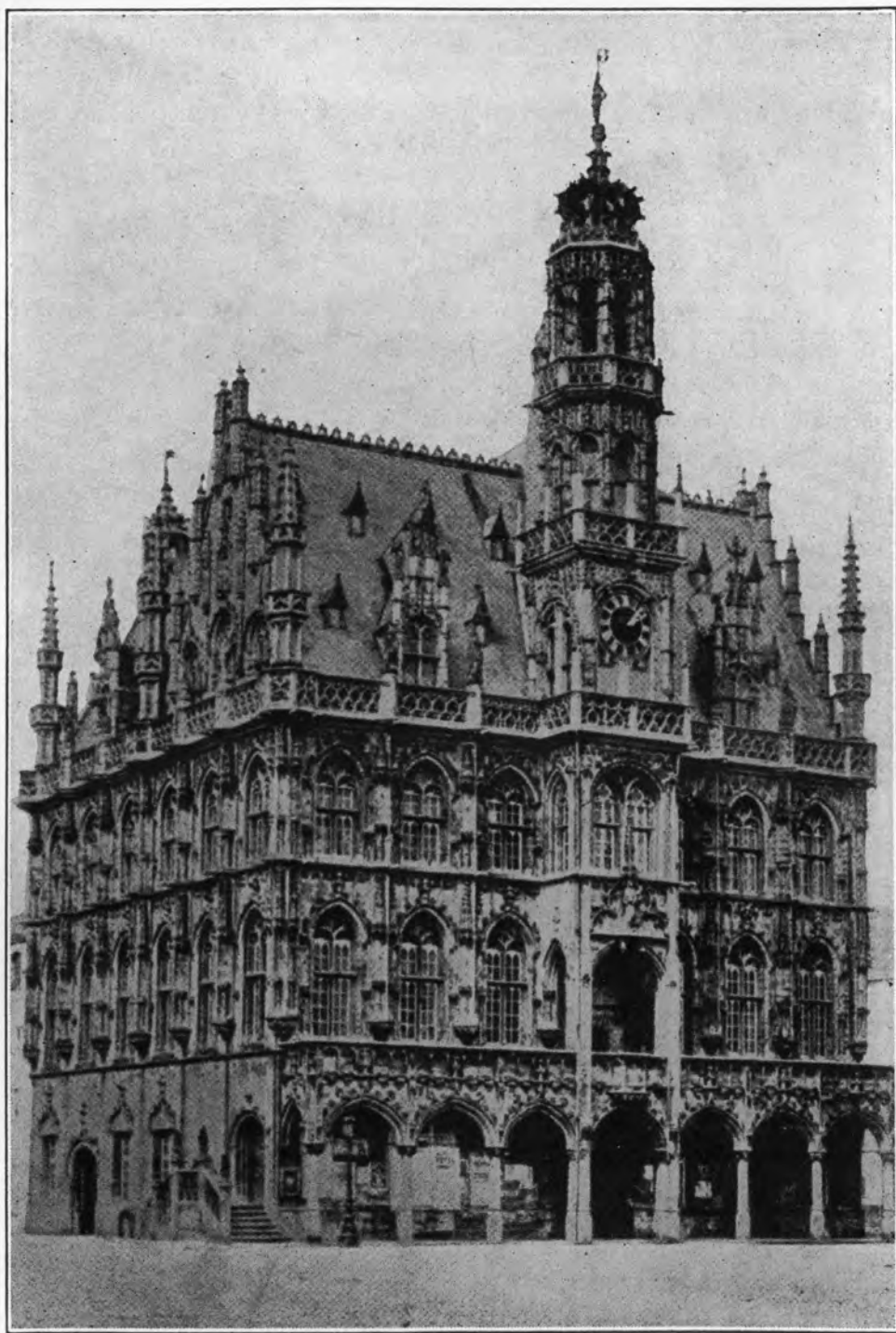


CASTLE OF THE COUNTS OF FLANDERS AT GHENT.

From Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians*.

same field, and the Flemish agitation was illustrated by the one genuine literary movement that has occurred in modern Belgium. There were thus two marked and opposing tendencies in the country.

"The liberation of Belgium had been followed by the undoubted and obvious increase of French influence in official circles. All the sympathies of the Court and the Government were French, but there was no corresponding movement in the literature of the country. The Walloon intellect proved sterile. On the other hand was to be seen a remarkable ebullition, not merely of talent but of



CITY HALL OF OUDENARDE.
From Boulger, Belgium of the Belgians.

original genius, in the Flemish race, which had so long remained torpid and silent. This literary activity furnished proof of the vitality of the race and of the strength of its hopes, which precluded the possibility of contentment with a subordinate position. The Flemings were resolved not to be a party to their own effacement. It was not, however, until 1861 that the Flemish party succeeded in carrying in the Chamber an address to the King, expressing the hope that justice would be done to the 'well-founded demands of the Flemings.'

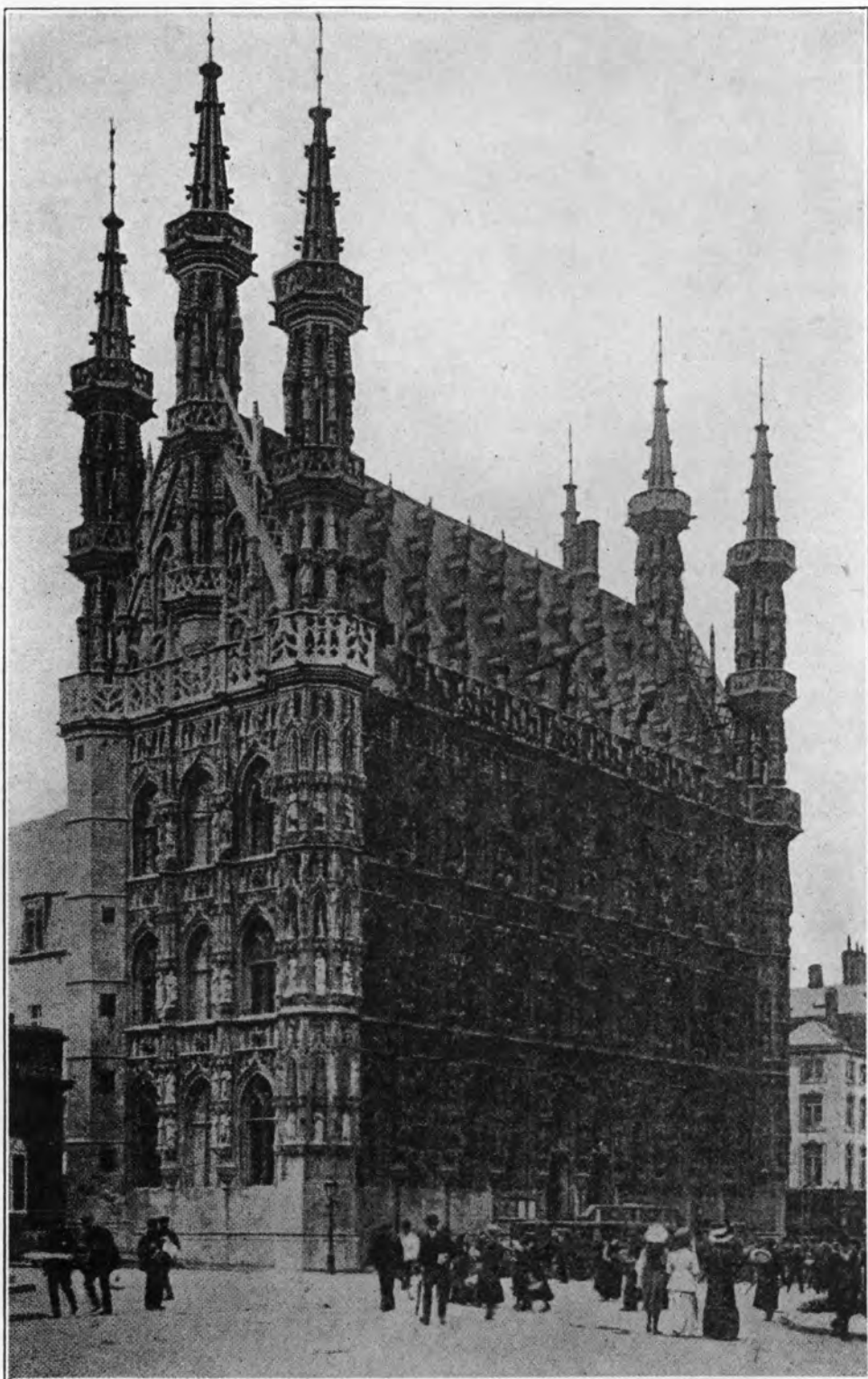
"It was soon after this event that a favorable opportunity offered itself for a demonstration calculated to stimulate public opin-



CLOTHWORKERS' HALL AT MALINES.

ion. A native of Flanders brought before one of the courts at Brussels refused to plead in French, and his attitude was supported and imitated by his counsel. In another case a Fleming accused of murder was tried and sentenced without his understanding a word of what passed in court. The most was made of these cases to strengthen the claims of the Netherlands, as the Flemish party called themselves. There was an obvious need for reform, and the public realized that the concession of the Flemish demands could only be denied at the peril of disintegration.

"At last a first tangible success was obtained when a law was passed in 1873 to the effect that in criminal cases the court should



CITY HALL OF LOUVAIN.
From Griffis, Belgium the Land of Art.

employ the language of the accused person. After that, the Flemish movement progressed rapidly. A Flemish Academy was founded by the state in 1886; Flemish theaters for the exclusive representation of Flemish plays, or at least translations, were set up at the cost of the nation in Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent. Finally, the Flemish text of laws and regulations was declared to be equally valid with the French; the names of streets and all public notices in them were to be printed in the two languages in the five provinces in which Flemish is spoken; and a fluent acquaintance with both languages has more recently been made an express condition of employment in government service in the same provinces for minor



THE EXCHANGE, BRUSSELS.

An example of modern architecture in Belgium.

posts and generally for those of a superior grade. With these successes the triumph of the Flemish cause may be said to have been made complete. Ostracized after 1830, the Flemish language has gained in the last forty years a position of equality with French as the official language of Belgium.

"The following statistics will be useful for purposes of reference in connection with the language question. By the census of 1890 the population of Belgium was 6,069,321. Of this number 2,744,271 spoke only Flemish, 2,485,072 only French, and 32,206 only German. With regard to those speaking more than one language, 700,997 spoke French and Flemish, 58,590 French and

German, 7028 Flemish and German, and 36,185 French, Flemish and German. The census of 1900 showed that the population had risen to 6,815,054. Of this total 3,145,000 spoke only Flemish, 2,830,000 only French, and 770,000 the two languages.

"The struggle of the languages has therefore resulted in what may be called a drawn battle. Flemish has gained the position to which the antiquity and solidity of its pretensions entitled it, but French remains the language of society, of the administration, and of the bulk of the literature of the country, while the common language of the people in the eastern and southeastern divisions is



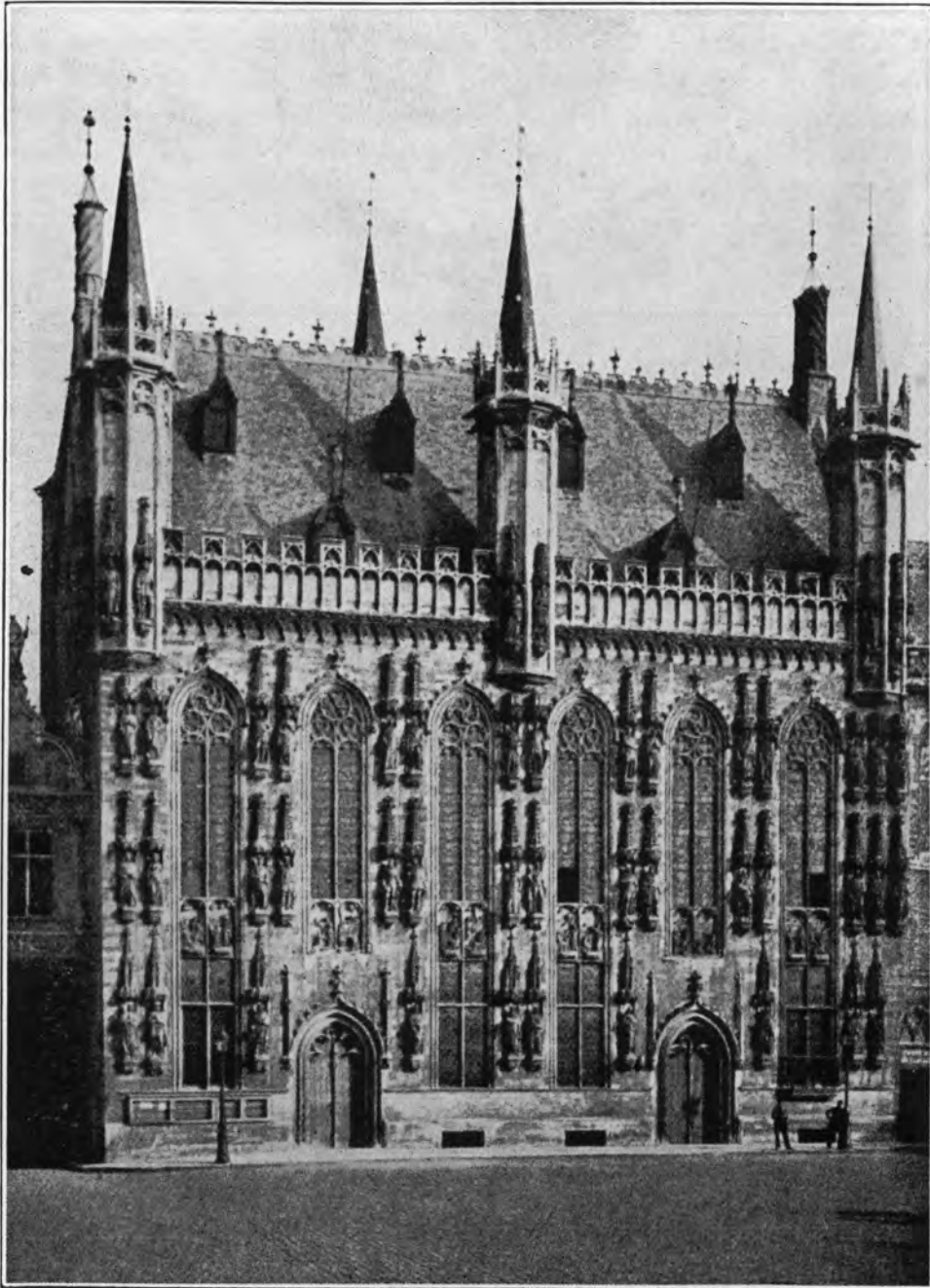
OLD GUILD-HALLS IN GHENT.

From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art*.

Walloon. There still remains to be found a solution for the political difficulties that must arise in a community so constituted, and it seems as if it can only be found in the direction of bilingualism. This result must be promoted by the stipulation that proficiency in the two tongues is requisite for public employment; but there are still nearly six millions of people in Belgium who know only one language. The Flemings have preserved their language by a rigid exclusiveness, and they have always refused to learn any other.

"The encouragement of bilingualism by the authorities is now represented to be an insidious attempt to vulgarize French in Flanders. On the other hand, the Walloons are protesting against the

waste of time and the uselessness of learning a language which is never heard in Wallonia....



CITY HALL OF BRUGES.

"The great bond, however, between the two races is religious union. Bavaria, Ireland and Belgium have been called the three

most devoted children of the Church of Rome, and in Belgium to-day the Flemings are the staunchest Roman Catholics, and the real supporters of the political influence of their church."

The Flemings have always shown great love of country, and as soon as their cities began to prosper they built churches, city halls, and guild-houses in the most gorgeous style of the age. They fought for their liberties against their princes, and built belfries for the bells which were called "Rolands," as emblems of the citizens' self-government.



THE BELFRY OF BRUGES.

In the Middle Ages the trade of Europe meant an exchange of goods with the Orient, called the Levant, and the main commercial cities were Genoa and Venice, but with the discovery of America, European commerce needed a northern port which would open a passage to the western continent. So Bruges rose into prominence. Flemish citizens acquired wealth and patronized art. Flemish ladies were dressed in such costly garments that a French queen felt cheap in their presence. All the public buildings of Flanders have a history, to recount which volumes would be required.

Among the visitors to Belgium was an American poet whose lines are often recited in our public schools:

"In the market-place of Bruges stands the belfry old and brown,
Thrice consumed and thrice rebuild'd still it watches o'er the town."

Longfellow sees "visions of the days departed," he beholds Maximilian kneeling at his devotions, he sees the Flemish weavers returning from the bloody "battle of the spurs of gold":

"And again the whisker'd Spaniard all the land with terror smote;
And again the wild alarm sounded from the tocsin's throat;

"Till the bell of Ghent responded o'er lagoon and dike of sand,
'I am Roland! I am Roland! there is victory in the land!'"

When the inland waterway of Bruges became sanded, Antwerp took its place as the chief seaport, and became a northern Venice, retaining its prominence as the chief outlet of Central Europe until through German competition Hamburg and Bremen became important, and to some extent successful, rivals.

GERMAN CULTURE.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

THE expansion of Germany by conquest in Europe is often treated as if it were not only for Germany's advantage, but Europe's. Germany, after the preliminaries of aggression, would give more than she took and plant more than she destroyed; her conquests would receive German "culture." As Alexander the Great proposed before his conquests in Asia to give all men a Greek mind; the German nation would give all the world a German mind. That there is ample evidence for this attitude in the works of what Mr. Asquith calls "professors and learned persons," in military writers such as Von Bernhardi, in the speeches of the German Emperor, is shown by the following few extracts which could easily be multiplied.

The Emperor once said: "The German people are the granite block on which the good God may complete his work of civilizing the world. Then will be realized the word of the poet who said the world will one day be cured by the German character." Von Bernhardi (in the introduction to his *War of To-day*) would enforce culture at the point of the sword. "We ourselves," he says, have become conscious of being a powerful, as well as a necessary, factor in the development of mankind. This knowledge imposes on us the obligations of asserting our mental and moral influence as much as possible, and of paving the way everywhere in the world for German labor and German idealism. But we can only carry out successfully these supreme civilizing tasks if our humanizing efforts are accompanied and supported by increasing *political* power as evinced by enlarged colonial possessions, extended international commerce, influence of Teutonic culture in all parts of the globe, and above all by a perfect safeguarding of our political power in Europe." In his even more famous *Germany and the Next War* he preaches a holy war upon the inferior Latin, British or Slav

racess in the interests of his Koran, German culture. He says: "A high, if not the highest, importance for the entire development of the human race is ascribable to the German people. This conviction is based on the intellectual merits of our nation, on the freedom and universality of the German spirit.... We often see in other nations a greater intensity of specialized ability, but never the same capacity for generalization and absorption. It is the quality which specially fits us for the leadership in the intellectual world, and impresses on us the obligation to maintain that position."¹ Again, he says that to no nation except the German "has it been given to enjoy in its inner self that which is given to mankind as a whole." He adds: "No other people can follow the bold flights of German genius or soar aloft to the freedom of German world-citizenship;" Germany alone is capable of "leading the harmonious development of humanity."

We are to take it on almost exclusively German authority that German culture is the best. The only foreign voice in this choir is Mr. Houston S. Chamberlain, whose large and popular *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* was written in German for the Germans. It may be of interest to point out that this German view of German culture is not supported by any great non-German critic of culture, and that among German writers Nietzsche condemned it with astonishing bitterness. When a proposal was made to celebrate in the conquered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine the opening of the new university of Strasburg, Nietzsche wanted to send a protest to Bismarck, asking whether German professors had the right to go in triumph to Strasburg. "Our soldiers have conquered the French soldiers, and that is glorious. But has our culture humiliated French culture? Who would dare say so?"²

Leaving on one side Germany's debatable first position in an international competition for the prizes of culture, it is as obviously absurd that all Europe should submit to German culture as that all Europe should drink lager beer. The national flavor of culture is of value to the Continent, and we like to drink now English beer, now French Bordeaux, now Italian Chianti.

But to come back to culture. To begin with, the word is not

¹ *Germany and the Next War*, English translation by Allen H. Powles, Popular edition, 1914, p. 74.

² Nietzsche who says "German depth is often only a difficult hesitating digestion"; and "if any one wishes to see the German soul demonstrated *ad oculos*, let him only look at German taste, at German art and manners. What boorish indifference to taste!" *Beyond Good and Evil*, transl. by Helen Zimmern, 1907, p. 199.

of German origin, but borrowed and deformed with an initial "K." In such cases there is a presumption that the thing as well as the word is derivative. Here it may not be irrelevant to notice that a substitute for the naturalized English word "gentleman" is not being sought for in Germany. Murray's *New English Dictionary* defines culture in the sense we are discussing as "the training, development and refinement of mind, taste, and manners; the condition of being thus trained and refined; the intellectual side of civilization"; while Matthew Arnold defines it too narrowly as "the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world." Such a temper of mind is naturally interested in the preservation of works of art and objects of historic interest; and the deliberate mutilation of works of art and objects of historic interest is impossible to the cultured. On the intellectual side of civilization art plays a great part. What, with the exception of music, has Germany done in the arts which make up so much of culture?

In literature Germany has claimed a high place and has persuaded some people in England and America to agree that she has one of the greatest and most profound schools of poetry. To a person with an eye for quality, the first literatures in the world are the Greek, the English, the French, and the Italian. In German literature Goethe, the least German of all German writers, is a great name, but who else is there whose work is of really first rate quality? Goethe spoke of "the good time when Merck and I were young and German literature was yet a clean slate on which we hoped to write rare things," but somehow no one after Goethe has written immortal things on that slate. Schiller tilled a barren and dry land; Lessing, pursuing art, archeology, history and dramatic criticism, has no place in the temple of Art. There is even less worth in Herder and Jean Paul, Tieck, Novalis and a host of others. The new empire did not produce any literary work of the first order; and the strongest formative influences have been the French realists and the Norwegian Ibsen.

In the last twenty-five years Germany has produced no notable writer, poet, painter or musician. Germany's modern architecture is a byword, though the German Emperor dreamed of Berlin being "some day the most beautiful city in the world." The *Sieges-Allee* did not, as he hoped, make a colossal impression on foreign opinion. Actually, it affected foreign and native observers in the same distressing way. "All the Hohenzollern art to-day has a sensational-sentimental quality which is apparently what William II

means by the ideal." It has neither the repose nor proportion of the true classic, nor the realist's fidelity to humble natural life. It may, perhaps, be called romantic—a very poor, restricted, and vain-glorious phase of romanticism, the romantic in modern military uniform.³ Germany's blindness in matters of taste may be gauged by a claim in a recent *Frankfurter Zeitung* that "German victory will bring for the joy and glory of the human race greater and more splendid works" than the damaged cathedral of Rheims.

Germany has declaimed against uncultivated Russia, but it would be impossible to find a single modern German fit to stand with Turgenev, Tolstoy, or even writers of the second line such as Dostoyevsky and Maxim Gorky, who have so profoundly affected the art of to-day. As to German painting, a brilliant writer lecturing on this subject at Oxford to German extension students said lightly that the problem of his lecture was that there was no German art, though there were a few German artists who were steeped in foreign influences. Germany in art has never been a great power, and even her apologists have to admit it. Thus Bernhardt tells us that "German art has . . . failed to win a leading position." In the same candid paragraph he also confesses that "in the domain of the exact sciences Germany has been compelled to give precedence to foreign countries."⁴

What is left, then, to the home of culture? It is perhaps hardly fair to take some foolish persons who may claim the first place for Germany among nations because she "was the fatherland of Goethe and Zeppelin," and Herr Wedekind who says that the 42 cm. howitzer "is the the finest proof of our intellectual superiority," as representative of the mind of Germany. Yet it would be impossible to find parallel utterances in the English press, such as that "England is supreme as the fatherland of Shakespeare and Shrapnel."

The fact, according to Bernhardt, that the annual export of German books to foreign countries is, according to trustworthy estimates, twice as large as that of France, England, and North America combined,⁵ proves the well-known proficiency in research and aptitude for systematic work. But what of this huge mass of books shipped from Germany? How many have proved their value

³ G. H. Perris, *Germany and the German Emperor*, London, 1912, pp. 380-381.

⁴ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 7. This lack of originality is also emphasized in an article by Sir William Ramsay in *Nature* (London), October 8, 1914, p. 137, who speaks of the leading characteristic of Germans as being the exploitation of other people's discoveries.

⁵ *Germany and the Next War*, p. 7.

by being translated? Many books relating to the destiny and claims of Germany which have been recently translated have only, as it were, a *succès de scandale*, and are only interesting for the light thrown upon the German (or Pan-German) mind.

"The Teutons love the truth," said Tacitus; but the Teutons of to-day love it not. Least of all do they love the truth about themselves, to judge by their preposterous claims for German supremacy as colonists and as a world-power. What other nations would have cackled so loudly as to its future prospects of founding a world-religion; or have boasted that if Germany were worsted in the next war, the universe would receive a staggering blow, and "the general progress of mankind be checked in its healthy development, for which a flourishing Germany is the essential condition"? Megalomania isolates; the moral isolation of Germany is paralleled by her political isolation of to-day, and the expression of her overweening confidence as *hybris*.

Well, what about the contributions of Germany to science and philosophy?

Germany has an imposing list of names of philosophers; but the whole question of realism and idealism is such a wide one that it is impossible to say that such and such a school of philosophy ranks above another. It is enough to say that the value of German stock in philosophy is depreciating; and with that the credit of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer.

German scientists are in the main distinguished by three traits: they are notable for their powers of research rather than for originality, many are of foreign extraction, and the greatest of them date before the foundation of the German empire in 1871, as Monsieur Denys Cochin has recently pointed out. In pure mathematics, Leibniz may be taken to balance Newton; against Lagrange, Fourier and Cauchy, Germany may be considered approximately to balance accounts with Gauss, Lejeune-Dirichlet, Riemann, and Weierstrass, of whom Lejeune-Dirichlet was of French descent. In mechanics and mathematical physics, it is interesting to notice that the following are the leading thinkers who are quoted in the German *Encyklopädie der mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Vol. IV, 1, p. 17): Galileo, Varignon, Euler, Newton, Laplace, Clairaut, d'Alembert, Lagrange, Bernoulli, Poncelet, Coriolis, Culmann, Fourier, Cauchy, Poisson, Green, Gauss, Lamé, Barré de Saint-Venant, Franz Neumann, Stokes, Maxwell, William Thomson, Kirchhoff, Helmholtz. Of these, only Culmann, Gauss, Neumann, Kirchhoff, and Helmholtz are German; and Culmann is comparatively unimportant. In

biology Darwin and Cuvier are greater names than any German. In surgery, Pasteur, Simpson and Lister, than Koch. In electricity and magnetism Galvani, Gilbert, Volta, Cavendish, Coulomb, Poisson, Ampère, *Ohm*, Faraday, Clerk Maxwell, the Dane Oersted, Kelvin, *Helmholtz*, and *Hertz* are the leading names, and the italicized ones only are German.

The science of optics is mainly due to Descartes, Newton, Huygens, Young, Fresnel, Cauchy, Stokes, and Maxwell. The theory of thermo-dynamics was the work of Sadi Carnot, Clapeyron, *Clausius*, *Helmholtz*, Mayer, Joule, W. Thomson, and Rankine. In applied science Germany has not the first or second place. The steam-engine was developed by Watt and Stephenson. The telephone is the work of Graham Bell and Edison; the telegraph of Cooke, Wheatstone, W. Thomson and Morse; the electric light of Edison and Swan. The gas engine was the invention of Otto in France; the balloon came from France, and was first used for military purposes by the French; flying machines were largely developed in America.

GERMAN CIVILIZATION THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE.

BY R. A. COE.

SINCE the outbreak of the present war it is almost impossible to obtain in the American press a presentation of the German side of the case. Very few journals in this country have the impartiality to give due space to the German side of the question, and, although a few able statements of the German case have appeared in this country, they have mostly been academic in character; so I have attempted to present the question in such a way as to appeal to the rank and file of Americans. I feel so deeply on the question that I would like, if such a thing were possible, to say to all American people what I know and feel about the German people, in this their greatest struggle for the maintenance of their civilization.

My ancestors were English who came to America in colonial times. Several of them served in the American armies in the Revolutionary War. I mention this, not that it is of the slightest importance to any one, but simply to show that I am one of perhaps a few of those of English descent who have sympathy with Germany in this fight of the fatherland for what I consider the preservation of the greatest civilization that has ever arisen upon this earth. I read a great deal about the Germany of Goethe and Schiller, and about German science, German industry and thrift, from the pens of many writers who in the same articles denounce the German government and what they term German militarism. They tell us in effect that this war is to overthrow the German government and German militarism. In other words, what they propose to do is to have the Russian teach the German how to be clean and sanitary; the Latin teach him sanity and stability of character, and how to be truthful; the Japanese teach him how to be honest; the Englishman teach him diplomacy, Christianize him, liberalize him. These things in effect are what so-called writers in

the American press and periodicals are actually telling the American people. Even some people of German descent express these views. It seems to me, when I read much of the stuff that has been written about Germany recently, that many writers who have been considered persons of unquestioned sanity and judgment have been turned topsy-turvy and have lost every sense of reason and sobriety when they come to deal with the present war. As before said, they eulogize German progress and denounce the very thing that made German progress a possibility.

What I admire in the German people is their honesty, their stability of character, their solid qualities, their love of order and system, their ability to establish just government. The fact that in Germany they have solved, or nearly solved, so many governmental and social problems has only been possible because of a strong government. We could not have had the modern Germany of science, industry and progress but for the constructive work of statesmen like Bismarck. All the things which Germany has attained would have been utterly impossible but for her strong government and her ability to defend this because of her military system. It seems so strange to me that even men like Oswald G. Villard overlook this fact.

I have just received and read in the December *Open Court* the article by Poultney Bigelow. His analysis of the situation appears to me to be as erratic as most of the other stuff I have read from English pens. Let me briefly sum it up: The superiority of the English form of government over that of the German—England a liberal, democratic country composed of 400,000,000 patriotic citizens. This is his point of view, and the current one too. But among these 400,000,000, let me ask, what is the percentage of illiteracy? With the exception of Canada and Australia, what is the condition of the native population of her colonies? India, the principal of her possessions, with 300,000,000 population, exports an annual average of about 100,000,000 bushels of wheat. What percentage of the native population have ever eaten wheat in any form? What percentage of them, as compared with other portions of the world, die of famine and starvation; what percentage of them are any the less illiterate since they have been under the English government? And again, what percentage of them are in the slightest degree any better off than they were, since they have been under the English government? Now the English army—of what is the rank and file composed? Are they patriotic English citizens enlisted for the defense of their country? Rather, are they not hire-

lings of all shades of complexion, of all kinds of religion and of various nationalities, many of them bloodthirsty savages who enlist for a meagre monthly salary because it is the easiest way open to them to eke out an existence? At home in England are they turning away volunteers for service in the English army? The average Tommy Atkins, from other points of view, what sort of chap is he? The best thing about him is what there is of Teutonic blood in his veins. This has left him a foundation out of which better stuff might be developed than he is at present. Is he at present well-educated, well-trained, efficient, intelligently patriotic? Has his individual progress been a marvel in this age? He has his good qualities, but he is coarse, vulgar, egotistic, overbearing, certainly very much lacking in all the qualities that culture gives. He believes the gold brick handed out to him in England in the name of liberty is genuine. He is given certain licenses, it is true, which he thinks are liberties. We must judge the English system and the English government by the fruit that it bears, and we must measure the German system and the German government by the same measure. From the *Encyclopædia Britannica Year Book*, 1913, we learn that the German percentage of illiteracy is a very small fraction of one per cent. I learn from the issue of the *New York Nation* of April 2, 1914, that Germany doubled her wealth in ten years—something never approached by any other nation. We know that every German citizen can provide against want for his family by insurance at a minimum of cost not attained in any other country, under any other system. We know that he has a physical, moral and intellectual training superior to any other nation. We know that Germany, in proportion to population and area, produces more and provides better for her people than any other country. A number of years ago I learned that the average length of life was greater in Germany than in any other country, that the average German exceeded other peoples in chest expansion, in physical development.

Now, about the question of patriotism,—has the world ever before witnessed a spectacle like that when the German emperor invited to his presence in the royal palace the members of the German Reichstag, and placed before them the correspondence between the governments of the various nations relative to the present war?—and from his view of the situation there was not one single dissenting voice. Has the world ever seen a spectacle like the unanimity of the German people—men, women and children—as to the justness of their side in this war, and their willingness

to make any sacrifice for their fatherland—property, life, everything they possess? Does that argue average dissent or general dissatisfaction with the kind of government they have? Or, not to be too lengthy and tiresome, if we judge a tree by the fruit that it bears, it seems to me preference must be given to Germany rather than to any of the nations with whom she is at war. To this I might add a quotation from an article on the "Wealth of Germany," in the *New York Nation*, April 2, 1914: "German wealth is estimated to be \$99,000,000,000, and fully one-tenth of this belongs to the state,—that means to the people—chiefly in the form of railways, mines, buildings, factories and canals. From this government-owned property a considerable percentage of revenue is realized, lessening the burden of taxation upon the people. A continuation of this system will, in time, bring the German government into a position in which no taxes need be collected from the people."

Now, as to the question of government, the right of suffrage, when properly understood, is as fairly distributed as in any other country. In proof of that, there have been as many as 12,000,000 votes polled in Germany out of a population of 66,000,000. In what other country has that percentage ever been polled? Has it been even in our own country? The proper adjustment of the governmental machinery is indicated by the equilibrium between the representatives of the various classes and interests involved. Germany has one hundred and ten socialist members in her representative body, and a proportionate representation is maintained for wealth, labor, and different religious parties, as in no other country. Let me ask Mr. Poultney Bigelow what percentage of England's 400,000,000 he supposes will volunteer for service in England's armies. Is the percentage large, even in Canada or Australia? Is it large at home? On the other hand, does he not realize that there are very few Germans in any country, under any clime, that are not ready to render any service in their power for their fatherland? I believe Germany could raise an army (if it were possible to get them home) in America alone larger than will volunteer for service for England out of her 400,000,000. Does this argue any lack of patriotism, sympathy or satisfaction with the government of the fatherland?

Now, there is one more question that is being very much discussed—English writers attribute the causes of the war to Germany or to German militarism. Owing to German good sense and their maintaining a military equipment sufficient for defense, too strong prior to 1914 to be attacked, we had peace in Europe for forty-

four years, with France all the time preaching revenge and, through her press and from many sources, insulting the German people. There have been a number of times during that interval when circumstances and interests would have held German alliances intact. At the time of the Russo-Japanese war she could easily have crushed France, owing to Russia's inability to assist; or she could have easily and safely attacked both Russia and France had she had any designs such as are at present attributed to her; or might she not have conquered Belgium at the time of the Boer war? Has she not been at peace during a period of forty-four years with all the small nations adjoining her? And she would to-day be at peace with Belgium but for English intrigue. Not only has Germany, prior to this war, been at peace for forty-four years, but her efficient military system and citizen soldiery have especially kept France at peace. Read French history prior to forty-four years ago. Has she ever so nearly had stability of government? Did she ever before make any such percentage of progress along all lines as she has during the last forty-four years?—and in my opinion she owes it wholly to the fact that a big policeman was just across the border, who made her behave herself. And so the progress of Germany's allies has been made possible by the protection of her so much denounced military system (her efficient citizen soldiery).

I might write at length on what German industrial development has done for all mankind. Take only one item, sugar. What would be the price to-day to the consumer in any part of the world, if you deduct what German enterprise has done for that industry?

How about England's relationship to the peace of the world? Deduct her intrigue for the last hundred years and most of the calamitous wars could have been averted. We need only mention the Crimean war, the Russo-Turkish war, the Russo-Japanese war, as well as the present world calamity, all of which we owe to English international politics and intrigue. Nor has English meddling with the affairs of other nations been alone confined to Europe. No other nation has ever attempted to meddle with American affairs. Her intrigue during the Civil War was an endeavor to bring about the division of the nation. Without any real friendship for either section, her object was to separate them in order to weaken them. Americans should remember the Sackville incident of October, 1888, as an illustration of English meddling with our domestic affairs. They should not forget the Venezuelan controversy, or things more recent—the jingoist English methods em-

ployed to defeat the American-Canadian reciprocity measure, and our strained relations with Japan, no longer ago than last winter, when President Wilson made a personal appeal to the American Congress to repeal the Free Tolls measure because there were diplomatic reasons necessitating it. It will be recalled that shortly after the repeal of the measure our friction with Japan ceased. We can never have international peace until English intrigue is given a black eye. This can only be done by some other power building a navy large enough to compel England to attend to her own affairs. It is not very hard to show that she has been the international trouble-maker. These are statements, but by going into detail I can verify them.

As before stated, I am of English ancestry, yet I have an intense sympathy with and for the German people, and believe that although so greatly outnumbered by the allies in men and resources, Germany is going to win in this fight, and that the greatest civilization that has ever arisen on this earth is going to be preserved for the continued betterment, not only of those who love the German fatherland, but for all mankind. German honesty, morality, scientific, social and cultural development, protected by her strong government made possible only by her citizen military system, are going to continue to hold in check and keep a brake on Russian savagery, French hysteria and want of balance, English political trickery and intrigue, and, because of the intelligent patriotism and individual efficiency of her people for whatever duty calls upon them to do, they are going to win this fight.

MY OPPONENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

MY opponents treat me as if I were anti-British. I am not anti-British, although I am pro-German. I have said over and over again that before the war I preached friendship between Germany, England and the United States, and I have denounced the growing hostile spirit among them as Jingoistic.¹ I said in the January number of *The Open Court*, p. 18: "In conclusion I will repeat that I am not anti-British. On the contrary, I am in a sense pro-British." I hope that the hatred between Germany and England will gradually be obliterated, for each of these nations needs the other, and this war is like a civil war, a struggle between brothers. It will be the duty of sensible people to insist on mutual respect and the establishment of a firm and friendly alliance; but this spirit is at present absolutely lacking on both sides. I am regarded as anti-British because I consider it a great misfortune that men like King Edward VII and Sir Edward Grey have guided the destiny of the empire.

I am pro-German, not in the sense that I side with Germany right or wrong; I am pro-German only in the sense that I regard the German cause as righteous. The Allies began the war from unholy motives. Russia was moved by greed, by a hope of expanding her empire and grabbing new possessions. France was animated by a desire for revenge for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the two provinces of which in former days she had robbed Germany and which she lost in 1871. England declares that she was in honor bound to stand by her allies, she denounces Germany with specious declamations for her aggressiveness, her militarism and imperialism, all empty phrases, and, in contrast to the causes which

¹ Cf. *Verhandlungen des ersten allgemeinen Kongresses veranstaltet von der Vereinigung alter deutscher Studenten in Amerika*, p. 24. The author's address appears there under the title "Das gemeinsame Interesse aller germanischen Nationen."

prompt the allies, Germany acts in self-defence and therefore I say her cause is just.

This is my verdict from an absolutely neutral standpoint as an American. I am neutral, and as a neutral I wish that our country shall observe a strict neutrality in its attitude toward the belligerents. But neutrality does not mean suppression of opinion, neither does it forbid investigation, nor does it oblige me to suppress my final judgment.

Considering the facts which are well known, I have become convinced that Edward VII cunningly and cleverly prepared for this war by the foundation of the Triple Entente, and that Sir Edward Grey has continued King Edward's policy of isolating Germany. Success seemed to be assured in a war waged by the Triple Entente against the Teutons. Only a miracle could save Germany. Humanly considered, there was no chance for her. First, it was difficult for Germany to withstand such a tremendous superiority of numbers as the combined armies of the Allies. Russia and France—not to speak of the smaller British army—possess enough troops to crush Germany and Austria. But, secondly, even if German strategy could hold in check such large numbers of enemies—which, though not probable, was at least possible—Germany could not fight for any length of time because she would be cut off from the world by the English navy. She needs not only food for her people, wheat, coffee and other colonial products, but also saltpeter for powder and copper for making the brass indispensable for the manufacture of ammunition. Germany has not a sufficient supply of these materials, so there seemed no chance of escape from final defeat.

If the events of the war have not fulfilled Sir Edward's expectation it is due to an item which the allies have overlooked. There is an invisible power in this world which may be called destiny, or, to use a vague anthropomorphic term, Providence, or in religious language, God. Frederick the Great used to say that God is not neutral, he is always on the side of the stronger battalions, and that as a rule is true, but sometimes he sides with the weaker against the stronger, as for instance at Marathon and Salamis.

God favors the weaker side if it is led by intelligence and, as it were, promises to promote by its victory the cause of mankind. In the present war the Germans have proved themselves worthy of victory not only by their indomitable courage in battle, being ready to conquer or to die, but also by remarkable foresight in

making up for their needs by new inventions. In the moment of dire need the busy Bertha appears unexpectedly before the hostile forts, the German submarines accomplish feats of great daring which heretofore could not be accomplished, and agriculture is improved to such a degree as to make Germany practically independent of the importation of cereals.

God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her.

* * *

Mr. J. M. Robertson, editor of the London *Literary Guide*, censures me severely for the October number of *The Open Court* which he thinks no longer deserves the name. But it pleases me to see Mr. Robertson call the anonymous English view of Great Britain's relation to Germany (republished in *The Open Court* from the London *Saturday Review*) "a Jingo article," for that it is; and I am only sorry to say that the principle which pervades this Jingo article, the Jingo spirit of it, has guided England's statesmen in concluding the Triple Entente and venturing into this terrible war, which was not begun by the Kaiser, and for which, after Nicholas Nicolaivitch, the English government bears the responsibility.

Mr. Robertson's arguments in blaming Germany for the war are such invectives as "militaristic megalomania," "barbaric boasting," etc. He says: "How thin becomes the veneer of civilization and decency over the primal tribal savagery of their race!" He speaks of me as "one who is filling his magazine with bluster and declamation," and calls my arguments "iniquitous pleading." He imputes to me the advocacy of the utmost viciousness, saying literally, "Upon the avowed principles of Dr. Carus there need be no restraint in war upon massacre and incendiarism, whatever may be thought of rape." Mr. Robertson will excuse me from making any further comment on his criticism. I believe it justifies my statement (quoted by Mr. Robertson with disapproval) that the English "have become incapable of arguing calmly and impartially."

An English article on "German Culture" appears in this issue of *The Open Court*. We learn in it that the Germans must take a back seat in the sciences, literature and all other accomplishments. Very well! that is the author's opinion. Other people think otherwise, and I do not deem it necessary to refute British censures of "German culture." There is only one point which I wish to comment upon in this article. We read on page 294: "The Teutons love the truth," said Tacitus, but the Teutons of to-day love it not."

This is a sweeping statement, and I will make no attempt to answer it except simply to say that for my part I have not felt able to place confidence in the words of Sir Edward Grey, the mouthpiece of British politics, nor do I think that they can be accepted as true or even as honestly meant misstatements. What excuse for the crafty representative of foreign affairs can be found in the treatment of Sir Roger Casement and the criminal attempt to dispose of this prominent Irish leader by fair means or foul!

Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain in his article entitled "Note on the European War," published in the January number of *The Open Court*, pp. 7-11, uses as one of his arguments that in modern logic "the Germans have shown an unexampled obtuseness," whereby he obviously means that logistics, the recent English phase of modern logic, has found no echo in Germany. One reader of *The Open Court* comments on Mr. Jourdain's proposition: "When has logic ever been discovered to take her abode in any English brain except Boole's, De Morgan's and Venn's? I have not as yet met any Englishman who could think logically; and logistics must not be identified with logic."

I could make many unfavorable criticisms on both German and English philosophy, but I do not see what that has to do with the war. I have much fault to find with many great Germans, and I know very well that Germany is not the only country where science is cultivated. Moreover I will not deny that I have found much to object to in the Kaiser's speeches, nor do I worship Bismarck in the least, although I think him nevertheless much better than Edward VII and his advisers. Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* with the Roman Catholic church was a great mistake, and his laws against the socialists were a blunder; but King Edward's Triple Entente was a most lamentable step,—one which will endanger England's position as a world-power and may prove positively fatal to her dominion over the seas. I am unfavorably impressed with many features of modern German literature, but I find as much to criticize in the English literature of the present age. I am not an admirer of modern German legislation in favor of the laboring classes, which is so highly valued by many students of social economy, but the English practice of keeping the laboring classes in their present abject state is certainly very reprehensible.

All this disapproval of German learning has nothing to do with placing the blame for the war or even in judging Germany as to her claims to culture or civilization. The word *Kultur* is not of Teutonic origin, but it is still less Saxon. Like so many other words,

it is derived from the Latin and has acquired in German a more intense meaning than in either French or English. Its German counterpart is *Bildung*, that quality which builds up a man's character. We translate *Bildung* by "culture," an equivalent of the Latin *cultura*, because it has not been deemed necessary to coin an indigenous English, i. e., Anglo-Saxon word. It is undeniable that German has incomparably more indigenous words of deep significance than English. It is easy to run down the Germans in character and ability merely for the purpose of discrediting their cause, but that is not argument.

I have found indications in all, or almost all, the statements of those who plead for Great Britain, that these writers are biased and side with the British cause, not because they have given it an impartial investigation, but because they are bound to defend it right or wrong. I do not mean to say that they are dishonest, that they go so far as consciously to produce untruths or suppress the truth; but they are as indiscriminate in their belief in the cause of England, as is a faithful believer in accepting his sectarian dogma, or one who advocates the flat-earth theory in spite of Galileo and experiments verified by natural science.

The only arguments used by pro-British writers are Germany's breach of Belgian neutrality and the German atrocities, the former dished up in adroit misrepresentation of the real facts, the latter consisting of unfounded accusations, and it is not worth while refuting fictitious arguments.

Among those who appear to be perfectly honest in their unjust condemnation of Germany I will mention Mr. Samuel Harden Church, president of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, U. S. A., in his *Reply to the German Professors*, which has been reprinted by the *London Times* in great quantities in a penny edition; but it betrays such strange misconceptions as to European conditions that the author's lack of knowledge and judgment is a sufficient excuse for his well-meant errors. A few quotations from Mr. Church's pamphlet may suffice. He says: "This war began potentially twenty-five years ago, when Emperor William II ascended the throne and declared himself Supreme War Lord." What a bugbear is made of the word *Kriegsherr*, "war-lord," which is the official title of the commander-in-chief, and means that the Kaiser is the generalissimo of the German armies in case of war. Further on we read: "Compulsory military service made every man a soldier." True! However, this institution of compulsory service was not introduced by the Kaiser, but is the outcome of necessity, since

it was forced upon Prussia. The German people need it, and it exists with their full consent.

Compulsory military service exists in all continental states, in France, in Belgium, in Russia, in Austria, etc., and it will be introduced into England after the present war. It makes nations peaceable, and if England had had universal military service the war would not have originated, for in that case the English would have been against the war. If the English had been opposed to war Russia would not have ventured to support Serbia and attack Austria, and if Russia had kept quiet, France would never have stirred. L. P. Jacks, editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, in a letter to the New York *Nation* of March 25, 1915 (pp. 103-104), describes "Oxford at War," which means the military exercises of the student volunteers; and he suggests the desirability of "universal military service." And it will surely come. It will come, and bring mankind one step nearer to universal peace.

I do not believe that the document of the German professors is wisely written. I am displeased with the way in which they present their case; it proves that the Germans lack diplomacy. They are often blunt in telling the truth. As Mr. Robertson says of the German chancellor, he avows his wrong "with brazen candor." But although the protest of the German professors against England's action is lacking in discretion, it is at least honest in comparison with English denunciations of German brutality and barbarism. Mr. Church seems to know no history, nor does he take pains to learn its lessons.

On pages 29 and 30 Mr. Church addresses the Germans thus: "Your insatiate spirit has terrified us all. Your General Staff has even published a plan for attacking America. If you beat down the British empire, why will not our turn come next?"

The German General Staff has more serious work on hand than to indulge in such pleasantries as publishing plans for attacking the United States. They leave such jollifications to the funny papers, such as *Fliegende Blätter* and *Simplicissimus*. In times of peace the German General Staff works out all possible plans of war. The several schemes are registered under different headings, and if war comes they are taken from their secret recesses and executed in all their details. There is one plan against Russia alone; there are several against both Russia and France, among them one which adopts the passage through Belgium as the main line of attack, while another leads the German army through Alsace. There are many plans, but that there should be among them

a plan for attacking the United States, while not absolutely impossible, appears to me a sheer fiction of unstrung nerves. In any event it is certainly excluded that the German General Staff should *publish* its most secret documents, as Mr. Church claims.

On the cover of the pamphlet this letter of Mr. Church is called *The American Verdict on the War*, and our author himself claims that he is "uttering the opinion of the great majority of the American people, including hundreds of thousands of our German-American citizens." This is a misstatement. In my opinion it would be difficult to make a fair estimate as to the preponderance of American sympathy, for there are too many who have not as yet made up their minds; but the English are very much mistaken if they regard it as a matter of course that America sides with Great Britain. Mr. Bryan may do so, but he does not in this case represent the American people. The Americans in Germany are certainly not pro-British, judging from the strong pro-German manifesto which they published some time ago in Munich; and such American papers as *The Continental Times* and *American Notes in Munich* show no anti-German tendencies; on the contrary, they are strongly anti-British.

The eastern portions of the United States, especially New York and Boston, are largely pro-British, but the Center and the West are conspicuously pro-German. Chicago is decidedly so, and so are the farmers of Illinois. Our administration will soon enough find that it got out of sympathy with the people and that its attitude is no longer representative.

To prove that there are some men in this country who are neither anti-British nor anti-German and differ from Mr. Church, I will quote Mr. Preserved Smith who, in a controversy with some of his English critics, concludes his *Reply*² thus:

"I am perfectly honest in professing friendship to both Germany and England. Apart from the numerous personal ties I have with both peoples, I deeply admire and like them both. But this cannot blind me to the fact that in their foreign policy both of them—and I might add all the other powers now at war, including Belgium—have acted like pirates. The only difference between them is that one freebooter, Capt. Bull, who has been longest at the trade and has procured the most plunder, now puts on the airs of an injured and inoffensive parson, throwing up eyes and hands in holy horror at all Germany's acts. How wicked to crush small

² Published in the *New York Nation* of February 11, pp. 168-169.

nations!—witness India, Egypt, the Boer Republics, and Persia. Unheard of to violate neutrality!—except, of course, such trifles as the seizure of the Danish fleet in the Napoleonic wars, rushing troops across Beira in the Boer war and across China by England's ally Japan now, and the attack, as reported in the papers, of an English vessel upon a German one in Spanish territorial waters. Barbarous to burn and bombard towns! Never mind the burning of Washington in 1814, and the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882."

There are people who side against Germany on account of her alleged aggressiveness; but an analysis of this so-called aggressiveness shows that she is guilty only of an unprecedented growth, that her population has increased and along with this her industry, her wealth, her military strength and her navy. So far England has been the sole owner of the world, whereas now the danger arises that Germany may become a rival in exercising an influence upon the international relations of mankind. But Germany does not aspire to world dominion. Even General Bernhardi is opposed to it. He believes that the high seas should be free to all by international agreement. If this were carried out by the universal consent of the nations independence would be assured to all the peoples of the earth.

My views are not more anti-British than those of the highly respected Englishmen who condemn Sir Edward Grey's politics, such as Lord Morley, Sir J. Ramsay Macdonald, the Hon. Bertrand Russell and the Hon. John Burns.

I will quote here the concluding passages of an article by Fred. C. Conybeare,³ a prominent Oxford scholar, who does not venture to offer his opinion to an English periodical. Mr. Conybeare grants (1) "...that Germany was trying hard in St. Petersburg to find any means whatsoever to avert a general conflict; (2) that Russia was mobilizing;" but the allegation "that at St. Petersburg people were absolutely convinced, nay, had even received assurances to that effect, that England and France would stay by Russia," he regards as doubtful and is inclined to think that "what put the war party into the saddle at St. Petersburg was the news that on the day before, July 29, the German chancellor (English White Book, 85) had intimated to the English ambassador at Berlin that in the event of war the German armies would march through Belgium." He adds: "That rendered English intervention certain, and Sazonoff knew that if the crisis eventuated in war he could rely on English support."

³ Published in the *New York Nation* of March 25, 1915, pp. 328-329.

The conclusion of the letter reads thus:

"We have in our White Book, 123, Grey's account of the interview in which he laid this memorandum before Lichnowsky. He writes: 'He [Lichnowsky] asked me whether, if Germany gave a promise not to violate Belgium's neutrality, we would engage to remain neutral. I replied that I could not say that; our hands were still free, and we were considering what our attitude should be.'

"So far Grey's answer was correct. We could not make truck and barter of a guarantee which Germany no less than ourselves was pledged to uphold. Grey proceeds: 'The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral. He even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed. I said that I felt obliged to refuse definitely to remain neutral on similar terms, and I could only say that we must keep our hands free.'

"The conversation could only leave one impression on Lichnowsky's mind, namely, that England would fight, not only if Belgium was touched, but also if France was involved. This was and is an intelligible and, to the minds of most English Tories, a right policy for England to pursue. Yet I regret that Grey did not communicate Lichnowsky's overtures at once to the House of Commons, for I am certain that by a great majority that assembly would have formulated conditions of neutrality satisfactory to England and Germany, sparing Belgium her present agony and avoiding for France the situation she is now in. Russia would have learned in half an hour that we did not, unless Belgium were violated, intend to assail Germany over a dispute that in no way concerned us or any part of our Empire, and would at once have retired over the golden bridge which the Kaiser during the days July 28-31 was building for her.

"I do not say that Russian and German ambitions in the Balkans and Turkey would not later on have clashed afresh and plunged them into war with one another; but the world might have been spared the irreparable calamity of a war between England and Germany, and we might have discovered that our planet was big enough for both of us.

"I owe it to Sir E. Grey to add that in answer to a question put to him on August 27 by Mr. Keir Hardie he excused himself for having ignored Lichnowsky's appeal on August 1 (that he should formulate any conditions on which England would consent to be neutral, etc.), on the plea that his colleague was in this interview not representing the Kaiser, but was speaking *de suo*. In con-

sequence he thought the interview of so little importance that he did not even communicate it to the Cabinet till after two days. 'The German ambassador,' he added, 'worked for peace; but real authority at Berlin did not rest with him and others like him, and that is one reason why our efforts for peace failed.' (Loud cheers.)

"Unfortunately for Sir E. Grey's plea, the German ambassador, immediately the interview was over, wired the substance of it to Berlin, and his account of it, in substantial agreement with Grey's, says not one word of his having spoken merely on his own personal initiative, and in a later advice to Berlin at 8.30 P. M. the same day, he used, apparently referring to this interview, these words: 'As no positive English proposals have been submitted, further steps in connection with the instructions given me are superfluous.'

"That he punctiliously informed the Imperial Chancellor whenever he had addressed Sir E. Grey *de suo* we can infer from the way he reports his answer to Sir Edward's telephone message at 11 A. M. the same day. He says: 'I told him [Grey] I thought I could accept the responsibility for this.' Nor is it likely that the Kaiser would keep an ambassador in London to make such important proposals *de suo*.

"I trust I have said nothing but the truth in the above. It is easier to gain utterance for such matter in a neutral press than in the English, for I fear we are no more exceptions in our island than are the Germans to Flaubert's rule that *La guerre rend bête et méchant*."

Professor Conybeare does not stand alone. There are quite a number of English people who do not support the policy of their country, but they find it difficult to gain an audience. Their warning voice ought to have been heard before it was too late, but they were given no chance. I grant that they are in the minority, but I look upon them as the hope of England, as the promise of a reform, as the promise of a new England which will do away with the strongly entrenched hypocrisy of to-day and drive out the oligarchy which has misled the people by a bold pretense of honesty and the tinsel of false virtue. Says one of these English prophets crying in the wilderness: "our halos have become top-heavy!"

I am not anti-British, but I am against the war. I am against those who are guilty of the war, and I blame the English cabinet for it. I am against the hypocrisy of blaming the Germans for the war. It is my recognition of the top-heaviness of Sir Edward Grey's halo that gives me the appearance of being anti-British.

ENGLAND'S BREACH OF NEUTRALITY IN AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Germans made proposals to Belgium for a peaceful passage through the country, and when they were refused committed a breach of neutrality and forced their way through. It is commonly claimed that it was the duty of Belgium not to allow the Germans to cross. The English had crossed Portuguese territory in the Boer war, but this is declared to be excusable on the ground that the Portuguese could not have resisted, and if they had become implicated in a war the result would have been the same.

In consideration of these facts, what shall we say of the breach of neutrality which the English have committed on the soil of the United States of America? Indian troops have been transported on the Canadian Pacific to be embarked at Halifax and on their way passed through the state of Maine for about one hundred and twenty-five miles. Was this breach of neutrality excusable on the ground of absolute necessity, or because the United States are too weak to resist England?

Why do the Belgians begin a war and fight to the bitter end in the vain hope that the friends who promised their help would come to the rescue, while we allow this breach of neutrality without even a verbal protest? Would the Americans of a hundred years ago have been so submissive?

The logic of our administration is peculiar. It is regarded as a punishable act if a few men of the New York branch of the Hamburg-American line are under the suspicion of having supplied German ships with coal, but if big business concerns send enormous masses of arms and ammunition to England and France, it is not considered unfriendly to Germany and the dual monarchy, but quite a proper transaction because there is no law against trading with anybody.

THE PERSONALITY AND INFLUENCE OF SOCRATES.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

A MAN is bigger than his career and deeper than his ideas, for they are but the imperfect struggle of personality to objectify itself—the primary struggle of every man, and ever at best a noble failure. Socrates is more than the facts of his life and more than the Socratic teaching; for both are but derivative verbs of action from a concrete substantive of being.

The physical foundation of his life was like those immemorial outputs of earth, the rocks and trees, rather than the supple and beautiful strength we associate with the white bodies of Greeks. And this pristine and autochthonous hardihood that might have served paleolithic man in the windy Neanderthal, found itself undisturbed amid the gracious products of Ionic luxury, and supported without discomfort one of the keenest intellects and one of the goodliest temperaments of civilization. Thus will Nature sometimes remind us of the continuity of her antique brood.

That was an incessant intellect. Most of us glance at a problem now and then or deliver a judgment, but for Socrates there was no respite. Untiringly curious, subtly discriminating, penetrating to the center, grasping essential values, unembarrassed, coherent and certain of aim through all involutions of discourse, ready with sentence or phrase, his mind stood, whether brooding at Potidea, or debating at Athens, a challenge to all comers for a long generation, vigorous to the last.

A pathfinder without map, a pioneer with no base of supplies, getting his direction from observing the ambiguous light of the common ken and conduct of man, he blazed the road and dug the trenches for the armies of thought.

His self-reliance of intellect was also the self-reliance in the

art of living. They might cartoon, threaten, indict, murder him, but they could not change him. Steadfastly rooted in himself, devoted with singleness of purpose and unhasting courage to his own business, he would quietly gainsay any interruption or deflection.

Yet without self-consciousness, arrogance, or vanity; without pride, too, except in the supreme moment, where, in the face of defiant injustice, his pride was the proud sense of the security of the truth he witnessed; humble and homely, democratic in conduct, even if not a complete democrat in political theory, learning from high and low, interested only in truth, never in displaying his store or facility, and detached from all self-seeking.

Gregarious, convivial, loquacious, stalking from agora to symposium and back again, meddlesome as an itinerant evangelist, hearty and whole as an after-dinner speaker, incorrigibly fond of humanity, alike thoughtless of soiling his skirts and losing social prestige as of arousing the jealousy of "the uninvited," scarcely ever away from the city, he was like the old Irish nurse, who returned unexpectedly from a rural visit with the explanation, "Shure, there's moor coompany in pa-ple than in shtoomps."

He was dowered, more than any philosopher since, with good nature, kept from souring by that subtle preservative, humor. This humor played cheerfully about the ears of the pestilential and bumptious youth, with bonhomie and irony before the judges, with whimsical imagination mockingly around the details of an inquiry or around his own domestic troubles and his own intellectual activities, and if a pupil left him angry and disgruntled, he waited genially for the medicine to work. This, perhaps quite as much as his more exalted qualities, endears his memory. For we feel so certainly that it was not only a wise, but a friendly humor, like his sociability, closely related to a native kindness unreserved but never sentimental, and to his dominant desire to help his fellows.

He was the best exemplar of the balance of soul reiterated in his precepts: balanced in judgment, emotion, conduct; holding the reins of his own nature; knowing his own center of gravity and maintaining stability of equilibrium, whatever else might go spinning around him, and whatever the varied circumstances in which he found himself—whether battlefield, market-place, assembly, criminal court, or death-cell.

His moral grandeur still towers over Athens and her shattered temple to rebuke the world. We may reject his moral theory, we may deny even its efficiency as a prime factor in his own morality, deducing (with some truth) his theory ultimately from his char-

acter; but the things he deemed good with all his soul, we deem good, and the righteousness he fulfilled is the righteousness we seek to fulfil. He is the first great incarnation in Europe of the moral law, faithful unto death.

This is a true superman. The ruthless egoist, if not the ideal of Nietzsche, at least the avowed ideal of many Nietzscheans, who, trampling out the weak, mounts more and more into a power more and more his own, where does he stand at last when by virtue of that strength the world is his in right of eminent domain?—alone in a universe of the irrevocable dead, without even a groan from the pile or an imprecating fist to serve his turn—shorn of all power, because forever without a remnant whereon to exercise the power he coveted, irretrievably defeated by that logic of life which should prove to us that the superman presupposes men, that power presupposes opportunity, and that the only power which adds power to the individual is that which he exercises to save his fellow and conserve the race unto righteousness.

The qualities sketched above he had each in generous measure. Socrates must be writ large; he is human but prodigally human, with an abundance of each portion of himself. But the man in his uniqueness emerges only when we contemplate the difficult but triumphant blend of those qualities, so often disparate in men. Superficially, he may recall in one aspect or another, Tolstoy, Emerson, Lincoln, Dr. Johnson, Franklin, Confucius, or the great Jesus; fundamentally he is unlike all men, yet close to all. "There is only one Socrates," said Tatian; yet he belongs to everybody.

But, like the rest of the world's eminent, he falls short of epitomizing humanity. Some qualities he had not, if we read our records aright. Verily he lacked humanity's worst passions and vices and shared apparently in few of its blunders. And on the other hand, though a Greek, he had little joy in the glory and the charm of nature or of art: the blue sky over Athens and the flowery fields beyond the walls, the Parthenon and the shining goddess on the hill came not into his discourse, and thus apparently only casually into his ken. He had not the creative imagination. He was no poet, like Jesus and Mohammed, each in his way. His kindliness had yet none of the plangent pity for the sorrow of life, naught of the throbbing love and enfolding arms. His righteousness, as we have seen, burned with no fiery imprecation, entreaty, or command, and rose, cool, observing, undepressed, assistant, before his own shortcomings or the sins of the world. His religious consciousness phrased itself in loyalty to the divine, as a mode of

thinking and acting among men, not in prostration or in ecstasy: he was neither a god-smitten nor a god-intoxicated man.

The chief influence of this personality was upon his immediate acquaintances—men long since dead, but quite as important to the planet which has bosomed their bones as you or I, whom it yet a little while gives to walk on its emerald hills. The lifetime, which, as Xenophon attested, "he gave to the outpouring of his substance," can repeat itself for thought only partially, thwarted by imperfect record, or intricated with the lifetimes of a line of descendants a part of whose blood came from other stock. "To be with Socrates and to spend long periods in his society was indeed a priceless gain" (*Memorabilia*, IV, 1); but it was a gain evermore impossible after the year three hundred and ninety-nine; (unless one be speaking in the language of a legitimate hyperbole, with the stress on the vitality of that portion of him we still may make our own). That influence may well have been less through a dialectic, easily misunderstood in its deeper moments, and more through the certainty of goodness he was in himself. "Socrates is the only man who ever made me feel ashamed," said Plato's Alcibiades.

His chief influence after death is found in Plato. From Socrates's skill in a peculiar conversational method (soon to become a popular literary type), Plato derived the form of his essays, subsequently the model for Cicero and writers in the modern tongues. From Socrates was the stimulus to his prime interest in ethics, and to his far-reaching inquiries into the nature of knowledge. In the Socratic definitions, ideals, moral principles, or whatever we prefer to call his established universals of ethical thought and life, is the germ of Platonic ideas. In Socrates's recognition of the transcendental implication were the materials for the ladder which Plato constructed from human experience to the supreme good. And the man who gave Plato starting points with such range of outlook for his thought, likewise strengthened Plato's spiritual character by contact of life with life, and enriched Plato's art by furnishing his creative pencil with a model beyond price. Different, far different though he was from his master, Plato's debt to Socrates was enormous. It has, however, been paid, and in the manner best pleasing to the master—paid to humanity with pieces of silver and gold of his own, still current.

Aristotle, by the critical attention he gives to the thought of Socrates as well as by the Socratic, rather than the Platonic, attitude as investigator and formulator of life, attests his intellectual line; even as the moral influence of Socrates seems behind him

when he says, speaking in the Nicomachean Ethics of certain differences between his thought and Plato's, "Friends and truth are both dear to us, but it is a sacred duty to prefer truth."

The other philosophic movements, as is well known, derive also from Socrates. Aristippus, stressing and revising the utilitarian criterion, develops a hedonism, which, combined with the atomism of Democritus, gives birth to Saint Epicurus, the long misjudged. Antisthenes, stressing the principle of self-limitation in the Socratic precept and conduct, founds the Cynic school and points the way to the Stoa. Euclides, stressing the dialectic, prepares the soil for a neo-scepticism, which, however, contained within itself its own refutation.

No historic generalization ever put to paper was absolutely true; but far truer than most is this: Socrates is fountain head not only of scientific ethics, but of all metaphysical systems in which the point of departure is a theory of knowledge rather than of being.

His subtler influence on the inner life of the generations cannot be disassociated from the sympathetic and uncritical reading of Xenophon and Plato, especially their accounts of his last days; nor need it. Where those narratives have taken deepest hold they are fortunately most true to the Socratic outlook on life and the Socratic walk in the midst of life.

Socrates, as we have seen, was often with Cicero; and he accompanied Seneca in his death. But by the second century banded zealots were preaching a new hero and a new martyrdom to the pagan cities of the Mediterranean; yet we find the church fathers, often more liberal-minded than later theologians, explaining the new martyrdom by the old, and defending Christ by Socrates. Justin (150), writing an apology for Christianity to the imperial court and the senate at Rome, eloquently and tactfully compares the Christians whom they persecute with that pagan whom they admire: "we are in prison with Socrates, and with Socrates we are slain; but with him we too are invincible." And again: "He, also, knew Christ in part, for Christ is the personal manifestation of the *logos* indwelling in every man." No less Clement, to whom religion was the education of man from partial to perfect truth, saw in Socrates the shadow of the Logos, and quoted his sayings beside those of Christ. Origen comes forth with the still remembered *contra Celsum*, for the persuasion of the heathen: "Jesus died a death of shame; so Socrates. Jesus taught courage against death, as in itself no evil; so Socrates. Jesus called to him the sinners—so Socrates. About Jesus are told strange stories, hard of belief;

so of Socrates. [This is a little forced.] . . . From the revelations of Jesus have sprung up various sects and schools; so with the teachings of Socrates." From Chrysostom, Hieronymus, Isidor of Pelusium, and the great Augustine, scholars have collected paragraphs of understanding praise. And in spite of some dissenting voices as the terrible Tertullian and the rabid Lactantius, I would name, more explicitly and emphatically than has been named by other writers, as an important historical service of Socrates, his mediation between paganism and Christianity, his influence in the spread of the new faith; albeit I have not forgotten that his ethic was grounded in knowledge and the Christian's in revelation, and that the Christian said "be saved through Christ," and Socrates, "save yourselves."

Among the moderns he has left his impress on men as different as Goethe, Emerson, and Mill. But incalculable must have been his influence on the impressionable generations of European schoolboys from the dawn of the Renaissance, whose best thumbed Greek prose texts have been these same Socratic records, reread with delight for the present study.

Nor alone on the European youth: though in our American academies to-day Greek have but one prophet to every ten or twenty for the kingdom of Mechanics, or the kingdom of Microscopy or the kingdom of Manual Arts, the face of Socrates may appear in unexpected places and with something of the old look and power. But the other day a reformer talking in the huge armory of a western State University on the fight for honest government, after citing the execrated excuses of the big bankers and brokers and civic officials "compelled to take and to give bribes or be ruined in business," commented with a sudden and passionate dignity: "How different was the answer—twenty-three centuries ago—of Socrates, who, condemned to death by an unjust senate, when friends would open for him the prison doors, refused to fly, because it was against the laws of his country." And three thousand generous young men and women applauded and cheered as to no other words of a long and memorable address; and who shall say that the courageous integrity of the dead Greek, here thus so unexpectedly revealed once more and so nobly approved, may not abide with one—or another—of that great audience, to stay his hand in the lobby or to steady his voice in the forum, or to guide his pencil in the booth where he marks his ballot,—helping him, as it helped so many in the old days, to sturdier manhood and more earnest citizenship.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SECRET DIPLOMACY AND CHINA.

Dr. Gilbert Reid, the head of the International Institute of Shanghai and worker for peace and international good will, is strongly impressed with the danger which now hangs over China through the Japanese intercession, and we quote from the Shanghai *China Press* of February 19, 1915, two passages of an article of his on "Secret Diplomacy and China."

"All of a sudden, like a thunderbolt out of the skies, an official document, a friendly dispatch with many demands, is handed by the Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary to the President of the Chinese Republic, and all the demands, meaning more to China than to Japan or any of her allies, are wrapped up in another demand, that China keep them secret under pain of worse calamities."

"For Japan to insist on secrecy is for the moment a great gain to herself. She is able to push her demands on China in an arbitrary and forceful spirit, beyond all reason and right, and at the same time is able to impress other nations with her mildness and moderation. In a letter just received from Peking written by one who knows, I am informed that while the demands, as stated in the press, are 'fairly correct' and 'very hard,' *'the actual demands are harder.'*"

The editor of *The China Press*, Mr. Thomas F. Millard, adds among other notes the following comment:

"These revelations merely bear out the position which we took several months ago, soon after Japan's intrusion in Shantung, that the open-door and integrity-of-China doctrines have been abandoned by all the powers except the United States. This leaves China practically isolated in her present crisis, since it need not be expected that any than moral support will be forthcoming from America until opportunity comes to present the questions before the Hague tribunal, or a congress of the nations, after the war."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

FOOTFALLS OF INDIAN HISTORY. By *Sister Nivedita* (Margaret E. Noble). New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915. Pp. 276. Price \$2.00 net.

This very attractive book contains many illustrations, all of them on Indian subjects. Among them are six colored pictures, two by members of the prominent Tagore family. The frontispiece by Gaganendra Nath Tagore represents a pilgrim sitting on the ocean beach contemplating the surf, while another by Abanindra Nath Tagore depicts the birth of Buddha. Four other colored plates are by Nanda Lal Bose, and all are distinguished by delicacy

of tint. In addition we find twenty-two half-tone illustrations, mostly views of the Ajanta and other sacred caves.

The book is on the subject of Indian history, but it is more a recognition of the awe in which our author regards the results of Indian civilization than a treatment of the historic facts themselves, and she takes a view which is quite conciliatory between the ancient Brahmanism, Buddhism and the modern Hinduism. The spirit in which she has explained the contrast between Buddhism and its antagonists may appear from the following quotation which opens the chapter entitled "The Relation Between Buddhism and Hinduism":

"Buddhism in India never consisted of a church but only of a religious order. Doctrinally it meant the scattering of that wisdom which had hitherto been peculiar to Brahman and Kshatriya amongst the democracy. Nationally it meant the first social unification of the Indian people. Historically it brought about the birth of Hinduism. In all these respects Buddhism created a heritage which is living to the present day. Amongst the forces which have gone to the making of India, none has been so potent as that great wave of redeeming love for the common people which broke and spread on the shores of humanity in the personality of Buddha. By preaching the common spiritual right of all men whatever their birth, he created a nationality in India which leapt into spontaneous and overwhelming expression so soon as his message touched the heart of Asoka, the people's king."

The last chapter is a study of Benares, the venerable metropolis of India's past, and the author concludes her book with this comment:

"Prostrate, then, under the disintegrating touch of the modern era, lies at this moment the most perfect of medieval cities. Is she to become a memory to her children after four thousand or more years of a constant growth? Or will there prove to be some magic in the new forces of enthusiasm that are running through the veins of the nation, that shall yet make itself potent to renew her ancient life-streams also?"

K

In his article on "The Present Prospect of China" in the February *Open Court*, Dr. Gilbert Reid, of Shanghai, assumes that German China has passed into the possession of Japan, and that German influence in the Far East has been wiped out. He has not considered the possibility that Germany may maintain herself in Europe between Russia and France, and may even succeed in vanquishing Great Britain. Would Japan be able to keep her dominion over China if England could no longer support her? Would not Germany be willing to sacrifice her colonial possession for an *entente cordiale* with China by which Germany would be assured of undisturbed trade in return for her educational influence? In this way Germany could strengthen the Chinese army and navy so as to enable the Celestial Empire to hold her own in spite of the influence of the other great European powers, England, Russia and France. We may assume that Germany would not be reluctant to undertake the task.

In the picture entitled "King Albert and his Staff" on page 44 of the January *Open Court*, the Belgian ruler is shown dressed in a German uniform. The occasion was a reception tendered him by the officers of the German regiment of which the Kaiser had made him chief as a matter of official courtesy.



PHILIP II OF SPAIN. Portrait by Titian, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa.
At the time of the Dutch Rebellion he succeeded in retaining Belgium,
then called the Spanish Netherlands.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

VOL. XXIX. (No. 6)

JUNE, 1915

NO. 709

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THE PROTESTANTISM OF JOHN HUSS.

BY D. R. PIPER.

AN old Moravian hymn-book is preserved in the library of the University of Prague in which is a picture symbolizing the place of the great Bohemian martyr in the reform movement. The frontispiece represents Wyclif seizing a torch, Huss lighting it, and Luther holding it aloft. The movement under Wyclif in England was largely of a political and patriotic nature. Huss added the fire of religious conviction to the teachings of the Oxford reformer. And Luther, out of his own personal experience applied to the eternal verities which Huss had proclaimed, lifted that truth as a torch where the political, social, and religious aspirations of his people converged, to light the one path to threefold liberty.

Few historians seem to have realized to what an extent the German Reformation was indebted to Huss and his followers. Luther himself did not fail to acknowledge this indebtedness. Early in his career, when accused by his arch-enemy Eck of being a follower of the Bohemian heretic, he replied, "My dear Doctor, the Hussite opinions are not all wrong." Later in his life he did not hesitate to praise Huss, and this acknowledgment of indebtedness does not in the least reflect on the genius of Luther. For I do not pretend to assume that the statement of a few religious ideas, however new and vital, will sum up the significance of Luther's work. Every one understands that the phenomenon known as the German reformation was a social and economic movement no less than a religious revival. It is difficult to sift and separate these factors and determine the importance of each in the success of the movement. Undoubtedly, however, religious conviction formed the center about which all the other forces circled. The purpose of this



IOANNES HUSSVS BOHEMVS
Casaris huic violata fides, damnatus iniquè est
Vir pius et vera religiones amans.
Nonne (inquit) lapsos post centum iugiter annos
Danda deo ratio est impia turba tibi? *Cum priuill.*

The above picture of John Huss, the semi-millennial of whose martyrdom is celebrated the sixth of July, is taken from a page roughly torn from an old Latin book, which evidently was an ancient edition of some of the writings of Huss. It can not be certainly determined who is the author of the picture. But the H in the upper right-hand corner probably stands for Holbein, and the meager evidence at hand indicates that the picture is from a wood-cut by Hans Holbein the Younger, made about 1520, and possibly first used in Ulrich von Hutten's edition of Huss's *De ecclesia*, published in that year at Basel.

article is to maintain that there were to be found in the propaganda of Huss all the elements of religious protest which were present in the reformation of a century later. So thoroughly Protestant were the views of Huss that had the social, economic, and political status of sixteenth-century Germany prevailed in fifteenth-century Bohemia history would undoubtedly record a Bohemian reformation under Huss and Jerome, instead of a German reformation under Luther and Melancthon.

I.

The religious soul of the reformation was the conception that Christianity is not a dogma but an experience. In order to be in the kingdom of God one must be in living touch with God himself. This was a bizarre idea to the orthodox churchman. For the medieval church laid its stress on conformity. Faith was assent to the doctrines of the church. It was not trust in God which saved, but the sacraments. Nevertheless, the sacramental and penitential system of the church failed to give relief to the overburdened soul of Luther. He discovered that "neither baptism nor monkery" could assist him in his inner struggle. At last he threw himself upon God and found peace. Luther's experience taught him to insist that faith is not intellectual assent to dogma, but a living trust in the God whom Christ revealed, which trust is coincident with the coming of the saving grace of God into the heart. It is this mercy of God made real to the heart which gives the sense of forgiveness and begets new trust. "The true faith," says Luther, "is the heart's utter trust in Christ, and God alone awakens this in us." Justification, with Luther, is an act which is continuous in its operation. We are justified whenever we look to Christ.

Of this conception of religion as an experience rather than a dogma, Principal Lindsay¹ says that, "here we find something entirely new, or at least hitherto unexpressed, as far as medieval theology is concerned;" and also that "Luther rediscovered religion when he declared that the truly Christian man must cling directly and with a living faith to the God who speaks to him in Christ." And I think that Lindsay is mistaken.

It is not to be expected that Huss should have stated this doctrine so forcibly or explicitly as did Luther. The occasion did not arise. But that Huss did conceive of religion as an experience rather than a dogma there can be little doubt; and while the term "justification by faith" is not found in his writings, the idea is there

¹ *History of the Reformation*, Vol. 1, p. 429.

in full force. "The priest or deacon who loves his enemies, despises riches, esteems as nothing the glory of the world, avoids entangling himself in worldly business, and patiently endures terrible threatenings, even persecutions for the gospel's sake, such a priest or deacon has the witness *within him* that he is a genuine disciple of Christ." What can this be, written in regard to those whom the church opposed, unless it be a statement that religion is an experience of the heart, that the testimony of the church is not a necessary proof of one's Christianity? When the bull of excommunication was issued against Huss, he boldly preached from the pulpit of Bethlehem Chapel that the pope could not excommunicate from the true church, but could at most but declare excommunicate those whom Christ had already rejected, and since he had not violated any law of Christ the bull was a dead letter. In the third hearing at Constance the fifth charge brought against Huss was that he had taught that *only the grace of God* makes one a member of the true church, and he did not attempt to refute, but defended the proposition. This means nothing if it does not substitute the direct experience of the heart with God for the mediation of the priesthood.

When the papal legate, Wenzel Tiem, came to Prague to sell indulgences during the crusade against Ladislas of Naples, Huss held a disputation in which he set forth the fallacy of the doctrine of indulgences, as did Luther a century later. On this occasion he declared that only Christ can forgive sins and that Christ does freely forgive the sins of the truly penitent. The absolution of the priest, therefore, said Huss, is but the assurance of the church as Christ's servant that Christ has already granted pardon if penitence is genuine. But since only Christ can forgive and the church can but declare accomplished what the grace of God has already wrought, no amount of money can avail to buy forgiveness without penitence; and if the heart is penitent no grant of indulgence can make the remission of sins more effective. Now since in penitence the heart does throw itself directly upon the mercy of God, we have here *implicitly* stated the idea of justification by faith. But in the same disputation Huss went a step farther. He declared that God grants the pardon of sin to none whom He Himself has not first rendered fit to receive it. This is an *explicit* statement of the Lutheran doctrine that it is God who puts the saving grace in the heart. It is true that Huss did not oppose confession and penance. But he did take the thoroughly Protestant position that though penance is a Christian duty it avails nothing in the forgiveness of sins, and that with Christ contrition suffices for pardon. Confession

and penance were to be observed apparently simply as acts of obedience to external authority on the Petrine principle of "Fear God, honor the king." A direct quotation will make the position of Huss more clear. All absolution, he says, is "conditioned on the fact that the person confessedly feels remorse for having sinned, is resolved to sin no more, *trusts in God's mercy*, and is determined for the future to obey God's commandments." We are justified, says Luther, by faith; and "true faith is the heart's utter trust in Christ, and God alone awakens this in us." Says Huss, we are forgiven by "trust in God's mercy," and we receive God's pardon only when he renders us fit to receive it. Luther's idea of saving faith, which Lindsay calls "something entirely new," is simply Huss's view developed into doctrinal expression.

II.

The corollary of justification by faith is the "universal priesthood of believers." If only God puts grace in the heart, if only he forgives, then we are all priests, we need no apostolic mediator. Every devout heart can intercede directly with Christ. To quote Luther in this matter: "Faith alone and the efficacious use of the word of God bring salvation." "We are all equally priests." The priests, posits Luther, are improperly named. They are not endowed with mediatorial powers. They do not possess unique access to the throne of grace. But the church has them only as ministers and servants, to preach and teach that gospel of which all may partake. The sacraments are thus robbed of their efficacy, although Luther does not immediately wish to dispense with them. But for the crying abuse of them by the clergy and the superstition of the people they might never have been dispensed with. Luther was concerned with building up the religion of the heart and was at first willing to let stand all that was not positively destructive of faith. Eventually, however, he dispensed with all but two of the sacraments as unscriptural, and retained these only as aids to faith.

Regarding Huss's position as to the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of believers, let us begin by reminding ourselves that Huss looked upon his own priesthood not as mediatorial but prophetic; and that he derived it not from apostolical succession but from God. When Alexander V prohibited his preaching in Bethlehem Chapel Huss replied: "He who lives conformably with the law of Christ and, animated by a disposition of sincere love, has singly in view the glory of God and his own and his neighbor's salvation and preaches not lies, not ribaldry, not fables, but the law of Christ and doctrines of the holy fathers of the church, . . . such a person never

arrogates to himself the call to preach without authority; and it is not to be doubted that the man in such a case is sent from God." The view here is that the inner call is of more authority than the sanction of the church, and that the content of one's preaching is the test of one's divine authority to preach.

In his *De ecclesia* Huss lays the foundation for the doctrine of the priesthood of believers when he states that Christ is more present to the saints in Bohemia than is the pope, who lives 800 miles distant at Rome; for Christ can make his presence real to every true believer. Further he taught, and this was the thirty-sixth charge brought against him at Constance, that the church does not need an earthly head since Christ can rule directly in the hearts of his saints. These are approaches to the Lutheran thesis. But if we wish an explicit statement of the priesthood of believers we shall find it in the reformer's *Responsio ad scripta Stanislai*. The church, he says in this reply, "has a sure consolation and infallible promise, the promise of Christ's own word that if we ask the Father anything in his name he will give it us. And, whatever ye ask the Bridegroom, he will do. From no pope can she obtain this." When we remember that Huss in all his controversies rejected the medieval notion that the church consisted of the pope and clergy to whom had been entrusted the power of the keys and administration of the sacraments, and held the church to be the community of all believers, we at once see that the above statement resolves itself into the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers. The church, including all true believers, has the privilege of direct petition to God. For if it is not *direct* intercession that Huss has in mind, what means the phrase, "From no pope can she obtain this"?

We shall have to confess that the force of this clear statement seems somewhat diminished by the fact that Huss never entirely freed himself from the medieval belief in the intercession of the saints. He derives this doctrine, however, from his view of the church as the community of all believers in all ages, and argues that if a saint on earth can properly be asked to intercede for another believer, how much more beneficial is the intercession of a saint in heaven. He does not believe in invoking the aid of the saints directly, but merely in petitioning the saints to intercede with God. It is only this part of the medieval doctrine to which he clings. For instance, when in chains at Constance he expressed the hope that St. John, who was beheaded in prison, would intercede for him to Christ. All this, however, does not diminish the fact

that Huss did hold the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. He simply held this medieval doctrine in addition. Like Luther, he struggled in vain to be entirely free from the power of tradition, and tradition in the fifteenth century was much stronger than it was in the sixteenth after a century of Hussite propaganda. The essential difference between the two on this point may be stated thus: Luther made Christ the sole advocate through whom alone the believer gains access to the divine ear; Huss did not admit the necessity of any mediator between the soul and Christ, but did admit the value of additional intercession of the saints with Christ.

III.

The essential significance of Huss's teaching, however, and that which sent him to the stake, consists in his attitude toward two important doctrines found in all his writings from first to last; namely, the authority of scripture, and the true spiritual constitution of the church. In these the great Bohemian is truly Protestant, and here he probably exerted his greatest influence on the German reformation.

The medieval schoolmen still clung to the fourfold interpretation of scripture: literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic. Manifestly each passage had but one set of interpretations, and only the authority of the church could decide what interpretation was correct. This put the word and tradition of the church—that is, of the pope and cardinals—above the authority of scripture. Opposing this view, the Protestant reformation stood for the perspicuity of the divine Word, and declared that the one purpose of scripture was to “bring God near me.” To Luther the Bible was seen, not as a system of law or a collection of fragmentary texts, but as one transparent whole. It was the belief of Luther that the “common man with the Bible in his hands could know more about the way of salvation than pope or councils without the scriptures.” Hence the necessity for the people to have a Bible they could understand. It has often been stated, but incorrectly, that the reformers transferred the doctrine of the infallibility of the church to the Bible. The reformers dispensed entirely with the doctrine of infallibility in the old sense, and held up instead the rule of faith and reason, although their successors did not follow them in this. Since the purpose of scripture was to reveal God, the Bible was to the reformers “infallible” only in the sense that it is always a dependable guide to faith in God and the revelation of His will when approached by the believing heart.

Now this is precisely the position of Huss a century earlier. That he dispensed with papal infallibility and adopted the rule of faith and reason applied to scripture study, is clear from the position he took in his disputation against the doctrine of indulgences. Objecting to the argument that the doctrine was true because approved by the church and accepted with practical unanimity by both clergy and laity, Huss states the principle that "it is the custom of wise men, whenever difficulties occur with regard to any truth, to consider first of all what the faith of Holy Scripture teaches on the point in question, and whatever can be so determined, that they hold fast as a matter of faith. But if the Holy Scripture decides neither on one side nor the other, they let the subject alone as one which does not concern them." As early as 1410 in his tract *De Trinitate* he indicates that scripture and reason are for him the final authorities. In 1412, in a paper on tithes, he states that Holy Scripture, reason and the experience of the senses are the three sources of the knowledge of the truth which is to be held fast. The national synod met in Prague February 6, 1413, (while Huss was in exile) to restore peace between the contending parties in the kingdom. On this occasion the theological faculty of the university, headed by Paletz, listed the errors of the exiled heretic and traced them all to one cause, that *Huss admitted no other authority than the sacred scriptures, explained in their own sense, and contrary to the traditional interpretation of the church.* In answer to this synod's demand that the dictates of the church should be observed with unquestioned obedience, Huss replied through his representative that no obedience could be required which was at variance with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which alone must pass as final authority. His deliberate resolve to die, rather than to recant before the council of Constance, was due to the fact that he believed scripture supported his teachings, and that his inquisitors had failed to adduce scriptural testimony against him. Huss died for placing scripture above tradition and Christ above the pope.

IV.

It is in his attitude toward, and his conception of, the church that Huss most clearly demonstrates his Protestantism. The Protestant idea of the church may be briefly stated thus: The church is not an organization but an organism. Against the medieval position that where the church is there is Christ, was pitted the reverse idea that where Christ is there is the church.

The traditional view was threefold: (1) The church is the

divine depository of law and grace, hence, "outside the church no salvation"; (2) the church, as such depository, is composed of the priesthood only, which is the "plastic medium" through which God dispenses salvation; (3) the church is a close organization, a hierarchical state, dominated by the pope as absolute monarch.

Luther freed himself with great difficulty and very gradually from all the network of related and dependent ideas which had grown up around this threefold conception of the church. By devious paths he finally arrived at a clear notion of the church in harmony with his religious experience. This idea in its final form was that the church is a divine and human fellowship; or, to use an overworked phrase, "the communion of the saints." The foundation of the church is not the sacraments, nor a doctrinal system, nor tradition, but the promises of God, and especially "the testimony of Jesus, who is the saviour of souls." In some sense the church is invisible. "Its roots penetrate the unseen." But it is visible in two things, "the proclamation of the word and the manifestation of faith." In working out this conception Luther discovered that he held the same view which the Bohemian heretic had propounded, and he wrote, "We have been all Hussites without knowing it."

The thesis fought over at Constance was, indeed, no mere difference of theological terms, but a question of the very existence of the Roman church. It was because the prelates felt the teachings of Huss to be a menace to the constitution of the church that, though they could not prove him guilty of serious heresy and had to resort to falsehoods, they yet were impelled to take his life. And Erasmus wrote truthfully, "John Huss, burned, but not convicted."

The reformer's opposition to indulgences was itself a denial of the church as the divine depository of law and grace. At the beginning of the crusade in Prague the papal legate, apprehensive of trouble, asked Huss if he would obey the apostolical mandates. Huss replied in the affirmative, but cautioned: "My lord, understand me well. I said I am ready with all my heart to fulfil the apostolical mandates, but I call apostolical mandates the doctrines of the apostles of Christ; and so far as the *papal* mandates agree with these, so far will I obey them most willingly. But if I see anything in them at variance with these I shall not obey them though the stake were staring me in the face." In the disputation which followed Huss declared that he felt bound to test all the laws of the church and even the bulls of the popes by the words of Christ before he could accept them: "Therefore in order that I may proceed more

safely," he adds, "I will place myself on the immovable foundation, the cornerstone which is the truth, the way, and the life, our Lord Jesus Christ." Christ, not the pope nor tradition, is the final test of truth and the highest authority in the church. It is not strange, then, that failing to secure justice from Rome he returned from exile to Prague on that New Year's day to deliver his famous appeal from the pope to Christ.

Huss followed Wyclif in his attack upon the temporal authority of Rome, but he went further than Wyclif in attacking the spiritual supremacy of the curia. With Huss, the pope could be spiritually supreme only when he happened to be the most spiritual person in Christendom and the most efficient servant of the spiritual community of believers. Of the reformer's *De ecclesia* Cardinal d'Ailly correctly declared that it attacked the papal authority and the plenitude of papal power as much as the Koran did the Catholic faith. Huss traces the origin of the papal powers to the donation of Constantine, and declares that God can give others than the pope and cardinals as true successors of the apostles, and whoso denies this makes the power of Constantine greater than that of God. If any one doubts that Huss struck a death-blow at papacy he should read the following from his tract "On the Church": "It is evident that the greatest errors and the greatest divisions have arisen by occasion of this head of the church and that they have gone on multiplying to this day. For before such a head had been instituted by the emperor, the church was constantly adding to her virtues, but after the appointment of such a head, the evils have constantly mounted higher." In another place he puts reason above the pope: "Wherefore should I not place my own thought before the pope's dictum?" And again (*De ecclesia*), "Christ is the all-sufficient head of the church, as he proved during three hundred years of the existence of the church and still longer, in which time the church was most prosperous and happy." Christ, he says, promised the Spirit of truth to guide his church. And even if the pope were always infallible and as divine an authority as this Spirit, yet this guide makes the pope superfluous, for I have to go to Rome to see the pope, but I have access to the Spirit of truth at home.

Huss did not contemplate leading a revolt against Rome, yet he did intend that the movement which he led should result in so purifying the church that the pontiff would be only a figurehead except in so far as his spirituality should give him influence over the hearts of men. Huss advocated a fundamental reorganization of the church in which the priests should be the higher order, fulfilling

the law of God; all temporal powers should be restored to the secular arm, which should compel obedience to Christian ordinances; and the laity should serve both orders according to the law of Christ. This restoration of all temporal powers to the secular arm would imply, what Huss also contemplated, that the church in every nation should be independent of outside authority, and there should be unity rather than uniformity. There is no room in this program for pope or cardinals. Indeed Huss anticipated a possible future papal vacancy and said that should such occur, and that if no one were elected to the pontificate till the day of judgment, Christ could govern his church.

It is true that in practice Huss did not go as far as the logic of his theses should have led him. No reformer ever does. His great inconsistency is that he held a practically orthodox view of the sacraments, although, apparently, their mystery did not for him consist in a priestly miracle, but in a direct divine interposition. When at the height of his power in Prague he seems to have upheld Wyclif in the rejection of the medieval doctrine concerning the eucharist; but while in prison at Constance he wrote a tract on the sacraments and expressly declared his belief in transubstantiation, which term he used. However, he favored the Jacobellian custom of administering the eucharist to the laity in both kinds.

Though marred by this inconsistency, we have seen that Huss held the real constitution of the church as a spiritual fellowship of which Christ is the true and only head; the supreme authority of scripture as interpreted by reason and experience; the priesthood of all believers; and, implicitly, if not explicitly, the doctrine of justification by faith. Had Huss lived longer and battled the Roman hierarchy a few more years, he doubtless would have seen the logic of all his views and acted consistently with them. Had Luther died as early in his career as did Huss, his views too would have suffered from incompleteness in their application to the whole field of Christian polity. Huss, however unconscious he may have been of the fact, was a perfectly good Protestant, and there is nothing essential to the Protestant movement which he did not embody in his teachings.

It remained for Martin Luther, coming also to the consciousness of these same truths, at a time when the spirit of social and ecclesiastical revolt was rife, to fuse these truths by the fire of his own religious zeal with the social and spiritual yearnings of the people, and thus to form that amalgamation which we call the Protestant faith.

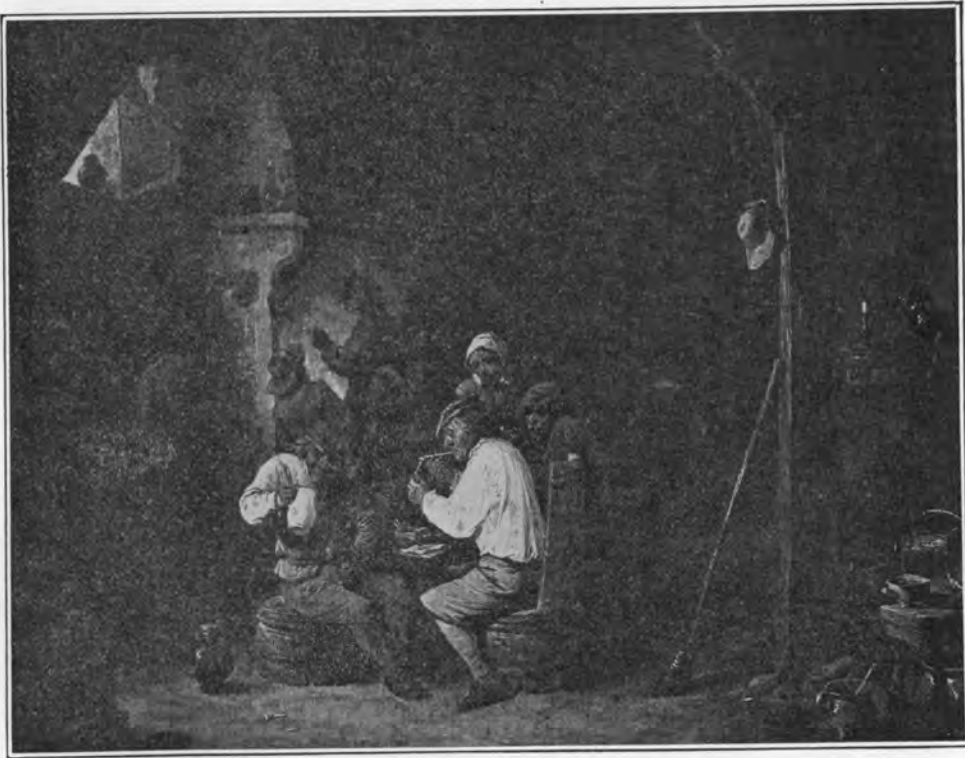
BELGIAN HISTORY AND THE NEUTRALITY QUESTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

BELGIUM, in industry and art, is for its size one of the greatest countries in the world, and it is the Flemish portion of the population that has been and still is leading in these noble pursuits. Historians of the country point with pride to the old Flemish school patronized by the wealthy burghers, and from the long list of great artists we will mention the following names: the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Hans Memling, and Quentin Matsys, all of whom lived before the Reformation, the last one being a contemporary of Luther; and Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck and David Teniers, the stars of Flemish art after the Reformation; but the greatest among them is Peter Paul Rubens.

After Charlemagne the country was divided into a number of feudal principalities among which Flanders was the most prominent, so as to enable the counts of Flanders to acquire the territories of their weaker neighbors. Before the time of the Reformation Holland and Belgium developed together, as they formed practically one country, known as the Netherlands. The line of the counts of Flanders died out in 1384, the last one of them leaving a daughter who was married to Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Times were favorable; commerce and trade developed; and the dukes patronized artists; all of which resulted in the first golden age of Flemish art. But in time new conditions arose; Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold, married Maximilian of Hapsburg, later on Emperor, who in 1477 inherited the Netherlands; and when Maximilian's grandson, Emperor Charles V, retired into a monastery in 1556, he divided his extended possessions into two parts. His German lands (now the Austrian empire) fell to his brother, Ferdinand I, who also became emperor, while Spain, with the Netherlands, was given to his son, Philip II of Spain, a Spaniard by education and inclination. This distribution practically meant that the

Netherlands became subject to Spain, and Philip's many encroachments upon the independence of the citizens brought about the Dutch revolution; for he expected his Dutch subjects to obey him with the same submission as he had become accustomed to in Spain. The Netherlands had, for the most part, adopted the Reformation, and Philip II proposed to force them back into submission to Rome. The result was a protracted war in which the Spaniards failed to subject the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands. These concluded an alliance in 1579, fighting with perseverance and



FLEMISH PEASANTS.

By David Teniers.

courage against their oppressors; and in 1581 they declared their independence from Spain under William of Orange who, in 1584, fell a victim to the dagger of an assassin. His last thoughts were with the people to whom he had devoted his life, and a well-known portrait of him preserved in The Hague has inscribed over it his last words:

"Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de mon âme,
Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de ce pauvre peuple!"

William's son, Maurice, although only seventeen years of age, continued the work of his father with energy and ability, and the

seven provinces, now called the kingdom of Holland, maintained their independence.

The two men, William of Orange and Philip II of Spain, repre-



WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

sent the division which took place between Holland and Belgium. Though the countries were reunited again in 1814, the two peoples had become so alienated from each other that they could not be truly

formed into one nation. Belgium remained influenced by France, and its population was either severely Roman Catholic, or, as is quite common in purely Catholic countries, became positively irreligious. A middle party of moderate views scarcely existed. At the same time French manners, French amusements and French luxury have become the standard of life, and Brussels prides itself in being a second Paris.

When the Hapsburg line of Spain died out a European war ensued, known as the War of the Spanish Succession, and at the end of it Belgium, then called the Spanish Netherlands, fell again to Austria according to the conditions of the peace of Utrecht; and with the exception of several years of French conquest (1745-1748), it remained Austrian until the French Revolution involved Belgium and resulted in its incorporation, in 1794, into the French republic. It remained French under Napoleon, but after Napoleon's fall in 1815, it again became a part of the Netherlands under King William I of the Orange family, a lineal descendant of William, the first stadtholder.

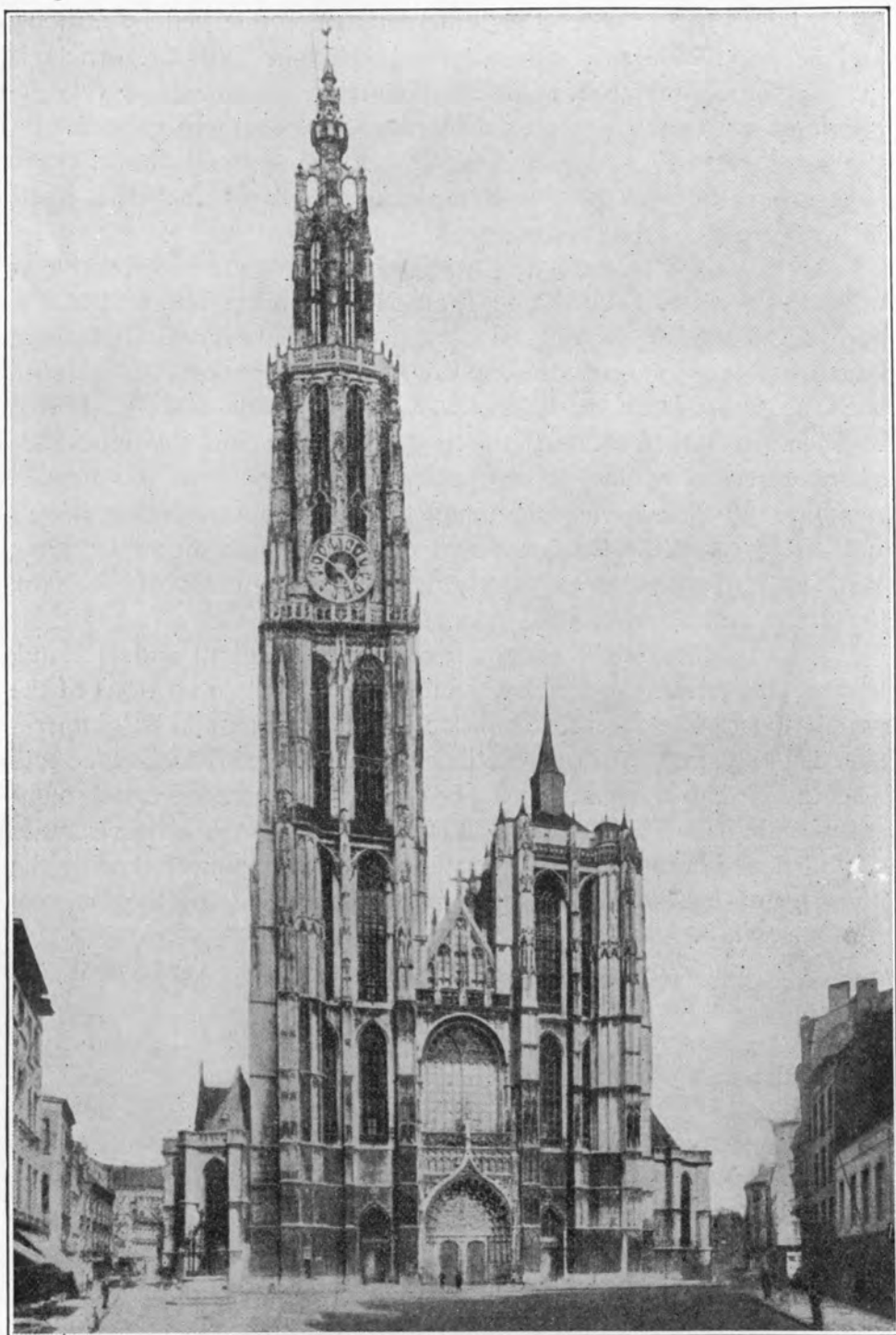
But, as stated above, the two countries, Belgium and Holland, had become estranged, and it was difficult for the two portions of the population to live together in peace. The discontent in Belgium resulted finally, in 1830, in a rebellion which, supported by France and England, led to a separation and the establishment of a new constitutional monarchy, called Belgium. Luxemburg, however, was excluded and remained an independent duchy, connected with the kingdom of Holland in personal union, and a part of the German confederacy.

A national congress elected first a French prince, the Duke of Nemours, but his father, King Louis Philippe of France, declined the offer on his son's behalf, and England recommended the uncle of the Prince Consort—his father's younger brother—Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who accepted the candidacy and was elected June 4, 1831, with 152 out of 196 votes.

King Leopold I married Princess Louise of Orleans, the daughter of Louis Philippe, and governed his new kingdom with wisdom and success. His son, Leopold II, followed him after his death, in 1865, and, Leopold II dying without a legitimate heir to the throne, his brother's son, Albert, succeeded him.

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One condition of the establishment of Belgium, made by England, was the declaration of her neutrality, which was guaran-



CATHEDRAL OF ANTWERP.
From Boulger, Belgium of the Belgians.

teed by Prussia, Austria, France and England. This neutrality meant that in case of war Belgian territory should not be trespassed, and thus should serve as a home of peace from which European quarrels should be kept away.

This idea is perhaps based on the English notion that any European war should be kept away from the country which lies opposite to England; but the idea is a mere pious wish which was recognized even at the time it was proposed to be an illusion, quite desirable but impossible and unrealizable. Belgium has a very central position in Europe, and it is no accident that a great number of European battles have been fought on its soil, the best known



THE LION MOUND AT WATERLOO.

From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art*.

of which is Waterloo. Was it possible in these cases for the belligerents to keep out? Scarcely. The idea of Belgian neutrality was an experiment and we now know that it failed.

We pity Belgium for the sad fate which has befallen it, but we must consider that its central position is not only a source of danger in times of war, but an enormous advantage in times of peace. Belgium's unrivaled prosperity is due to it. Similarly, those who cultivate the fields and the slopes of Mount Vesuvius and Mount Aetna enjoy rich harvests, but must from time to time expect volcanic eruptions.

It is difficult to understand the purport of England's proposal



A PULPIT IN ANTWERP CATHEDRAL.
From Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians*.

to make Belgium an especially neutral country with some undefinable sanctity. Is it not true that, under normal conditions, every country is neutral, and that, if other countries are at war, the neutrality of its citizens, its ships, its possessions and all that appertains to it should be respected. The special and extraordinary sanctity of Belgium's neutrality has never been defined. Would England have allowed Belgian ships free passage, while those of Holland and Denmark were inspected for contraband and dragged into British harbors? Scarcely! What, then, is the real difference between the neutrality of Belgium and that of other countries? This question would be difficult to answer if we did not know what kind of policy England has in mind. We have only to remember the explanation of the late Earl Roberts who insisted that the coast and territory opposite England must not fall into the hands of a strong power.

Belgium is a territory which, according to old tradition, England wishes to have perpetually kept in weak hands, and so England is greatly interested in seeing Belgium made inviolable. This can only mean that England wants to prevent Belgium's annexation by a strong power, be it France or Germany.

When the idea was originally concocted in the brain of an English diplomat the danger of annexation lay not in Austria or Prussia, least of all in Germany, but in France. In fact England did not even deem it necessary to make Germany (then the German confederacy) an accessory to the treaty and, as stated above, had it ratified by the two great German states, Prussia and Austria. If the German Emperor had been a quibbler on points of legality he would have ordered Bavarian, Swabian, Hessian or Hanoverian troops to force the passage through Belgium, and all the virulent accusation of England would have lost its force; Prussia had signed the treaty, but not Germany, and the truth is that every declaration of war is a breach of neutrality, and the neutrality of a country which is practically a vassal state of England is, for that reason, not more sacred than that of any other country.

The Franco-German frontier is comparatively short, and on both sides excellently protected. The French knew very well that both Metz and Strasburg were formidable fortresses, very difficult to take, and that, even if they were taken, the possession of Alsace-Lorraine would open the way not to Berlin but only into Southern Germany. Therefore the French naturally deemed it desirable to break through Belgium into Germany. For diplomatic reasons they would, of course, prefer the Germans to be guilty of the

breach of neutrality, but if the Germans had not done it they would have done it themselves, because, for strategical reasons, they deemed the widening of the theater of war and the possession of the direct route from Paris to Berlin indispensable for their success.

If the Germans had been assured that Belgium's neutrality would have been respected by the other powers they would have had the great advantage of having to protect only their short and well-defended frontier. They would have been able to concentrate the force of their army against Russia and keep on the defensive in Alsace-Lorraine. The neutrality of Belgium, provided it had been assured, would actually have been of great advantage to



LACE MAKERS OF BRUGES.

From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art*.

Germany. Why then did she not keep it, but instead break it deliberately and ruthlessly?

The answer and explanation is this. The neutrality of Belgium was not assured. The Germans claim to have reliable information that the French had planned to invade Germany through Belgium. I need not here repeat the well-known statement that French officers were in Belgium before the beginning of the war; and there were numerous indications that the French intended to surprise the Germans after the war had started, by an outflanking movement whereby they would be attacked in the rear. This would have been fatal, and any one who knows something about war knows that the mere possibility (and in this case it was a great probability,

amounting to a practical certainty) could not be overlooked or ignored, or left till a time when the emergency would present itself as an accomplished fact, but has to be counted upon and prevented before it can materialize.

That interesting novel, *La fin de l'empire allemande*, by Major de Civrieux (reviewed in the March number of *The Open Court*, p. 190) sets very plainly before our minds French ideas on this subject. It is a very cheap attitude, that of accusing the Germans on moral grounds for the breach of Belgian neutrality; but if they had allowed themselves to be duped, and if the theater of war had, by a French outflanking movement through Belgium, with or without Belgian consent, placed the French army into the Rhinelands, the allies would simply have laughed at German carelessness.

If the English were at all desirous of attacking Germany they had still stronger reasons for selecting Belgium as a basis for an attack of Germany, for the German frontier in the region of Metz and Mühlhausen is too far away from their base of supplies, and the obstacles offered by the Vosges mountains are too formidable.

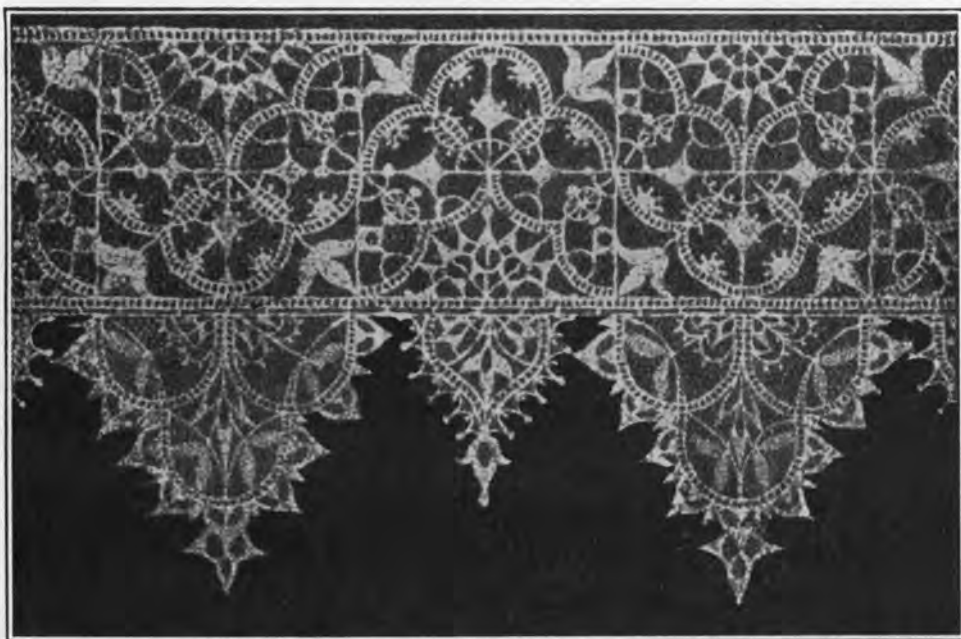
The Germans did not want to attack England. They were enjoying a peaceful prosperity. Their industries were expanding in an unprecedented manner. But General Bernhardt warned the Germans of the English danger, exhorting them to be prepared for war and prophesying that war must come simply because their natural growth led them to encroach upon British interests. The German prophet of the war did not preach war, nor did he incite to war; he raised a warning voice, pointed out a great danger, and exhorted Germany to be prepared for it.

If the Germans had intended to attack England they would have accepted the French and Russian proposition to join with them in a general protest against England on account of the Boer war. Kaiser Wilhelm sympathized with the Boers, but he did not go so far as to assume a hostile attitude toward the English or start a war in behalf of his South African friends. Bernhardt would perhaps have accepted the proposition of the French and the Russians, but his views were not approved and he was a voice crying in the wilderness. His book was almost unnoticed in Germany.

In the crisis of 1914 Germany would gladly have been satisfied to let Belgium enjoy her privilege of neutrality if she could only have been assured that her enemies themselves would respect it; but all military arrangements pointed the other way and convinced the German General Staff that they had to expect a French or even a Franco-Belgian invasion. If Belgium really meant to be neutral

there was no need of a large Belgian army. But it is well known that Belgium's army was of unusual strength for the size of the country, more than three times greater numerically than the entire English army, and it has, in consequence, played quite a considerable part in the present war.

The Belgian policy did not adhere to a neutral course, and we do not blame the Belgian kings for it, for the rôle of neutrality imposed upon the country by English interests was too difficult and too delicate to be carried out. The acquisition of the Congo state was its first great infringement, and in more recent times King Albert attempted a confederacy among the five small northern



BRABANT LACE OF THE YEAR 1596.

powers (Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden) which clearly implied a violation of Belgian neutrality. England knew that the old treaty of 1839 had lost its significance. Gladstone acknowledged this openly, and made a new treaty during the war of 1870-71, to last for a year, to guard Belgian neutrality. But even this was of doubtful value, for necessity knows no restriction, and when Napoleon III saw his cause on French territory lost he tried to break through Belgium and would have ventured an attack on the Rhenish provinces had the German army not cut off the French army at Sedan, close to the Belgian frontier, and compelled the entire French force to surrender.

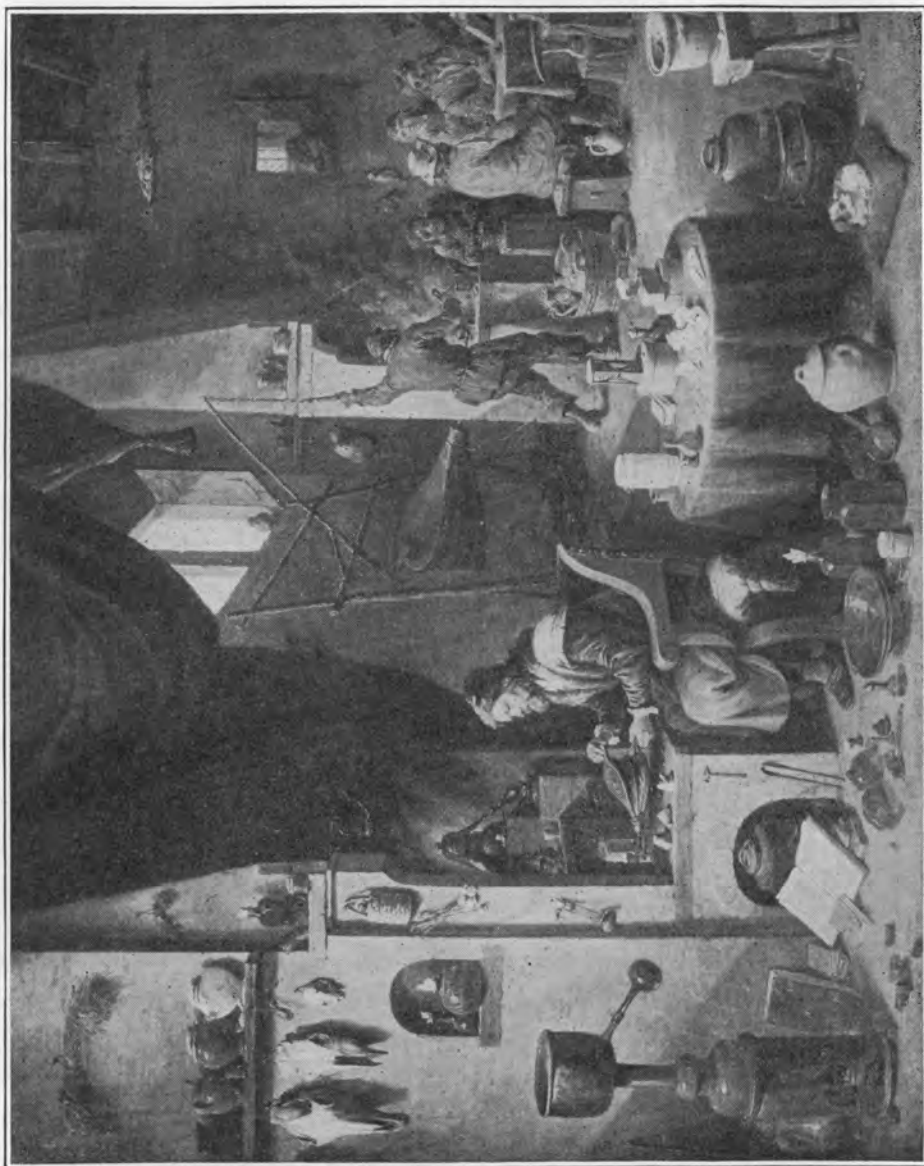
The documents of a secret understanding between England and Belgium, involving also France, are a sufficient proof that neither England nor Belgium thought seriously of the neutrality treaty of 1839, and this remains true in spite of the declaration by Sir Edward Grey and the Belgian government that the Brussels documents were of a purely informal character. It is unfortunate for England that they fell into German hands; the cleverest excuses and explanations will not annihilate their existence nor minimize their significance. Whether we call this kind of "*conversation*" informal, or Platonic, or even pacifistic, the Germans cannot be blamed for regarding them as positive proof of a conspiracy between England, Belgium and France, against Germany.

The German General Staff did not yet know of the Brussels documents; there were other reasons why an attack through Belgium was considered necessary. It is noticeable that the Belgian fortifications face Germany, not France. On the German frontier of Belgium there were two fortified Belgian camps, one on either side of the fortress Huy; none lie on the French frontier, which suggests that the French were regarded as allies. The fortified camps are enclosed by a belt of forts, and they are a continuation of the French forts along the river Meuse, erected against Germany on the Franco-German frontier. The three great fortresses, Antwerp, Liège and Namur, were kept up to date without regard to cost, and French officers were consulted as to the best methods of installing modern improvements.

Under these circumstances the German Chancellor had a perfect right to regard the old treaty of Belgian neutrality, over eighty years old, as "a scrap of paper." It was concluded under decidedly different conditions, before Belgium had developed into a military, and indeed a belligerent state, unfriendly, yes obviously hostile, to Germany. It must be a very partial judgment that would not at least give Germany the benefit of the doubt, and the Brussels documents discovered later on, together with the evidence furnished by the letters of the Belgian ministers, justify the German procedure.

Sir Edward Grey explains that the Brussels documents refer to a very harmless conversation "discussing the help which England should send Belgium *only in case of a breach of Belgian neutrality* by other powers." Would Sir Edward also have protected Belgium against France? If so, is it not strange that French ports had been selected for the landing of English troops?—a fact which proves that France was implicated. A previous plan had been to land troops in Antwerp, but this was abandoned because of the

erection, by the Dutch, of fortifications at the mouth of the Schelde; and it now became clear why the proposition of the Dutch to fortify the Schelde river, commanding the entrance to Antwerp from the sea, called forth so much violent opposition in London and Paris.



THE ALCHEMIST. By David Teniers.

If the English policy was so pacific, as stated by Sir Edward, it is strange that these harmless "conversations" were treated with such confidential secrecy. It would have been better to make such pacific discussions public, because they might then have had an influence on the Germans and taught them to keep hands off.

Moreover, they ought to have been made not only with the French against the Germans, but also with the Germans against the French.

If it is true (as says Sir Edward) that "there is no note of these conversations at the British War Office or Foreign Office," does he mean to say that the reports of these conversations were kept in another place, or that "these conversations" were purely private and were neither authorized by, nor at all reported to, the British government? If they were indeed so rigorously conditional on a German invasion why was the condition not emphasized at the start in plain and unmistakable words, but only incidentally mentioned? And I feel inclined to add: if they only served to encourage the Belgians to resist, why were they not lived up to by Great Britain? The Germans did not want this war and are perfectly well convinced that their Kaiser strove for peace up to the last minute.

The art of English diplomacy consisted in uniting all the elements hostile to Germany and making them act simultaneously. The plan was to deal the enemy a sudden and crushing blow by an overwhelming array of hostile forces which would invade Germany at once on two sides, the east and the west; and we must grant, the idea was very clever. The French and the Russians would have done the work, and as usual the English would have reaped the benefit.

Germany broke Belgian neutrality because she knew that the French intended to attack the poorly-protected Rhenish province, and this is the reason which the German Chancellor gave officially. He regretted the necessity for the deed, he granted that it was wrong and proclaimed that for the damage caused by the German army Germany would reimburse the sufferers. Moreover, he guaranteed Belgian independence—and all this provided Belgium would allow the Germans to pass through Belgium. Belgium rejected the offer and joined the Triple Entente.

Sir Edward Grey, in commenting on the situation, not unappropriately quotes the parody on a Shakespeare passage thus:

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,
But four times he that gets his blow in fust."

Sir Edward is right; the quotation from *King Henry IV*,¹ as

¹ Part II, Act iii, Scene 2.

well as the sarcastic gloss added to it, is right, and it is an old Prussian principle to act on it. Prussian strategists believe that there is only one method of defense which can be successful, that



THE MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHARINE.
By Hans Memling.

is, a vigorous offensive. This course alone promises victory. It was natural that the Kaiser should hesitate to begin a war; but it was equally to be expected that, as soon as he knew that war was unavoidable, he would take the offensive, in order to get "his blow in fust," even though this course exposed him to the criticism of having begun the war. The pro-British press has made good use of this point, and has on the strength of it converted many to regard Germany as the disturber of the peace.

I have given careful consideration to the English presentation of the question and have come to the conclusion that, as usual, it shows much more keenness and diplomatic wisdom than the German, and thus has a strong appearance of justice; but the cause of Germany, though often presented in a misleading way, is truly just. The war, and also the breach of Belgian neutrality, were forced upon Germany. Therefore, according to Sir Edward Grey's quotation, the Germans are seven times armed; three times because their quarrel is just, and four times because, as soon as they saw that war was positively unavoidable, they did not wait for the allies to invade Germany, but dealt the first blow.

I believe in the Germans and in the German cause, but for that reason I am not anti-English, or anti-British. I am fully convinced that the English people did not begin this war; but I do believe that the British diplomats have carefully prepared it and have gradually made the English believe that the war was necessary. The first step toward the war was the formation of the Triple Entente, and the Triple Entente with all that it implies was not only vicious, but also an asinine stupidity. I will not here dwell on the viciousness of this compact, for diplomats believe that in statecraft no moral law is binding, and English diplomats have acted accordingly. The policy of British diplomacy has of course been kept secret, for part of the diplomatic art consists in the hypocrisy of pretending to be truthful and moral, at the same time making the enemy seem a liar even when he is simply suffering (as are the Germans) from an undiplomatic frankness or "brazen candor."

I will lose no space here in pointing out the moral deficiencies of the English policy. These are apparent in all her recent wars, not one of which has been righteous. And, in the present war, I insist that the scheme of crushing Germany is insensate beyond measure.

First, neither the Russians nor the French are or, in spite of their present alliance, can become true friends of the English; on the contrary both dislike, or even hate, the English even at the



ST. CATHARINE.
From a Memling Breviary.

present time most intensely. The English propose to use their allies for the sake of helping them to crush the Germans, but as soon as the task is done the old enmities will be renewed.

Secondly, the English underrate German strength, intelligence and ability in both the defensive and the offensive; they have not the slightest idea of what their cousins on the continent will endure in patience and sacrifice. The Germans are a more formidable foe than the English have ever before encountered, and they should have thought twice before entering this war—the very first war in history between England and Germany.

Thirdly, the English have overrated their allies and also themselves. The chances for an easy victory looked splendid; indeed victory seemed perfectly assured. The French army was in better condition than ever, even under the first Napoleon; the Russians are so numerous; and the two ought to have been sufficient to crush the Germans. But it takes more than an overwhelming majority to beat the Germans; it takes leadership as well, and that is missing in both France and Russia. The English think they can supply it, and they boast of their former historical victories. The English people do not even now know that the victories of Marlborough were gained by Prince Eugene; Marlborough simply happened to be present; and the battle of Waterloo was almost lost by Wellington when the genius of Gneisenau saved the day by means of Blücher's Prussian army. The English have a very good opinion of themselves, and it would have been better for them if they had not overrated their own ability before they had brought on the crisis.

The Germans are by no means the only people in the world who represent culture, science, and the progress of humanity. There are other civilized and partly civilized nations. The French and the English range as high in literature and general culture as the Germans, but one thing is sure, the Germans are leading in almost every science and branch of cultural aspirations, not only in music and other arts but also in chemistry and manufacture of all kinds. Even if the Germans were defeated in war the cultural qualities of Germany would make her indispensable for the progress of mankind, and it is this quality which adds to her warlike strength in this critical moment when England seems to hold the key to the situation on account of both her wealth and her naval supremacy.

We quote the following lines on German inventiveness from Bulletin No. 10 of the "*Kriegs-Ausschuss der deutschen Industrie Berlin*":

"England has planned on the largest scale possible to starve

out Germany. She is endeavoring to cut off all food supplies from the inhabitants of Germany—men, women and children—and to bring the German industry forcibly to a standstill by preventing the importation of raw materials. In this way she hopes to weaken the German people by hunger and make it impossible for them to

manufacture munitions of war, so that they will finally be compelled to accept a peace dictated by England.

"The English plan is based upon the fact that before the war Germany purchased a portion of its food supply and raw materials abroad.... Through its intimate cooperation with science German industrie has been particularly successful in the past in discovering new uses for apparently worthless raw materials; and the public life of Germany has always been distinguished for a model organization recognized even by our enemies.

"During the present war England has cut off Germany from the supply of natural saltpetre in order to prevent the manufacture of explosives and make it impossible to fertilize the fields. In the course of the few months since the beginning of the war the chemical industry has succeeded in making sufficient quantities of artificial nitrates from air and coal. The necessary factories have been built, and Germany is now assured of an adequate supply of saltpetre. Indeed, it may be said even now, that after the end of the war these new plants will continue to operate and thus diminish to no small extent the importation of natural saltpetre,



ST. CATHARINE.
By Jan Van Eyck.

so that England's starvation policy will bring permanent injury only to the producers of natural saltpetre. Similarly in the matter of petroleum. Since the importation of petroleum has been made impossible, the great majority have now taken to the use of gas and electricity. The new gas and electric fittings will of course

continue to be used after the conclusion of the war, and we can safely assume that in future Germany will import very much less petroleum than formerly."

We will add that Dr. Hans Friedlander has recently improved the chemical process of changing straw into food, and England's proposition to reduce Germany by starvation seems thereby to have received an additional check, one which would prove sufficient even if the enormous agricultural improvements did not work.

A glaring instance of the difference between German efficiency and English lack of progressiveness appears in naval warfare. The superiority of the English navy consists in numbers, but in naval training, in good marksmanship and in grit the Germans are fully their equal. It is certain that the German crews handle their submarines better than the English marines their dreadnoughts.

The chances of crushing Germany seemed excellent, but the Germans are up to the mark and it looks as if this time the English have undertaken too much.

There are still other reasons why this war is an incredible stupidity; and we must bear in mind English bulldoggedness which will carry on the war to the bitter end, even when conditions become more and more unfavorable.

The war can bring no good to England. It can do her only harm. It jeopardizes all the many advantageous positions England has gained, the Suez canal, South Africa, Egypt, India. It may also liberate Ireland. The war has allied her with Japan, a doubtful and even dangerous confederate which will demand a high price for its services—presumably nothing less than the recognition of an Asiatic Monroe doctrine, Asia for the Asiatics. This means at present, China for the Japanese and the Pacific for Asia; in the future it may mean more.

There is no need of going into further details, but it seems to me it is not even in the interest of England that the cause of the Allies should come out victorious. The English are fighting for a cause which is most injurious to England herself.

It is true and I grant that England was in a precarious state, due to what the English call the "German peril," and this seems to me to be the only justification for her going to war. We have been told that German aggressiveness could not be tolerated, and that Germany must be crushed before she becomes too strong, and before she can endanger England's dominion over the seas. This is the real reason for the war. All other reasons are mere pretexts;

they are opportunities seized by smart diplomats for the purpose of making Germany seem the responsible party.

It is true that Germany has been growing rapidly and even threatened to eclipse England. But if English diplomacy had been less smart and more wise it would have been possible to make of the Germans friends and allies; and how much better would they have served the England of the future than the Japanese, or the Russians, or even the French! I have a great respect for English diplomacy, but how much better had it been applied if it had treated German rivalry as a friendly and helpful competition. Have not German settlers proved a most valuable element in English colonies in times past, and have not the Germans been distinguished by their diligence and industry as well as by their faithfulness? All the benefits which England might have derived from a continued friendship with the German people now seem well-nigh impossible of realization, and the hope of building up a firmly established world peace upon the good entente of Germany, England and the United States almost appears lost for all time.

Who is guilty of this crime? I repeat, it is the inventor of the Triple Entente and the diplomats who have carried out the plan underlying it; and it is a sin that cannot be forgiven—neither in the world of present conditions nor in the life to come. The curse of it will live on into the distant future of mankind, and if the English people but knew the inner workings of their politics they would rise in indignation and give the men responsible for the present situation their deserts. But I fear it is too late.

CRAMB'S "GERMANY AND ENGLAND."

A VALUATION OF ITS PREMISES.

BY J. MATTERN.

[Mr. Mattern, the writer of the article which we print below, was born in Rhineland, Germany, in 1882. He graduated from the state gymnasium at Cleves and for his postgraduate work attended the universities of Münster and Bonn. After finishing his studies he came to the United States in 1907 on what he then considered a "temporary business trip." However he has since made this country his home and has become naturalized. In answering Professor Cramb's assertions concerning young Germany's ideals and aspirations Mr. Mattern, as will be admitted, is in a position to speak from recent and personal experience, a fact which is bound to lend to his argument special interest and weight. Mr. Mattern at present holds the position of assistant librarian at the Johns Hopkins University.—ED.]

CRAMB'S *Germany and England* was recommended to me as a "remarkable" book. I confess that while reading and rereading it I found it to be more than remarkable, it proved to be a veritable revelation. Born and raised in the western, that is, the industrial part of Germany, with a university record of four semesters at Münster i. W. and two semesters at Bonn, the Alma Mater of the imperial princes, I have up to the present considered myself entitled to claim some knowledge of my fatherland and of the aspirations of young Germany.

I therefore protest on behalf of myself and on behalf of the youth of Germany against the picture which Cramb choses to paint of them. I protest against Cramb's assertion that Treitschke's supposed advocacy of world dominance and world empire is young Germany's political creed and that Nietzsche's megalomaniacal caricature of the superman is the ideal, and his pagan apotheosis of might the quintessence of young Germany's philosophy and religion.

Professor Cramb evidently never heard of the Wingolf, the

Cartellverband, the Katholischer Verband, the Unitas, each of which consists of from twenty to eighty individual student clubs, all having as their motto, not Treitschkean world-politics, not Nietzschean religion of sheer force (all politics and, by the way, the *Mensur* and duel being barred by statute), but "learning, friendship and chastity." All are built on the principle of a positive religious creed; the Wingolf being predominantly Protestant and the other three Catholic. In these circles reigns supreme not Nietzsche but the Galilean. Equally among the other, the so-called "liberal," organizations: the *Korps*, the *Landsmannschaften*, the *Burschenschaften*, the *Turnerschaften*, and also among the freely organized or unorganized German university students, Treitschke and Nietzsche are comparatively little known.

No doubt Treitschke during his time drew large crowds; no doubt Treitschke still has admirers and followers. I remember an address given about twelve years ago by one of the professors of the gymnasium which I attended. In this address war with England was the theme and was declared to be inevitable. The speaker either was under the spell of Treitschke or he had allowed himself to become alarmed over the hostile ravings of the *Saturday Review* which had then for several years been waging its inflammatory campaign against Germany, with its historic cry: *Germaniam esse delendam*. But whatever the causes for his fears, his alarming utterances elicited no response except a sceptical shrugging of shoulders and a significant shaking of heads. Students and parents alike refused to be stirred.

As far as Nietzsche's influence among young Germany is concerned I take full responsibility for the statement that, except those whom their particular course compels to make a special study of that "philosopher," not one in a hundred reads his writings, and of a hundred who read them not one understands all he reads or, rather, all that Nietzsche has written; and I am not ashamed to admit that I belong in the class of those who fail to follow Nietzsche to his lofty heights or bottomless abysses, or by whatever terms one may choose to describe his eccentric dithyrambs. The *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* of December 1, 1914, reprints from the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* an interview with Edward Seirer Disyen in which the latter is credited with the following statement: "To consider Nietzsche's philosophy of might responsible for the present war I hold to be absurd. As late as yesterday I cabled to America that there are not two hundred Germans who really know Nietzsche. I believe myself to be justified in making this state-

ment." A similar opinion is expressed by G. M. C. Brandes in his *Friedrich Nietzsche*,¹ where he says: "Friedrich Nietzsche appears to me the most interesting writer in German literature of the present time [1889]. Though little known even in his own country, he is a thinker of a high order, who fully deserves to be studied, discussed, contested and mastered" (p. 3).

An interesting statement on Treitschke's relation to his hearers is quoted in the *Literary Digest* of November 14, 1914, p. 936: "The vigor of his utterances often called forth strong opposition among the students which they expressed, according to the German custom, by rubbing the floor with the soles of their shoes. Although Treitschke was stone-deaf it seemed as if he must have felt these demonstrations in some way, possibly through the vibrations of the floor, for whenever one occurred he would hit back with some oracular utterance like a sledge-hammer, calculated to crush if not to convince his critics." In the closing paragraphs of his sketch of Treitschke, published in *The Bookman*, December, 1914, p. 457, Munroe Smith expresses his opinion of Treitschke's influence on the Germans as follows: "It seems to me improbable that Treitschke's theories of the state and of war have appreciably affected the conduct of Germany. Conduct is more strongly influenced by sentiment than by theory. For this very reason, however, the extent to which he associated love of country with hatred of the foreigner has made his influence baleful." This should effectually counteract Cramb's claim that Treitschke and Nietzsche dominate the very thoughts and wishes of young Germany.

There is, however, still another consideration which should not be passed by lightly even though it is based on the human element of the question at issue, that is, on purely personal experience. As I said at the beginning, Cramb's book proved a real revelation to me. I do not hesitate to confess that after reading and rereading it I found, for a time at least, my confidence in the knowledge of the land of my birth and youth and of its hopes and ideals severely tried. Only once before has the reading of a book ever played such havoc with my equanimity, and that was when the orthodox youth laid hands upon Haeckel's *Welträtsel*. When I regained my bearings after reading Cramb's phantasms, I wondered if it were possible that I should have grown up and lived among my German brethren and cousins as one of them; that I should have attended the state gymnasium for seven long years; that I should have

¹ Translated from the Danish by A. G. Chater, New York, Macmillan Company; London, W. Heinemann, [1889].

listened for three years more to the professors of two universities, thus imbibing their teachings of all kinds of *Weltanschauungen*, those of the believer and of the professed atheist, of the imperialist and of the socialist; and that after all, or rather in spite of all, I should have utterly failed to discover what, according to Cramb, animated all the rest of my fellow students, namely the craving for world dominance, and the thing for the realization of which all the youth of Germany was yearning—world conquest. Is it possible that I alone should have failed to realize that among the “most earnest and passionate young minds” of Germany “intellect is wrestling against Christianity” itself and that Nietzsche’s paganism has replaced the teachings of the Galilean? I say—and I say it most emphatically—it is impossible that I should have lived and breathed in an atmosphere such as Cramb claims for young Germany without having become contaminated by the same spirit or without having at least become conscious of its existence. Is it possible then that thousands of German youths of my closer sphere, sharing with me the same faith, the same ideals, the same *Weltanschauung*, as expressed by the principles of hundreds of German students’ clubs represented at every German university, should have walked through life blindfolded? Is it possible that all of us should have failed to be taken into the confidence of those whom Cramb calls “the most earnest and passionate,” those under the spell of Treitschke, the political propagandist, those disciples of Nietzsche, the high priest of the new religion of brute force? I declare with the same emphasis that this is equally impossible. It is true, young Germany as well as old has its religious and political differences, but all have been and are being nourished at the same fountain of learning, and the very fact that the German student visits at least two, and sometimes three or four different universities while pursuing his postgraduate work must exclude all possibility of clannishness and onesidedness. It is thus utterly unthinkable that the individual as well as groups of individuals should not have come in contact with the sentiments Cramb scores.

Whether Treitschke’s and Nietzsche’s teachings actually are all they are claimed to be by Cramb and his camp-followers, or whether their interpretation as given to the English-speaking world on the strength of detached quotations is correct, space will not permit me to discuss as thoroughly as I should wish to do. Munroe Smith’s article is extremely interesting in this respect. I take the liberty of quoting some of the most salient points: “Treitschke was before all things a literary artist. It was largely the lucidity,

energy and brilliancy of his style that won him influence and fame as a publicist and historian. This should be taken into account in endeavoring to determine his real political opinions. Without accepting Seeley's contention, that in proportion as history becomes literature it sacrifices its proper aim of exact truthfulness, it must be recognized that a writer of marked literary gifts is often tempted to sacrifice precision for the sake of antithesis or epigram. And when such a writer devotes his talents, as Treitschke did, to the moulding of public opinion in a period of national stress, it is hardly fair to cite detached sentences, or even entire essays, as expression of his final and deliberate judgment...."

To illustrate Treitschke's views of war I let him speak for himself: "Those who declaim this nonsense of a perpetual peace do not understand the Aryan peoples; the Aryan peoples are above all things brave. They have always been men enough to protect with the sword what they had won by the spirit. We must not consider all these things by the light of the reading lamp alone; to the historian who lives in the world of will it is immediately clear that the demand for a perpetual peace is thoroughly reactionary; he sees that with war all movement, all growth, must be struck out of history. It has always been the tired, unintelligent, and enervated periods that have played with the dream of perpetual peace.... However, it is not worth the trouble to discuss this matter further; the living God will see to it that war constantly returns as a dreadful medicine for the human race."²

Ruskin, who was considered the most peace-loving man of his time, in a speech before the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1866, had this to say on the subject of peace and war:³ "When I tell you that war is the foundation of all the arts, I mean also that it is the foundation of all high virtues and faculties of man.... The common notion that peace and virtues of civil life flourish together I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the vices of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, of peace and plenty, of peace and civilization, but I found that these were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that on her lips the words were: peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found in brief that all great nations learn their truth of word and strength of thought in war; that they were nourished by war and wasted by

² Selections from Treitschke's lectures on politics, translated by A. L. Gowans, pp. 24-25.

³ "Christianity and War," in *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, No. 193, p. 91.

peace; taught by war and deceived by peace; trained by war and betrayed by peace; in a word that they were born in war and expired in peace...."

If we compare the two statements we cannot but confess that Treitschke's version is comparatively mild.

It is true, Treitschke teaches that "of all political sins, weakness is the most abominable and the most contemptible; it is the sin against the Holy Ghost of politics." It is true, he teaches that "the state is might." But on the whole Cramb's version of Treitschke's supposed propaganda of a German world empire is given a rather rude shock by Munroe Smith. Let me quote: "Although [according to Treitschke] the state is might, Treitschke does not admit that might is right. The state is unquestionably subject to the moral law. Acquired power must justify itself by its employment for the highest moral benefit of humanity; and 'power which tramples all right under foot must perish in the end'....In the main he [Treitschke] gets no further than to assert that the statesman should be as moral as he can be under any given circumstances.... It is desirable, and as a rule it is advantageous, that diplomacy should be truthful; but in the state of 'latent war' in which Europe lives this is not always possible; and we should not applaud the statesman who would warm his hands over the smoking ruins of his country and declare with smug satisfaction, 'At any rate, I have never lied.' On one point, however, Treitschke is quite clear: no state has a right to extend its sway over people of a different race whom it cannot assimilate....It follows that world empire is contrary to the highest morality. In his 'German history' Treitschke recognizes that the humiliation of Germany in the Thirty Years' War was a just retribution for the attempts of German kings to rule Italy and to reestablish universal empire. 'In the merciless justice of history,' he wrote, 'those who lusted to rule the world were trampled under the feet of the stronger.'"

Now, who is right, Cramb or Munroe Smith?

I could have given the same quotations and the same paraphrases from Treitschke's teachings myself without reference to Munroe Smith, but for reasons too obvious to be mentioned I chose to give Smith's judgment and opinion the preference.

Since I have candidly issued for myself a *testimonium pauper-tatis* as far as a thorough knowledge of Nietzsche and his teachings is concerned, I am forced to let those who know speak. I suppose that the judgment of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will be accepted as beyond suspicion by all. This is in part what it has to say: "In

1878 eye (and brain) trouble caused him [Nietzsche] to obtain sick leave, and finally in 1879 to be pensioned. For the next ten years he lived in various health resorts in considerable suffering (he declares that the year contained for him 200 days of pure pain), but dashing off at high pressure the brilliant essays on which his fame rests. Towards the end of 1888, after recovering from an earlier attack, he was pronounced hopelessly insane, and in this condition he remained until he died on the 25th of August 1900. Nietzsche's writings must be considered in their relation to these circumstances of his life, and as the outcome of a violent revolt against them on the part of an intensely emotional and nervous temperament. His philosophy, consequently, is neither systematic in itself nor expounded in systematic form. It is made up of a number of points of view which successively appeared acceptable to a personality whose self-appreciation verges more and more upon the insane and exhibits neither consecutiveness nor consistency. Its natural form is the aphorism, and to this and to its epigrammatic brilliance, vigor, and uncompromising revolt against all conventions in science and conduct it owes its persuasiveness. Revolt against the whole civilized environment in which he was brought up is the keynote of Nietzsche's literary career. His revolt against Christian faith and morals turns him into a proudly atheistic 'freethinker' and preacher of a new 'master' morality, which transposes the current valuations, deposes the 'Christian virtues,' and incites the 'over-man' ruthlessly to trample under foot the servile herd of the weak, degenerate and poor in spirit. His revolt against the theory of state supremacy turns him into an anarchist and individualist; his revolt against modern democracy into an aristocrat...."

This is the man who, if we believe Cramb, has shaped the German youth of to-day into men of exceptional will power, into disciples and worshipers of the religion of might. Nonsense! German youth need no Nietzsche to improve their will power. Before I had read anything of Nietzsche's works, before Nietzsche had been mentioned to me, I had shaped my motto: *Ich kann was ich will, und ich will was ich kann*: "I am able to do what I want to do and (or because) I want to do (only) what (I know that) I am able to do." Herein lies the whole secret of the Germans' strength of will and consequently of their phenomenal power of perseverance, endurance and success. They know how to learn and to demark their own limitations, and within those limitations there exists no *non possumus* for them. To think and to seriously state that such qualities could be the result of the teaching of a man of yesterday

is the height of folly. They are the product of centuries of struggles, disappointments and battles such as only the German nation has endured in this world. But to appreciate this requires more than a smattering knowledge of European battles and of historical facts in general; it requires above all a sympathetic understanding of the race, or of what the Germans call *die Volksseele*.

On Bernhardi's book, *Germany and the Next War*, Mr. Cramb among many other things has this to say: "The book has the interest derived from the fact that it represents a very strong trend of German and, above all, of Prussian opinion—that' accumulated mass of determined anti-Englishism. It is useless to see in Bernhardi's book the expression of a morbid or heated Jingoism. It is no rhapsody on war. Bernhardi is not a man who takes any excessive pleasure in the contemplation of war; on the contrary! But he is a man who recognizes the darker, obscurer forces shaping the destiny of nations. To him this war with England is inevitable. And his book is symptomatic; that is to say, it represents the mood, the conviction, the fervent faith, of thousands and tens of thousands of Germans—Prussians, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians." From a review of Bernhardi's book in the London *Athenæum* of 1912 (pp. 513-514), it appears that the *Athenæum* has its doubts about Bernhardi's views being "symptomatic" of the mood and the conviction of "thousands and tens of thousands of Germans" when it writes: "He [Bernhardi] does not hesitate to exaggerate the dangers which beset Germany. He tells his fellow countrymen that they are in the midst of hostile rivals; and when some of them who are not Prussians read about the 'curse of petty nationalities,' they may not appreciate his words. He writes from the standpoint of one who thinks that aspirations for peace threaten to poison the soul of the German people.... General von Bernhardi attempts to prove to his German readers that 'England will attack us [the Germans] on some pretext or other'.... but he admits that some of his [German] friends say that 'England would never resolve to declare war on us.'"

But regarding Bernhardi's reception and influence among his German fellow citizens, it is imperative that we consider above all the reviews of his work in German journals and newspapers.

Of fifty German military journals (including the Austrian and German Swiss) as enumerated in the *Deutscher Journal-Katalog für 1914*,⁴ the *Bibliographie der deutschen Rezensionen* for 1912 has re-

⁴Published in Leipsic by Schulze & Co.

viewed thirty, and from these thirty it records only three as reviewing Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*, namely the *Marine-Rundschau*; *Ueberall, illustrierte Zeitschrift für Armee, Marine und Kolonien*; and Streffleur's *Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift*. From more than fifty of the leading German newspapers (not including the Austrian and German Swiss) the same bibliography records only seven reviews of Bernhardi's work in the following seven papers: the *Berliner Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*; the *Reichsbote* (Berlin); the *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin); the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* (formerly a daily, now a weekly); the *Leipziger Zeitung*; the *Danziger Allgemeine Zeitung*; and the *Schwäbischer Merkur*. In addition to these military journals and newspapers, the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, a serial publication of a general character, and the *Friedenswarte*, an Austrian pacifist monthly, are mentioned as doing the journalistic honors to Bernhardi's book.

The fact that of thirty military journals reviewed by the bibliography in question only three are recorded as having paid attention to Bernhardi's work, out of more than fifty of the leading newspapers only seven, and out of the great mass of weeklies, semi-monthlies, and monthlies, only two, indicates a rather niggardly treatment of a book which Cramb claims to be a "remarkable book," a book which is supposed to be "symptomatic of the mood, the conviction, the fervent faith of tens of thousands of Germans—Prussians, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians."

Still more significant than these statistics are the reviews themselves. Of the military journals the *Marine-Rundschau*, April 1912, is rather noncommittal. After reviewing the contents without any comment whatever it closes by saying: "The exposition by the talented author is distinguished by acuteness of judgment, temperament and great frankness in his verdict on the conditions, mistakes and peculiarities of the Germans as well as of Germany's relations to France and England."

Streffleur's *Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift*⁵ lays stress on the fact that "this book by its entire treatment of the subject and through the depth of its thoughts is considerably distinguished from the products of that profuse 'future-war' literature of late years, which is seeking sensation by the unrollment of its fantastic war scenes." Without further comment on Bernhardi's theories we are assured that "this book transmits to us the opinions of a mature politician, philosopher of war, experienced military tactician and leader," and that "though primarily intended for the German people,

⁵ 1912, *Literaturbeiblatt*, p. 42.

it contains so many truisms full of general validity that its importance reaches far beyond Germany's boundaries."

In connection with the last statement I cannot refrain from calling attention to a remark attributed to George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the *Fatherland*. Cecil Chesterton, editor of the London *New Witness*, had challenged Mr. Viereck to a joint discussion on the question "The Cause of Germany and that of the Allies." In the course of the debate, which took place on January 17 at the Cort Theater, New York, Mr. Viereck is reported as having said that "Bernhardi...was better known in England than in Germany."⁶ While I fully endorse this remark I beg leave to amend it so as to read: "Bernhardi was better known in England and America than in Germany."

The critic of *Ueberall* (1911-1912, pages 567-569), Major-General Constantin von Zeppelin—who must not be confused with Count von Zeppelin of airship fame—introduces himself as an ardent partisan of Bernhardi. He criticises in no uncertain terms the *Berliner Tageblatt* which, as he claims, is to his knowledge the only voice condemnatory of Bernhardi's book. Zeppelin's criticism is all the more interesting because he quotes in part the disapproval of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in his attempt to discountenance its importance and value. He resents the fact that the *Berliner Tageblatt* classes Bernhardi's book as a "brochure," but he admits that this is a "matter of taste." The *Berliner Tageblatt* disapprovingly interprets Bernhardi's intention as demanding close cooperation between the political leaders and the General Staff. This Zeppelin denies and seeks to disprove by his claim that Bernhardi's is only "an academic discussion," although when it suits his argument he maintains that Bernhardi "of course avoids all description of a fantastic war, such as is furnished us persistently by French officers of the reserve as well as of the active service and even by some in responsible positions." The *Berliner Tageblatt's* sardonic confession: "For the present we are astounded by the scrupulousness with which a level-headed (*objectiver*) general launches his—happily rather clumsy—attempt to force the civilized world into a general war," and its fitting reminder of Bismarck's abhorrence of "those generals mixing in politics" is met by Zeppelin's somewhat weak rejoinder: "We believe that when the German people must choose between the views of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and those of Bernhardi...the choice cannot

⁶ *The Fatherland*, No. 25, p. 11.

be in doubt." He urgently recommends Bernhardt's "excellent" work to "our" readers, but he "does not know whether the future will bear out his [Bernhardt's] prophecy that Germany's development cannot exert itself in the face of France and England without war." And before effecting his "exit" he considers it wise to assure us that "we are far from being willing—be it said with emphasis—to identify ourselves with every viewpoint (*Wendung*) of Bernhardt's spirited work." He concedes that "like all such personalities, he [Bernhardt] also invites opposition," and that as an "enthusiastic patriot" he may "permit his enthusiasm to run away with him," perhaps he even may "err," but never does he "err in one thing, in his confidence in the future of his people."

Of the seven newspapers I have been able to consult two. The critic of the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 6, 1912, Major a. D. (of the reserve) Bellville laments Germany's inner party strife and criticises what he considers a sad failure of the German foreign policy in the Morocco affair. Under the circumstances he welcomes Bernhardt's book as a timely warning. This is in part what he writes: "We must consider the latest work of General Bernhardt. . . . as a warning that will appeal to the opinions of all patriotic Germans. . . . The General's political views may probably be looked upon by not a few as somewhat pessimistic and the conclusions drawn by him from his premises for the enlargement and strengthening of our defense as too far-reaching, nevertheless it must be held that pessimism in such matters is less harmful than optimism such as has reigned among us altogether too long, and that the military measures resorted to by other great powers and especially in most recent times mainly by France and Great Britain surpass the General's proposals in more than one respect. . . ." The *Berliner Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 12, 1912, considers Bernhardt's political teachings as being contrary to the views and the politics of the government: "From the politico-geographical position of the fatherland General von Bernhardt deduces the necessity for the strengthening of army and navy. We confess that in many respects we cannot by any means agree with his views. His interpretation of the relations of the German empire with its neighbors does not tally with that of the imperial government, but it leads him to the same conclusion that is found in the speech of the chancellor introducing the bill for military defense."

Of the two journals I failed to place the *Friedenswarte*, but considering that this is a pacifist journal we can almost divine its

opinion, and without fear of disagreement on its stand in this matter pass to the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*. Prof. H. Kretschmayr,⁷ while referring to the much-attacked German *Marokko-Politik* is there of the opinion that "this question the politicians may settle among themselves," and then turning to Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* continues: "No more should on this occasion Bernhardi's much-talked-about book meet with approval or disapproval. We of course believe that strong objection must manifest itself. The question as it is put is not 'war or peace?,' but 'how will the German empire meet the inevitable war with the Triple Entente?' It is a strictly military book. Against the modern peace ideas it calls to the front all the priests of war from Heraclitus to Treitschke, and even if one does not associate oneself with the pacifists one can hardly follow whither its philosophy of war leads."

These reviews speak for themselves, and I shall let it go at that. But I cannot resist the temptation of comparing them with a few reviews from English and American journals of Homer Lea's *The Day of the Saxon*, which is a worthy counterpart to Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*.

In the advertising matter found on the protecting cover we are informed: "In the *Valor of Ignorance* General Lea endeavored to arouse Americans from their fancied security from invasion, and now in this new book he awakens as with a trumpet call the British empire to the dangers which each day threaten more and more the 'thin red Saxon line' engirdling the earth." The *Book Review Digest* of 1912 gives only the reviews from two English journals, the *Athenæum* and the *Spectator*. According to the *Athenæum* of June 22, 1912, the *Day of the Saxon* is interesting as a violent counterblast to the peace movement, but is too extravagant to be taken seriously." This comes indeed very close to the criticism of Bernhardi's work in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*. The *Spectator* of August 24, 1912, admits that the book "bristles with contentious points." It expects that "the pacifist will, of course, deny the value of the supremacy for which so much is to be sacrificed" and that "the democrat will be scandalized by his [Lea's] apparent glorification of a military bureaucracy." The *Spectator* concedes that "some of the special prophecies must seem a little fantastic, and there will be considerable difference of opinion on many of the strategical views." Beyond such general criticism of the technical value of Lea's book neither the *Athenæum* nor the

⁷ Vol. XXXIII, p. 76.

Spectator venture to go, which means that neither specifically approves or disapproves of the politico-ethical side of the work. This cannot be said of the German reviews of Bernhardt's book, all of which more or less accept the conclusions as a timely warning but repudiate, with the probable exception of the military journals, Bernhardt's philosophy of war and his political and ethical views in point. By the way, the closing paragraph of the *Spectator's* review of Lea's *The Day of the Saxon* is, *mutatis mutandis*, of course, almost identical with part of the criticism of Bernhardt's book as found in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*. The *Spectator* concludes by saying: "When all is said, there is a great deal of sound sense and timely warning. The book demands serious attention for its good will, its earnestness, and its many penetrating comments. We have been drifting of late into a false conception of the meaning of naval power, and, if for nothing else than this, Mr. Lea's analysis should be deeply pondered by those responsible for our imperial security."

American opinion of Lea's book as expressed in the reviews of American journals and newspapers is rather unfavorable. Graham Berry, in the *Bookman* of 1912, grants that the book is "no small achievement," but he does not admit its "gigantic conclusions." E. B. Krehbiel, in the *Dial* of the same year, thinks that "in the hands of others [besides cool and well-informed men] it may do real harm, for it bristles with a show of learning and scientific understanding of world affairs that will catch the unlearned with consequences none the less dire, because of its flamboyant pretensions." Similar expressions of the same opinion by the *New York Times*, the *New York Nation*, the *Review of Reviews* are recorded in the *Book Review Digest* of 1912, on page 272.

Before leaving this chapter the reader may duly expect an explanation for the fact that the *Berliner Tageblatt's* review of Bernhardt's work is not recorded in the *Bibliographie deutscher Rezensionen*. From a prefatory statement of the bibliography it can be learned that some of the papers are, unfortunately, not submitted regularly and that consequently incomplete records cannot be laid at its door. Such admission by no means influences the argument and conclusions in our case. For we must assume that the papers or journals would submit whatever reviews they consider important enough to the compiler of the bibliography, who is only too anxious to receive and to embody them in his records. Thus the absence of the *Berliner Tageblatt's*, and possibly a few more reviews of Bernhardt's work can safely be interpreted as a more or

less intentional pigeon-holing due to either an indifferent or unfavorable attitude.

Why then, if the public reception and opinion of Lea's work in America and England and of Bernhardt's work in Germany are practically identical, is the *Day of the Saxon* simply ignored in the camp of the English and their friends, or, if mentioned at all, dismissed with a noncommittal smile, while Bernhardt's *Germany and the Next War* is being taken so seriously that, together with Treitschke's and Nietzsche's writings it has been made the fundamental basis of Cramb's lectures and ever since has been held up to the world as the one unquestionable sample of all Germany's principles and intentions?

The answer to this question would be the indictment of Cramb's judgment if not of his sincerity, but such indictment would at the same time constitute his most effective defense. The concluding paragraph will explain this apparent paradox.

It must be remembered that Professor Cramb's lectures had a political aim and thus were nothing more or less than a political campaign in which the most had to be, and actually has been, made of the capital at his disposal. However, Cramb was no ordinary, no hired speaker; he was the ardent patriot, stirred to a frenzy by the flat failures of Salisbury and Roberts to arouse their countrymen to the realization of what they claimed to be their impending danger from an unrecognized or underestimated foe, and to the acceptance of compulsory military service in place of their present mercenary system; he was, in his own opinion, the man of destiny, determined at all costs to succeed where others had failed, and he had at his disposal fervor of speech and an apparently boundless imagination, means which his predecessors had lacked in one form or the other. Unfortunately, however, in spite of his pretended intention of fairness to the antagonist the alarmist in him prevailed and led him to exaggerations and, *nolens volens*, to misrepresentations, or at least misinterpretations which in the judgment of the calm and critical reader must weaken his argument and cause. As a layman he had a distinct advantage over Salisbury the statesman, and Roberts the soldier. It is only natural that in a country where heretofore the national defense has been found secure in the hands of willing professionals a statesman's and soldier's plea for general conscription should have met with a cool reception, while the ardent clamors of a university professor without direct connection with the government and the military should have made a more deep and lasting impression.

Last but not least needs be mentioned a fact which should receive the widest possible publication. A. C. Bradley in his foreword to the "ante-war" edition of the lectures⁸ tells us: "Mr. Cramb did not write his lectures; speaking without notes, he departed widely from the syllabus he had issued; and no shorthand report of his words exists. What is printed here has been put together from his own partial reconstruction, from scattered indications in his note-books and from full notes of the lectures taken by his hearers. The work, so far as I can judge, has been very faithfully and skilfully done; and, although the result must of necessity be much inferior to the book which he would have produced, it preserves what is most characteristic both in his ideas and in the manner of their expression." Why is it that in E. P. Dutton and Company's more recent edition, with a preface by Joseph H. Choate, dated "8 October, 1914," not a word about these important facts concerning the "history" of this "remarkable" book which is supposed to be Cramb's is given? Why is it? In my experience of more than five years of library work there have passed through my hands many a dozen of lectures issued in book form, and I dare say that in practically every case the author assures us that he considered himself not only justified but compelled to resort to considerable modifications and changes ere he would wish or consent to let his spoken word appear in cold print. Thus it must be admitted as a certainty that if Cramb himself had been permitted to prepare his lectures for publication they would have appeared in a dress considerably less assuming and glaring than that in which they now, without his approval, have gone out into the world.

⁸ New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

LUCRETIIUS ON WAR.¹

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

AND yet in those days not much more than now
Would generations of mortality
Leave the sweet light of fading life behind.
Indeed, in those days here and there a man,
More oftener snatched upon, and gulped by fangs,
Afforded the beasts a food that roared alive,
Echoing through groves and hills and forest trees,
Even as he saw his living flesh entombed
Within a living grave; whilst those whom flight
Had spared (with body eaten into) shrieked
(Pressing their quivering palms to loathsome sores)
With horrible voices for eternal death—
Until, forlorn of help, and witless what
Might medicine their wounds, the writhing pangs
Took them from life. But not in those far times
Would one lone day give over unto doom
A soldiery in thousands marching on
Beneath the battle-banners, nor would then
The ramping breakers of the main seas dash
Whole argosies and crews upon the rocks.
But ocean uprisen would often rave in vain,
Without all end or outcome, and give up
Its empty menacings as lightly too;
Nor soft seductions of a sérene sea
Could lure by laughing billows any man
Out to disaster; for the science bold
Of ship-sailing lay dark in those far times.
Again, 'twas *then* that lack of food gave o'er
Men's fainting limbs to dissolution; *now*

¹ Passages from a forthcoming translation of the entire six books of *De rerum natura*.

'Tis plenty overwhelms. Unwary, they
 Oft for themselves, themselves would *then* outpour
 The poison; *now*, with nicer art, themselves
 They give the drafts to others.

Book V, l. 986 ff. (Guissani's text).

* * *

Now, Memmius,
 How nature of iron discovered was, thou mayst
 Of thine own self divine. Man's ancient arms
 Were hands, and nails and teeth, stones too and boughs—
 Breakage of forest trees—and flame and fire,
 As soon as known. Thereafter, force of iron
 And copper discovered was; and copper's use
 Was known ere iron's, since more pliable
 Its nature is and its abundance more.
 With copper men to work the soil began,
 With copper to rouse the hurly waves of war,
 To straw the monstrous wounds, and seize away
 Another's flocks and fields. For unto them,
 Thus armèd, all things naked of defense
 Readily yielded. Then by slow degrees
 The sword of iron succeeded, and the shape
 Of brazen sickle into scorn was turned;
 With iron to cleave the soil of earth they 'gan,
 And the contentions of uncertain war
 Were rendered equal.

And, lo, man was wont
 Armèd to mount upon the ribs of horse
 And guide him with the rein, and play about
 With right hand free, of times before he tried
 Perils of war in yokèd chariot,
 And yokèd pairs abreast came earlier
 Than yokes of four, or scythèd chariots
 Whereinto clomb the men at arms. And next
 The Punic folk did train the elephants—
 Those curst Lucanian oxen, hideous,
 The serpent-handed, with turrets on their bulks—
 To dure the wounds of war and panic-strike
 The mighty troops of Mars. Thus Discord sad
 Begat the one Thing after other, to be
 The terror of the nations under arms,

And day by day to horrors of old war
She added an increase.

Bulls, too, they tried
In wars' grim business; and essayed to send
Outrageous boars against the foes. And some
Sent on before their ranks puissant lions
With armed trainers and with masters fierce
To guide and hold in chains—and yet in vain,
Since, fleshed and hot with hurly-burly slaughter,
Those beasts would wreck all order in the troops,
Shaking the frightful crests upon their heads,
Now here, now there. Nor could the horsemen calm
Their horses, panic-breasted at the roar,
And rein them around to front the foe. With spring
The infuriate she lions would upleap
Now here, now there; and whoso came apace
Against them, these they'd rend across the face;
And others unwitting from behind they'd tear
Down from their mounts, and, twining round them, bring
Tumbling to earth, o'ermastered by the wound,
And with those powerful fangs and hookèd claws
Fasten upon them. Bulls would toss their friends,
And trample under foot, and from beneath
Rip flanks and bellies of horses with their horns,
And with a threatening forehead jam the sod;
And boars would tear their allies with stout tusks,
Tingeing in fury with own blood the spears
Splintered in their own bodies, and would put
To rout and ruin infantry and horse.
For there the beasts-of-saddle tried to scape
The savage thrusts of tusk, by shying off,
Or rearing up with hoofs apaw in air.
In vain—since there thou mightest see them sink,
Their sinews severed, and with mighty fall
Bestrew the ground. And such of these as men
Supposed well-trained long ago at home,
Were in the thick of action seen to foam
In fury, from the wounds, the shrieks, the flight,
The panic and the tumult; nor could men
Aught of their numbers rally. For each breed
And various of the wild beasts fled apart
Hither or thither, as often in wars to-day

Flee those Lucanian oxen, by the steel
Sorely bemangled, after they have wrought
Upon their friends so many a dreadful doom.
If 'twas indeed that thus they did at all:
But scarcely I'll believe that men could not
With mind foreknow and see, as sure to come,
Such foul and general disaster. This
Thou canst maintain as true in the great All,
In divers molds on divers plans create,
More certainly than in some namèd land
Of the earth-sphere. But men chose this to do
Less in the hope of conquering than to give
Their enemies a goodly cause of woe,
(Even though thereby they perished themselves),
When weak in numbers and when wanting arms.

Book V, l. 1279 ff. (Guissani's text).

KIAO-CHAU AND BUSHIDO.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

THE cherry trees were blooming in Kagoshima in the old province of Satsuma in Nippon two years ago, when the old volcano on Sakura-shima in Kago Bay gave warnings of activity. But the busy Nipponese had heard these rumblings and felt these tremors many times before,—why worry? The cherry blossoms and the wistarias made the earth an Eden, and the warm soil, fertilized by volcanic ash, promised abundant harvests. Nowhere did the rice paddies give a more generous yield than on that southern island of Kiusiu. Summer and winter passed, and then Sakura-shima broke loose, with clouds of smoke and ashes twenty miles in height and torrents of lava that buried fields and villages, changed the geography of the province and resulted in the loss of thousands of human lives.

In the *Kultur* of Nippon there is much of the cherry blossom, the wistaria and the chrysanthemum, and there is something of the treachery and the inhumanity of the Sakura-shima. Among the most cherished traditions of the feudal age of Nippon—the rule of the Samurai—is the doctrine of Bushido. In his introduction to the instructive little book of Inago Nitobe, *The Soul of Japan*, William Elliot Griffis characterizes it as “a weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations.” Mr. Nitobe defines *Bushido* as “military-knight-ways,” or “the *noblesse oblige* of the warrior class.” He explains that “the elements of *Bushido* belong mainly to the realm of practical ethics, and comprise such subjects as justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity and sincerity, honor, loyalty, self-control, suicide and redress, the ethics of the sword, the training and position of women.”

“Christianity and materialism,” he goes on to say, “(including utilitarianism),—or will the future reduce them to the still more archaic forms of Hebraism and Hellenism?—will divide the world

between them. Lesser systems of morals will ally themselves to either side for their preservation. On which side will Bushido enlist? Having no set dogma or formula to defend, it can afford to disappear as an entity; like the cherry blossom, it is willing to die at the first gust of the morning breeze. But a total extinction will never be its lot. Bushido as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power will not perish from the earth."

Bushido, then, is the unwritten code of ethics of Nippon, expressing the knightly honor of the Samurai,—the soul of Japan. Its interpretation is a weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations. In veracity, sincerity, honor and loyalty, it perhaps exceeds the Hebraic and Christian ideals. In all trust and courtesy, we of the West have been inclined to take Dr. Griffis's word for this and ask ourselves if we would not better revise our code by the Light of Asia. What a shock, then, is the unlooked-for conduct of Nippon in February and March of this year, toward her peaceful neighbor, the republic of China! At a time when all the powers of the West are either engaged in a life-and-death struggle or are using every endeavor to preserve their neutrality, when there is no friend to whom China can turn for aid,—Nippon, under the guise of her alliance with Great Britain, expels the German power from China and the Pacific, tears to shreds the scrap of paper on which she promised to restore Kiao Chau to China, and follows up the move with Nipponese celerity by a series of demands upon China so far exceeding those of Austria upon Servia or those of Germany upon Belgium as to provoke her former allies to protest, according to the press dispatches, with a declaration that unless the demands are very much modified it will be difficult for the powers to negotiate diplomatically with Japan in the future. A striking comment, certainly, on Bushido, this "weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations."

For, whatever explanations or assurances Nippon may give, this much is evident: that should China in her extremity grant but the first of the Nipponese demands, her sovereignty is surrendered to the Mikado, as much so as that of the independent empire of Korea which Nippon, by the way, solemnly recognized by treaty. Germany laid violent hands upon a nation of seven million people—promising in the Reichstag to make full restitution after the war—but Nippon seeks to grasp at a single blow an independent and ancient nation of four hundred million people.

So contradictory have been the reports regarding the Nipponese demands that conservative journals have been very reserved in their comments on the situation; but there seems to be no doubt upon

two points, besides the concessions in Manchuria which may be regarded as a *fait accompli*. These points are: first, a transfer of all the German concessions to Nippon; and, second, a diplomatic or advisory control of the Peking government. Mr. William R. Giles, the Peking correspondent of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, writes to his paper that Japan demands that no other country shall be given any part of the coast or islands of China by lease or concession, and that China shall purchase at least half of her arms and ammunition requirements from Japan, with the alternative that arsenals under Chinese-Japanese ownership shall be erected in China. In case of necessity China must call upon Japan alone to preserve her integrity, and if it be found necessary to appoint foreigners to work in arsenals only Japanese shall be appointed. China shall appoint high Japanese officials to military, financial and police services. Japan, it is demanded, shall have joint administration with China of the Yang-tse valley, which has hitherto been regarded as a British "sphere," without, however, any British administrative control. In Eastern Mongolia,¹ which has been regarded in the same manner as under Russian "influence" (without administrative control or any specific governmental rights), Japan demands exclusive mining rights and that no railways shall be constructed without her consent. This would put the projected Kalgan-Urga-Kiakhta railway, along the old caravan route between Peking and Lake Baikal, under Japanese instead of Russian control. Considering that the leading powers, at the instigation of the United States, have already guaranteed the integrity of China,² the stipulation that no other country than Japan shall be given any part of the coast or islands looks very much as if it were designed to be given a more definite and affirmative meaning later on.

The above points form only a portion of those cabled by Mr. Giles early in February. At the end of March he sent this:

"I am able to throw light on these matters affecting the existence of China as a sovereign state, as I myself translated the original text. There can be no possibility of mistake, despite the ingenious protestations of Tokio and all the conflicting official explanations (*ipso facto*, under German influence). The subheads, which are too long to telegraph *in extenso*, are:

¹ Unless the demand be limited (which does not appear) to the small district east of the Khan-gan mountains.

² In 1905 Great Britain and Japan concluded a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of China, and this was followed by a similar one between Russia and Japan in 1907. These were the outcome of the John Hay note of 1899.

"First—China appoints Japanese advisers in every needed direction, and will not enter into agreements without consultation.

"Second—Privileges throughout the country.

"Third—Mixed police forces shall be established, assisted by Japanese whenever needed.

"Fourth—A minimum of 50 per cent of all war munition contracts shall be by Japanese, with joint Japanese and Chinese arsenals.

"Fifth—A network of Japanese railways from King-tse province (Kiang su?) and the Yang-tse valley southward to the Fu-kien and Canton coast.

"Sixth—Fu-kien province shall be declared a special area and no rights shall be conceded to any nation other than Japan.³

"Seventh—The propagation of Japanese Buddhism shall be permitted."

Such are the demands, as reported by a presumably respectable authority, which are made upon the oldest, the most peaceable, and it may not be too much to say the most honorable nation on the globe. Mr. Giles adds: "I can most emphatically state that China will not concede a single one of these articles, save perhaps the seventh, which has already irritated foreign opinion as being a secret thrust at the missionaries." Just why Nippon should demand a privilege that heretofore has been freely granted to all, and why the younger Buddhist church should have the audacity to offer to teach the mother church, it is difficult for the Western mind to comprehend. If this proposition has any meaning at all, it must be that the Buddhist church of Nippon deliberately contemplates claiming a precedence over the ancient Dalai-lama of Lhasa and the Bogdo-lama⁴ of Urga,—an assumption that can scarcely be enforced by any show of physical power. What show the Christian churches would have under such an arrangement they can, perhaps, best figure out for themselves.

Americans, and perhaps Englishmen, unacquainted with the unbushidoness of the Japanese, and inclined, like some of our too disingenuous and credulous statesmen, to take diplomatic platitudes at their face value, may possibly accept the statement from Tokio that the propositions submitted to Peking contain nothing of a nature to disturb the territorial integrity of China, and that the sole purpose of the negotiations is to arrive at a decision of the future relationship between the two governments, as well as certain ques-

³ In 1898 Japan obtained from the Tsung-li-yamen an "Assurance" respecting the non-alienation of Fu-kien province.

⁴ Or Bogdo-Guiguen Khoutouktou.

tions regarding the future of the Chinese republic. Possibly our merchants also will be satisfied with the assurance of a strict fidelity to the policy of the open door—as open, no doubt, as it is now in Manchuria.

But let us inquire into the situation as regards the relations of Nippon toward her continental neighbor on the west. China has immense natural and agricultural resources that Nippon regards with covetous eyes. China is populous, but weak. Nippon is few in numbers, but strong in arms, poor in mineral wealth and in land; her people overtaxed, but valorous in war; arrogant and flushed with her recent victories, and imbued with the spirit of conquest.⁵ Look at the fifth and sixth heads of the Japanese demands, as quoted above. The purport of these is to annex some of the natural and industrial wealth of China, while the other demands insure the burglars—if I may venture to use the expression—against molestation by any meddlesome outsiders, by putting none but Nipponese on guard and providing them with arms. The fifth proposition places the interior transportation system of China (the Manchurian and the German concessions being already taken care of) in the hands of the clever Nipponese; and this alone binds China hand and foot and places her as entirely at the mercy of her exploiters as though they had taken her cities by assault,—far more so, indeed, as they have left uninjured the commercial and industrial resources for their own loot.

Moreover: “Fu-kien province shall be declared a special area,” etc., or in other words a special and private preserve for the Nipponese hunters. Fu-kien province lies opposite to the Japanese island (formerly Chinese) of Formosa and is one of the richest districts of China.⁶ It is more than four times as large as Belgium, and has almost three times its normal population, or, to bring the comparison nearer home, it is as large as our states of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Ohio combined, with more than three times their population. Compared with Nippon, while its population is only about half as large, its arable area is probably greater than that of all the islands of Nippon. Agriculturally, the importance of Fu-kien province lies in its rice production and the probability of a considerable

⁵ The return of the Okuma ministry to power in March is interpreted as a triumph of the militarist party. Parliament, which meets in April, is expected to take action for a greater army and navy, and a stronger foreign policy is demanded.

⁶ Japan's designs upon Fu-kien are doubtless owing to its strategical importance as being the province opposite to Formosa,—counterbalancing Kiao-chau.

increase of the crop under scientific cultivation,⁷ as the Japanese have done with the soya bean in Manchuria. China, next to British India, is the greatest rice-producing country in the world, but she is not an exporter of the grain, requiring annually to feed her people, from 250,000 to 500,000 tons in addition to her large production. Japan is also a large importer, and in some years the heaviest of all countries, her imports in 1904 reaching nearly one million tons. It is easy to see, therefore, why Nippon is looking for a larger rice acreage. If her supply from British India and French Indo-China were cut off, Japan would starve.

An elaborate spy and information system is maintained by Nippon in Fu-kien (and, indeed, all through eastern China), as reported by Gardner Harding, of the London *Telegraph*, and he adds that Japanese merchants are steadily pouring into the province, armed with digests of the information procured by the agents of the intelligence department, which gives them an incalculable advantage over all competitors. The railway (south from Hankow on the Yang-tse), goes steadily forward, and the drift of other affairs shapes itself toward the familiar process of absorption which has reached its maturity in Manchuria and Korea. Mr. Harding has also drawn attention to the immense deposits of coal and iron in Hu-peh province on the northern side of the Yang-tse, which the Japanese have practically absorbed, taking almost the entire production of the Han-yang foundries (58,000 tons out of 68,000 tons exported), and a like proportion of rails, which are turned out at about one-third of the Pittsburg price. And these mines are not only mortgaged to the Nipponese, but preparations have been made for their armed protection.

The meaning of Nippon's demands upon China may be better understood in the light of the grip which the islanders have already got upon the transportation system of that populous and wealthy country, a grip which is made all the stronger by the acquirement of the German lines and concessions. As far back as last November Mr. Harding, whom I have quoted above, pointed out in the *Outlook* that the Germans had built and were operating two railways in China, that from Tsing-tao (Kiao-chau) to Tsi-nan, the capital of Shan-tung, and that from Tien-tsin to the southern border of Shan-tung, where a British section continues it to Nan-king on the

⁷ Fu-kien is not one of the leading rice-producing provinces, the leading production being tea. Formerly it was the leading camphor-producing district, until Japan promoted the industry in Formosa. The exports in 1908 were 1,743,000 pounds.

Yang-tse, which is in turn the terminus of a British road to Shanghai. The first opens Kiao-chau to the western outlets via Manchuria or Mongolia, and the second forms what might be called an intercepting road for all eastern and southern traffic. The value of these lines alone is shown by the growth of the trade of Tsing-tao, from \$3,000,000 in 1900 to \$33,000,000 in 1911. But the concessions of lines now begun or to be built are still more important, and form a network of lines that puts the vast and productive interior of China in direct communication with the coast through the former German port of Tsing-tao. Not only the Yang-tse valley at I-chang, 800 miles from its mouth, is thus tapped, but the great Peking-Hankow trunk line and the transcontinental route which will some day form a rail line along the fortieth parallel, reaching the Caspian through eastern Turkestan, is brought into this great system. "This is the reason," writes Mr. Harding, "for that little railway pointing toward Kai-feng (on the Peking-Hankow line on the Hoang-Ho); this is the reason for the elaborate connections, capitalized at over \$75,000,000, which concentrate at Tsing-tao. Not a mere Port Arthur is at stake, but a gateway to commercial empire."

We need not, perhaps, be surprised if our Uncle Sam has gone to sleep over the whole business. We are very careful to avoid "entanglements," and any one who invests in enterprises abroad is presumably no better than he should be, and, in the opinion of Washington, if he is robbed it serves him right. But what of Russia, Great Britain and France? Even if they are in a death grapple with Germany it would seem that they might be able, by a vigorous presentation of the consequences of the wrath to come, to hold the hand of aggressive and unscrupulous Nippon. Kaiser Wilhelm, when he warned Europe of "the yellow peril," had in mind a coalition between China and Nippon—a racial and social impossibility—but it would now seem that his warning would apply to the "brown peril" alone.

One thing appears to be certain: Great Britain has lost, for the time at least, her prestige in the East, and her "ally" Nippon has taken, or threatens to take, her place. Will she be content to resign her proud position, or will the grim necessities of the situation force her, upon the conclusion of the present destructive war, to take up the quarrel of China and begin anew the struggle where Russia left off?

And what of Bushido? It has perished from the earth.

* * *

What should be the attitude of the United States at this junc-

ture? We should not, certainly, be influenced by any prejudice for or against Japan and her allies in the European war, nor for or against China or Japan on account of any occurrences which have taken place in our relations with either. Our attitude should be influenced solely by the situation in which either nation is placed by the changes which may occur, and our own interests as affected thereby.

China and the Chinese are greatly misunderstood, not only by our own people but by all the Western nations, and even by the traders and merchants of the treaty ports and by many of the diplomatic agents who have had dealings with the old Chinese empire. Few of us ever see a cultivated, educated Chinaman, and should we meet such a one we would regard him as a phenomenon, or an abnormal example of his race. We prefer to judge the people by the coolie class of the Pacific coast and the steamer servants, who are, despite their low rank, their ignorance, and their "oriental vices," in some respects (e. g., sobriety, industry, faithfulness, honesty and commercial reliability) far superior to their white or indeed any competitors. Some of our newspapers, who should know better, are found still referring to China as the "Flowery Kingdom," and to the people as "opium-smoking heathen," despite the fact that the country has been a republic for three years, without a revolution, and that the authorities, cordially supported by public opinion, have waged the first successful warfare against intoxication that has been undertaken by any nation in the world. And yet it is said that the Chinese have no such thing as public opinion, and do not comprehend the idea of patriotism!

Western critics persist in regarding China as a possible aggressive military power, and delight to speculate on the possible consequences of the yellow races "waking up" and joining in throwing their "hordes" upon Europe. One of our magazine writers went so far as to indulge in a nightmare of poisoning the "yellow hordes" by wholesale, as the only possible means of preserving European civilization! The truth is that while China was conquered by the Mongols, who were quietly assimilated, and attacked and defeated by their little brown brothers of Nippon, and suffered grievous injury at the hands of the "barbarians of the Western Ocean," (can we blame them for the term?), she has never made an offensive war. China is not, nor ever was, a military power, although the Mongol invaders kept up an antiquated army. China is the greatest cooperative commonwealth on earth,—where the government is always poor and the people control the wealth, reversing the rule of

the "civilized" countries of the rest of the world. China has no money (except that which has very recently been introduced, as a concession to Western methods and demands), and is the only land where the word of the people is as good as their bond. China is tolerant toward all religions (where the Western "barbarians" do not attempt, as they have generally done, to use the cloak of religion in which to serve the devil), and hospitable toward all traders when they do not attempt to force their trade upon her, which has been the invariable rule of all countries, except the United States.

It is quite proper that we should consider our commerce, in an honorable way, since a people should live by commerce rather than conquest. Peaceful commerce is the handmaid of civilization, and the proof of a consistent religion. It is well to note, therefore, that the commerce of the New China is one of the greatest prizes on the globe. The country, exclusive of Mongolia and Tibet, has a population of about 325,000,000 of the most industrious of earth's children, just beginning to learn the mechanical arts, manufacturing, engineering, mining, railroading, etc. Her public debt, imposed upon her by the Western powers (nearly \$1,000,000,000), is one-fourth less than that of Japan, and only about \$3 per capita as compared with \$10 per capita, in round numbers, for the United States. Her foreign trade is reported at \$625,000,000 (1912), of which the American share is but \$64,000,000, or, including Hong Kong and Japanese and German China, about \$67,000,000. Figuring our possible commerce with China on the same ratio of population as that with Japan, we find it would amount to close to a billion of dollars annually, to say nothing of the enterprises in which our people might be legitimately and profitably engaged, in railroads, public works, mines, manufactures, etc.—the prize for which Japan is now eagerly contending, to the exclusion of all others.

What course, then, should be pursued, to save China's national integrity, and the open door for the commerce of the world? It is true that Europe is now in the throes of bitter and destructive war, but that war cannot last forever. Some day, perhaps soon, Europe will be at peace, and the victors, in all probability, will not be entirely exhausted. And all Europe, as well as America—friends and enemies alike—are deeply interested in the Nippon-Chinese negotiations. Would it not be opportune for the United States of America (a party interested only on the commercial side, and to a far less degree than Europe), to propose to the powers a re-iteration of the Hay note, declaring the integrity of China and endorsing the "open-door" policy, and deferring the Kiao-chau settlement, including

the "demands" of Nippon, to the adjustment of the final treaty which will be negotiated to settle the peace of Europe. Germany, on the one hand, and the allies no less on the other, would welcome, it may well be believed, such a proposition to ensure the *status quo ante bellum* in the Far East. And Nippon would surely hesitate to disregard the united voice of Europe and America, backed as it should be by their united power. She would gain, with all the rest of the world, in China's renaissance, losing no prestige in agreeing to an honorable settlement. As for the United States of America, to bring about such a peaceful adjustment of the affairs of the two great peoples of Asia, insuring the integrity of the oldest and largest of her nations, would redound to the credit of this young nation of the West to a far greater degree than it is possible for us to imagine.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PREVENTION OF WAR.

A very simple—and, if it were possible to introduce, a very efficient—method to prevent war in the future has been proposed in several quarters. It is thus expressed in a statement of principles issued by the Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War:

"The surest way to prevent war is to remove the temptation to war. This can best be done by providing the means by which nations can secure and retain peacefully through some representative organization the ends which they would otherwise seek to secure through war. Although the world cannot remain in *statu quo*, there must be a more efficient means of determining policies and bringing about changes than by resort to war.

"It is generally agreed that the causes of war in modern times are largely matters of commerce and trade. If some method can be found by which international trade routes shall become neutral and further, unfair legislation by one nation against another shall cease, a long step toward the elimination of wars will have been taken.

"The present disturbed condition of the world's trade makes this a favorable moment for the consideration of a plan based upon justice, economy and security. The neutralization of trade routes and the prevention of additional legislation by any one country against the people or trade of any other country, excepting by consent of a representative international commission, supported by international force, presents such a method.

"This plan provides security and opportunity for all, eliminates the necessity for the control of the seas by any one power, and the opposition to such control by any other. It provides, what perhaps no other plan does, an incentive to states to combine. Nations will naturally combine to protect the neutrality of trade routes and the joint regulation of the extension of national barriers—once such neutrality and joint regulation has been secured—as the easiest and cheapest method of protection. Commercial alliance appeals where political alliance does not.

"The plan involves the yielding of some so-called sovereign rights; but this is more than offset by an ultimate advantage of almost incalculable value. Unless nations are willing to join in a movement for international protection they must continue to compete in expenditures for national defense. There is no half-way ground."—*Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War, Wellesley Hills, Mass.*

Another advocate of an international government for the prevention of war is P. F. Schulte of Cedar Rapids, Iowa (Box 43).

There is no doubt that if an international government could be established there could be peace over all the world. It is a matter of course that England would have to guarantee the neutrality of international trade routes by delivering Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden and other stations into the hands of the international government. The United States would have to do the same with the Panama Canal, and the armies of the great military powers ought to be sworn in for police service by the established international authorities, whoever they might be. As soon as such an arrangement is perfected peace will be assured, and it were better to delay discussion of these detailed plans until such an international government exists.

LUTHER AND HUSS.

The name Huss means "goose." When Johannes Huss was condemned to die at the stake he felt that his cause could not perish. Convinced that a



MARTIN LUTHER.

Portrait by the Belgian artist Quentin Matsys.

greater than he, a swan, would rise to defend the truth for which he had stood, he uttered this prophecy:

"After me a swan will rise
Whom they will not roast likewise."
[Nach mir wird kommen ein Schwan,
Den sollen sie ungebraten lah'n.]

Protestants quite naturally claim that this doggerel with its grim humor foretold the coming of Martin Luther.

The accompanying portrait of Luther was painted by Matsys at Rotterdam about 1545 when Luther was the guest of Erasmus there. The original is still to be found in the city hall at Rotterdam. A replica from which the present reproduction has been made is in the Editor's possession.

RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES AT SHANGHAI.

For four years religious conferences have been held on Sunday afternoons in the International Institute of Shanghai under the direction of Dr. Gilbert Reid. Speakers of all religious views are invited to set forth the principles of their faiths, but any possibility of disputes or ill feeling is avoided by strict observance of the rule that no one is allowed to criticize or ridicule the religion of another. Recently these meetings have been devoted to an enumeration of the benefits pertaining to the practices of some of the leading religions.

On one occasion Dr. Reid himself spoke of the beneficial practices of Hinduism, among which he considered (1) a cultivation of the humanities as enjoyed in the laws of the Manu, since mildness, mercy, gentleness and kindness are exemplified in the lives of their best men; (2) the spirit of fraternity within the several castes; (3) the architecture and sculpture of beautiful Hindu temples; and (4) its contribution to speculative learning.

One very broad and tolerant Moslem, Wang Hao-jen, spoke on another occasion of the benefits of the Mohammedan religion, as the first of which he dwelt on the importance of their belief in the existence of one true God to whom all are responsible. He spoke also of Moslem learning, which, though differing in character from the classical studies of the Chinese, possessed the advantage of emphasizing that virtue and religion comprised the highest learning. Nevertheless he urged that Moslem education in China should change with political conditions, and told of a college of three hundred students in Peking connected with his own mosque where the course of study has recently been modified to include the Chinese and English languages and other branches. The speaker also advocated the mingling of all races and religions in conferences for mutual benefit and for the purpose of performing the duties owed to and required by the state.

On another Sunday afternoon a representative of the Parsi religion emphasized the points of his religion which are universally recognized as beneficial to its adherents. First of all he mentioned the requirements of scrupulous personal cleanliness; next fostering education among the worthy poor; the inculcation in children of a strict filial obedience, truthfulness, and reverence; religious tolerance; a high grade of personal and commercial morality; and obedience to law.

NOTES.

We are in receipt of a circular letter signed by a number of Christian Chinese students and business men resident in the United States, in which an appeal is made to Christian America, on behalf of their fellow Chinese Christians in this country, to come to the aid of China in this her hour of peril. Were it not that we are pressed for space we should be glad to print the communication in full.



THE NEWTON WINDOW IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 7)

JULY, 1915

NO. 710

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BECOMING AMERICAN.

BY S. N. PATTEN.

THE BRITONET AND THE ANGLOID.

OF the many questions raised by the war, none awaits an answer more urgently than this: "Who is American?" What seems at sight a commonplace fact of residence becomes on investigation a complex problem. In ancestry, obviously, none are American, whether our forbears have been on the soil one or ten generations. Our heredity, comprising all fundamental passions and appetites, is of foreign origin and will remain for ages unchanged; newcomers and old families are peers in this respect. When the excitement of war arouses us we react as did our Aryan ancestors when a hostile tribe appeared over adjacent hills. Feelings of hate and envy overshadow later experience, while venomous expletives, which in rational moods we calmly suppress, flow out in a pleasure-giving torrent. This violence, natural though it is, does not distinguish any one as American; it shows rather that we have not yet changed the crude nature that crossed the ocean with our ancestors.

To become American is a growth in social tradition coming when our feelings and actions are evoked by American events and American ideals. It is a social, not a physical, change. Some families may have been on our soil for generations and still have foreign traditions, while in others a single generation may make over their social nature. Indeed the rapidity of the social change is in proportion to the shock which the transference of environment causes. The slowest changes come in those whose civilization is like our own, while a radical change in thought and ideal brings rapid transformation.

These facts make less important than commonly judged the

differences between the recent immigration and the older stock which, perhaps, has Revolutionary ancestry. Is the latter American, and the former half or quarter American? Not at all, for the ancestry is the same in both cases. The blood of the human wolf tingles in their veins, and the savage bite is apt to come from the one as from the other. The contrast lies not in heredity, but in social tradition. The older stock has the language and ideals of its English ancestors, which have remained unchanged because our ancestors let the English think for them instead of thinking for themselves. What has our older stock contributed in literature, art, or science? Can any one point to an epoch-making book that has come new-born from our civilization? The ideals of the man who sneers at his recently arrived brother are merely an adaptation of English thought. What difference exists is not more marked than the modification the language and thought of England have undergone in Australia or South Africa. Wherever English is spoken British thought has prevailed, and we, like other English offspring, have followed in the ways of the parent. We have been servants, not masters—followers in beaten paths, not breakers of new soil. Our population is divided, not into pure Americans and half Americans, but into those who are slaves to English tradition and those whose American adjustments are partly made. On this basis to be a German-American or an Irish-American is to be more American than the older stock. It is really a proud boast for a man to say he is half-American, for that means a greater change in culture and ideals than families long in the land have undergone.

To get a clear view of our growing adjustment new words are needed. Old divisions are partisan and biased. The differences to be emphasized are those of culture, tradition and language; not those of race, religion or nationality. Let us suggest terms that present effective contrasts and then try to show their applicability. The term *Britonet* suggests the man who holds too rigidly to the English inheritance lying at the basis of our civilization. In contrast to this, the term *Angloid* indicates the composite nature of a broader culture which has foreign elements. Many of these newer incorporations are German, and hence arise the antagonisms which have been injected with so much violence into the present controversy. We should remember, however, that these differences between the new and the old were objects of controversy before the war began, and would in time have made the present factions even if no foreign stimulus had hastened the disruption of conventional thought. In every field these contrasts are apparent, and in many

fields the controversies involved were acute before the war began. We must narrow our horizon by ejecting foreign contributions, or so incorporate them into our culture that a broader civilization results.

English culture can readily be divided into two elements. At bottom it is a classical culture, modified and broadened by the English experience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. English tradition and education is mainly Hebrew, Greek and Roman in origin. From these elements have come the ideals of the English people, while their practice and habits have been imposed by their present environment. The content of English education has been classical, not modern. Habits have changed, but not ideals. This strong combination has been broken in America by the crumbling of the classical education, Grecian art, and Puritan morality. Our education is technical and vocational, casting aside the cultural elements that have upbuilt the English character. We hold the English traditions but have lost the older interpretations of life that made them effective. Such men may properly be called Britonets without implying any disrespect for the civilization from which their ideas are derived. They are merely half-English, and have chosen the worse half.

Against the narrowing tendencies which this exclusion involves is another equally patent tendency. In place of the older classical culture comes a modern culture. To assimilate the new elements does not demand a break in our civilization. It has a continuity from our distant ancestors, and has all the emotional force associated with our history and language. Shall our culture be broadened to this new basis, or shall it be narrowed by the exclusion of foreign elements, ancient and modern? This is the controversy now acute. The one tendency gives us a pure race, a pure language, and a conventional morality; the other puts all into the melting-pot, and cheerfully accepts the purified culture resulting when the dross, the feud and the localism of to-day disappear. The American is not a race with a heredity, but a culture with a unity. Its test is its quickening power. Our test is in its assimilation.

DEGENERATION AND REVERSION.

To separate the American from the non-American we must be able to distinguish the normal from the abnormal. Until this is done we lack a means of deciding who is a reactionary, and who is he out of whose loins the American race is to spring. The distinction is clear. The old bonds were in religion, race and language.

Each of these was provincial; and hence the world was split up into factions on the basis of creed, speech and race. Men loved the like and hated the unlike with equal fervor; but at bottom there was more of hatred than of love in the old life because the multitude were different, while only a small group was similar in characteristic and interest. To be a reactionary is to glory in religious, language and race contrasts, and to shut out the upbuilding forces that lift humanity to higher levels. Any motive is normal when its possession is essential to survival; but it becomes regressive when newer tests of survival displace it.

The traits of the reactionary are the oldest of the race. Not yielding to the dominance of new motives, he does what his less advanced ancestors did, but which under new conditions is productive of evil. An old religion, an antiquated morality, the race ties of yesterday, and the thought modes of any language lower the tone of those chained by them. The new bonds are social, not racial; emotional, not sensory. When millions are united in one economic group, the physical traits, the creeds and language of each locality become a matter of slight significance. Therefore, to divide regions economically, a unit on lines of creed, language or race becomes a social crime. Only the new emotional responses are elevating. When this new standard of normality is formulated the old becomes degenerate.

The physical tests of this degeneration are plain. It is a local morbidness, an oversensitiveness in some part accompanied by a numbness to impression in others. If a doctor suspects a patient of nervousness he tests the malady by a blow on the knee, causing what is called a "knee jerk." Local sensitiveness is thus discovered, and some remedy is suggested. This test is but an example of all physical tests of degeneration. Some people are sensitive to fear; others to descriptions of pain; others to peculiar sounds; and still others to language or color excitation. In each case the mark of abnormality is the same. Some fear, some pain, some group of sounds, words or colors excite unwonted activity and evoke uncontrollable feelings of aversion, with the result that the normal functioning of the individual to his environment is disturbed.

An oversensitiveness to word-reactions is a better test of abnormality than perceived suffering; imagined fears are more potent than those connected with visible objects. Many a person could walk under an unsafe building with unconcern who would become intensely excited about an imagined invasion of his country. Are these explosions of primitive emotion the normal expression of

growing manhood, or are they marks of morbid reversion? If abnormal, the facts of the present war are readily classed. The strong appeals to race, class, and language interests, the sensitiveness to described suffering, show how excitable we are about particulars, and how obtuse to great issues. The papers have indulged in the descriptive horrors of the Belgium invasion until the distinction is lost between the local seen and the vast world not yet visualized. Why do we shudder when we think of the suffering in Belgium, and remain oblivious to greater woe in our own country? Why is it horrible for the Germans to kill a hundred in Belgium, when we remain indifferent to the endeavors of England to starve millions in Germany? Which is more normal, the man who, meeting a beggar on the street, gives him a dollar; or he who refuses alms, but sends a check to some charity to relieve the suffering of those he never saw? This test of perspective shows the difference between normal and abnormal emotions. The one is true emotion; the other is merely sense excitation. Normal men visualize the larger unseen groups, and refuse to sympathize with unimportant events seen and described.

Fear and hate are primitive passions, normal in animals and in the lower orders of men. They are marks of reversion when found among the civilized races. The higher emotions lead to their suppression, causing the normal man to walk abroad with no fear in his breast and no hatred in his heart. To show hatred or fear indicates the loss of some of the impulses that dominate the higher life. It is indicative, therefore, to see the fierce outpouring of fear and hate since the outbreak of the war. The German has become a nightmare to many well-meaning persons, and hatred of him has become a creed. If these violent manifestations were those of primitive men or of the underworld they might be regarded as the natural expression of the exuberant savage. But these excited individuals are for the most part the university graduate, the professor, the editor, the lawyer, the club-man, and even ex-presidents, both of college and of nation. They are men of the old stock, and not newcomers whose feelings are naturally primitive. Instead of lifting themselves into an adjustive relation, our older stock has been sinking into modes of thought normal to our distant ancestors, but subnormal to ourselves. It is becoming Britonet instead of a creator of an American civilization.

But, it will be replied, the Germans are just as forceful in their emotional expression. There is, however, a difference. The German song of hate to which so much attention has been given is not

the work of a German professor, but the writing of a private soldier. It is genuine folklore, voicing the emotion of the lower class. That a private could write a poem of this virility is a mark of advance. But the attempt of poets and professors to write a reply, or outdo the German in his song of hate, is not literature, but degeneration. The German people should be as proud of their privates who can write of hate as our race should be dismayed and chagrined at the attempted imitation by our literary spokesmen. It verges on the comical to see committees of professors formed to pass on the hymns of hate their students compose.

If our old stock with its star-gazing idealism has failed to find the road from yesterday to to-morrow, where are we to look for guidance? Some facts are plain and some conclusions clear. No distinct physical traits out of which a new race can be formed have as yet appeared. Anthropologists assert that no European race has sloughed off its earlier characteristics, though in its present environment many thousand years. Even if this be disputed of the Continental races, the English are no more a race, physically, than are the Americans. England's civilization is built from the traditions created by the British environment of the past three centuries. These traditions we have acquired, and their loss will make us American. English ideas and ideals meant progress when they arose, and are still of importance for the preservation of English institutions. But for us they are exotic growths, and their persistence implies a decay of character in all on whom they are imposed.

We often hear of the cramping influence of Puritanism, and of a desire for greater intellectual freedom. Yet Puritanism is one of the cramping influences making our Britonet environment. Our orthodoxy, our law, our literary standards, our classicisms, our conventional notions, and even our cant and hypocrisy are all Britonet importations. They are the burden we carry and the load we must throw off. The newer American stocks have an advantage in their efforts toward reconstruction because they come from regions freer from these trammels. They are moving more rapidly than we toward the desired adjustment, and from them comes much of our dynamic force, while the old stock strive to keep things immobile and static.

FROM MAN TO SUPERMAN.

In the melting-pot of the present there is not merely the fusing of the old, but also the creation of the new. Of this the best index

is physical change. The new types are better nourished, live more out of doors, are fond of sport and exercise. They are aggressive, vigorous, stubborn to resist and keen to act. Who has not seen this will-to-power in America, both in its good and bad forms? It is only the blinding influence of cant that keeps us from seeing that we are more German than the Germans, and have less of the old in our code than they. We cannot check the onrush of new impulses; only we refuse to talk of them. Tradition, coming from our slave forbears, holds that the lamb is a model for imitation, and that the wolf is the representative of Satan. We lisp words of peace even when our aggressive spirit makes us wolfish at heart.

This new vigor is as plainly visible in women as in men. Blinded by old ideals, we fail to see the moral advance our sisters are making. We mistake their uplift of character for a reversion because the new woman does not fit into our cramped scheme of family life. Had she only to match herself with nature in the struggle for survival, her superiority over her decadent sisters would be apparent. But man is the chooser of woman; and he prefers the weak-faced Madonna to those capable in action, vigorous in thought and wistful for motherhood.

The new in man is also apparent if we seek its manifestation in deeds and not in meaningless phrases. Words are Britonnet, while action is American. The professor, the editor, the idealist, grind their grist of words which make us seem but an echo of the distant past. Yet the pulse of the nation is throbbing, its action is vigorous and its morality aggressive. Some day the new in us will find its voice; the professor will respond to the call of the world; the editor will feel the pulse of the street, and the idealist will sink to his level among the nation's dependents. Happy, happy America, when his cult is gone and his tombstone is removed to enlarge our parks! The world has but the three types—the savage, the degenerate and the becoming. Normality is a mere line separating the regressive conservative from his aggressive superior. Of both the savage is the antecedent. His attitude, his passions and greed are not matters of choice, but the result of the brutal pounding of nature. They have given a wolf physique restrained by a lamb morality.

Races in the past have been wolves or lambs. The wolf has seized and devoured, leaving a desolate world. He has been father, not of the superman, but of vice and dissipation. The lamb has not fared better. He has grown fat only to serve as food for the wolf. Out of his loins the superman has not come. To-day the

breed is as helpless as at the dawn of civilization. Only as we realize this can we remove the antinomy that has prevented the evolution of man.

Our physical heredity is transmitted by a single germ-cell. Changes in it constitute the ascending line of physical growth. In contrast to this, social heredity is perpetuated by repeated impressment. If for a single generation the language, traditions and habits of thought of the race were not reimposed they would be lost. It has nothing to do with the germ-plasm by which the physical traits are perpetuated. Nor has the germ-cell any influence on the growth of our ideals or traditions. Each element undergoes change without a modification in the other, yet only as both are altered can the superman appear. The errors and the confusion of present thought lie in the wrong application of these facts. For ages the social heredity has been dominant. It has produced not merely changes in culture, but has also determined the physical conditions of survival. Progress, it was assumed, meant the elimination of the wolf from our physical nature, and the creation of a race of docile lambs who sink from liberty to dependence, and from dependence to slavery.

I do not see that the eugenists would mend matters. If physical and moral traits are bound up together, as they assume, the physical lamb and the moral saint are parts of the same evolution. The only choice is then between a saintly lamb and the satanic wolf. There is, however, another possibility that our physical and social heredity are determined by independent laws. Can we not breed a physical wolf and control him by intensifying our social environment? If this be true we can improve the race by using the two opposing methods, each with its own laws.

I shall not attempt to argue nor to predict, but to throw light on what is actually taking place. We are getting a vigorous man with an aggressive attitude out of harmony with the lamblike qualities the benevolent moralist admires. We have more vigor, will, and imagination than our ancestors had. But we have not learned to like the man of action who may tread on our toes; nor the man of imagination who, breaking social tradition, casts aside our inherited law as a mere scrap of paper. But which is to be preferred, the dangers and joys of some pictured Utopia to be won, or the well-guarded fold in which the lamb can chew his cud and sleep in peace?

The old is a Rock of Ages for the beaten and the fleeing; the new is the beacon of hope to the ongoing pilgrim. By these facts

we should judge the militant woman, the Jew, and the German. In each case aggression, will and imagination are reflected in vigorous action. They are superior in physical power to their opponents and predecessors, but as destructive of social tradition as they are effective in action. Every physical advance means the crashing of some social idol, the downfall of some cherished ideal, the disappearance of some classical doctrine. The peace of the dove and the lamb do not fare well in a world of bustling activity. Our Britonnet ideals do not conserve this new vigor, nor do they guide aright the new glow of life. Ideals and standards of broader impact must be imposed before the equilibrium between our social and physical heredity is restored. We need the aggressive man; but we need still more an uplift of social standards and the corrective influence of vivid social ideals. Aggression is not bad, but it requires a fitting end to make it an uplifting force.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR.¹

BY FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

A LADY remarked to me lately that it was too terrible to think that our brave fellows should be bearing the hardships of the trenches, should be enduring wounds and death, for any but a wholly righteous cause. Our sufferings alone, she urged, prove that justice is on our side; and she shook with wrath when I suggested that by the same test the Germans could be shown to be in the right. Her attitude, which may properly be described as tribalism, was all very well as long as we had little except the lies and insincerities of our public men and press with which to combat the Germans, but now that we are putting into the field some two million good soldiers to prove that we are as brave and capable of fighting as they are, surely the time is come when rationalists anyhow can make a more serious attempt to understand the course of events than Mr. McCabe and Mr. Charles T. Gorham have done.

I admit at the outset that by invading Belgium the Germans left us no choice but to intervene. This is so, even if we allow

¹ This article was accompanied by the following personal letter to the editor: "Dear Dr. Carus—You and I have been good friends in the past and have worked in our respective spheres for the humanizing and enlightening of opinion in both hemispheres. I therefore invite you to publish in *The Open Court* the enclosed MS. together with this communication to yourself. It was originally sent to the *Literary Guide*, the monthly organ of the Rationalist league, for I did not see why England's case should be entirely left, in its column, to the tender mercies of Mr. McCabe and Mr. Gorham. My use of the English White Paper however was too frank for the taste of that journal, and its editors refused to publish it.

"Germany at present is resounding with hymns of hatred against England, but I hope and believe that Germans will come to see that my countrymen were as a whole averse to war until by the invasion of a weak and defenceless Belgium they were goaded into it. The fact that the German ambassador in London on August 1 was ready to give an assurance that Belgium would not be molested if we would undertake to be neutral, proves that the passage over her soil of German armies was not the unavoidable military necessity which

with Sir E. Grey that their action "was not wanton," and that "Germany feared that if she did not occupy Belgium France might do so." Mr. Lloyd George has recently assured us that for him, as for ninety-five percent of the business men of London, Belgium made the whole difference, and that nothing short of the violation of her neutrality could have inclined him or them to war. His attitude is and was my own, and I maintain that the *Times* of March 8 takes up an immoral position when it writes that "Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg is quite right" in what he says of us, that as "in the great war we did not lavish our gold from love of German or of Austrian liberty or out of sheer altruism," so in this war we have "invested it for our own safety and our own advantage"; and, the *Times* adds, as then "on the whole our commitments were rewarded by an adequate return," so they will be in this war. Yet I venture to think what turned the scale on August 3 in the House of Commons was the eloquent appeal of the late Mr. Gladstone, as Sir E. Grey repeated it. Here it is: "We have an interest in the independence of Belgium which is wider than that which we may have in the literal operation of the guarantee. It is found in the answer to the question whether, under the circumstances of the case, this country, endowed as it is with influence and power, would quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direst crime that ever stained the pages of history, and thus become participators in the sin." If Grey had

Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg on August 4 asserted it to be. In any case it meant that Belgium would be turned into a shambles. I hold that Sir E. Grey did wrong in binding England by his secret engagements (unknown even to the English cabinet and probably to the king) to take part against Germany in a war over an issue which did not concern us. He erred in making any defensive and offensive secret alliance with France, until the latter power should have composed her quarrel with Germany. Still the fact remains, duly attested by our own and even by the French diplomatic books, that he and his secret policy would have been cast aside by our cabinet, parliament and nation, had not the German General Staff with cynical disregard of justice and international law actually played into his and Sazonof's hands. Had that Staff known a little more of human nature, they would have foreseen that their aggression on Belgium, premeditated and planned for years, was the one thing that would light a flame among us, and alienate the sympathies both of America and Italy. They deliberately provoked us to war, as, I consider, Sazonof provoked the poor Kaiser; and I fear there is nothing for us now but to fight it out. May I suggest that you should print in your journal the passages which I have marked in the current number of the *Candid Quarterly*. This is a journal edited by Mr. Thos. Gibson Bowles, and it may be said to represent the "Young Tory" party. I believe that its stern condemnation of Sir E. Grey's policy is well merited, though I do not see eye to eye with the editor in many matters, and, particularly, in the essentially aggressive designs of the present Kaiser against England.—I am yours sincerely, FRED. C. CONYBEARE, M.A., F.B.A., Honorary Fellow Univ. Coll. Oxford, Hon. Dr. Theol. Giessen, Hon. LL.D. St. Andrews."

dangled this war before our Parliament as an "investment," he would have found few to support him.

Now my object here is to point out that we should not now be at war, and that Europe would probably not be at war with herself if Sir E. Grey had taken up this ethical standpoint from the first and stuck to it.

The war originated in a quarrel between Austria and Servia. In such a war were we under any obligation, moral or material, to join? As to the moral obligation, Grey declared on July 20 that for us or any other power to "be dragged into a war by Servia would be detestable" (White Paper 1). We assured Austria that "if in the course of the present grave crisis our point of view should sometimes differ from hers, this would arise not from want of sympathy with the many just complaints which Austria-Hungary had against Servia," etc. (White Paper 62). On July 29 (*ibid.* 91) Grey told the Austrian ambassador in London that he "did not wish to discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Servia."

Were we then under material obligations to go to war over Servia?

On this point Sir G. Buchanan, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, was emphatic. On July 24 he was urged by Sazonof and the French ambassador there, "to proclaim our solidarity with Russia and France." "They continued to press me," he writes (White Paper 6), "for a declaration of complete solidarity of His Majesty's government with French and Russian governments."

He reports his answer thus: "Personally I saw no reason to expect any declaration of solidarity from His Majesty's government that would entail an unconditional engagement on their part to support Russia and France by force of arms. Direct British interests in Servia were *nil*, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion."

It is certain that if Grey had remained true to this twofold standpoint, that neither duty nor interests called upon us to intervene, France would not have stirred, for she relied upon our aid, and she would have held back her ally Russia. The fire in the heather might have been thus stamped out from the beginning, and never have become a vast conflagration consuming the whole of Europe.

It may be said: "Oh, but we could not allow Germany once more to humiliate Russia." But Austria gave assurances from the first that she only wished to chastise Servia and not touch her in-

tegrity or sovereign rights (White Paper 18, 57, 62, 64, 72, 75, 79, 137, etc.). There was therefore not involved any particular humiliation of Russia, which in 1876, 1878, 1897, had in special conventions thrice assigned Servia to the Austrian sphere of influence in the Balkans, reserving Bulgaria as her own sphere. The Austrians had a better quarrel with Servia than we ever had with the Boers, and Russia less excuse for throwing her aegis over Servia than Germany would have had in 1900 for throwing hers over the Transvaal. But in view of Sir E. Grey's repeated disclaimers of all interest in the rights and wrongs of Servia it is superfluous to press this point. He not less emphatically denied that France had any cause to interfere in a Servian squabble. For example, on July 31 (*ibid.* 116) he writes to Sir F. Bertie, our ambassador at Paris, that "in this case France is being drawn into a dispute which is not hers."

That being so, why did he not warn France from the first that if she, merely as Russia's ally, chose to go to war with Germany, she would do so at her own risk? Why did he not point out that, as it was not *her* dispute, the Germans could not be accused of an *unprovoked* attack on her if they defended themselves in a war into which she might follow Russia? It is useless to urge that France was bound by her treaty with Russia. That was her lookout, and she did not allege her treaty but her *interests* as a reason for accepting war with Germany. Is any one so *naïf* as to suppose that Russia would go out of her way to aid France in similar circumstances? Would Russia ever intervene *vi et armis* to save England from any humiliation whatever?

Russia from the first resolved to take up the quarrel of Servia and assert a protectorate over her as against Austria, and on July 25 mobilized her southern armies against Austria—this, although Germany categorically warned her that she would protect her ally. Austria declared war on Servia on July 28 and on July 29 proceeded to bombard Belgrade. Then at last Grey yielded to Sazonof's appeal that he should declare our "complete solidarity" with France and Russia, and he warned Germany that if France went to war we must intervene on her side and could not stand aside (White Paper 89, 102, 111, 116, 119).

Till now Germany, while insisting that Austria intended only to chastise Servia and not impair her sovereign rights or appropriate any of her territory, had been intransigent in her attitude. *Ex post facto* she had approved of Austria's note to Servia, and toward Russia she assumed an air of "you can take it or leave it."

She hoped to bluff her as in 1909. At the same time she was ready to fight Russia and France, if they wanted to fight her. Sazonof and the two Cambons² on their side equally intended to fight her if they could get possession of the weak man with the strong fleet, Sir E. Grey. Both sides took Grey's warning of July 29 very seriously. It was in effect an ultimatum to Germany and an assurance of support to Russia; and an impartial witness, the Belgian minister at St. Petersburg, the Baron de l'Escaille, wrote on the evening of July 30 to his government at Brussels that on that day people there were "firmly convinced, nay they had a positive assurance to the effect, that England would support France. This assurance of support was of enormous importance, and had contributed not a little to encourage the war party." And he adds: "Although on the day before there were such divergencies of opinion in the Czar's council of ministers that the ukase ordering mobilization was delayed, a change of scene subsequently took place, the war party gained the upper hand, and to-day (July 30) at four o'clock the order for mobilization was published. The army, which is conscious of its strength, is full of enthusiasm and reposes great hopes on the progress it has achieved since the Japanese war. The navy is so far from having realized its program of reconstruction and reorganization that one cannot count upon it. And this is just the reason why so much importance is attached to the assurance of support given by England."³

But just in proportion as Sir Edward Grey's warning raised the hopes of Sazonof, it depressed those of Germany, who instantly set herself to conciliate Russia and buy off England. Thus she sent her Ambassador, Count Pourtalés, at 2 a. m. on the morning of July 30, to Sazonof. He "completely broke down," so we read (White Paper 97), "on seeing that war was inevitable. He appealed to M. Sazonof to make some suggestion which he could telegraph to the German government as a last hope."

It was now Sazonof's turn to bluff Germany, and he dictated a

² French ambassadors in Berlin and London.

³ The first paragraphs of this dispatch are equally interesting with those which I cite:

"M. le Ministre. Yesterday [July 29] and the day before have been passed in expectation of the events which were bound to follow upon the declaration of war by Austria on Servia.

"Most contradictory news has been in circulation, without it being possible to distinguish truth from falsehood, about the Imperial Government's intentions. What is certain is that Germany has endeavored, no less here than in Vienna, to find any means whatever, to avoid a general conflict; but she has been confronted, on one side, with the obstinate determination of the Vienna Cabinet not to yield an inch, and, on the other, with the distrust felt by the

formula to Portalés by which Austria was "to recognize that her conflict with Servia had assumed the character of a question of European interest and declare herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum (to Servia) points which violate the principle of sovereignty of Servia." This done, "Russia engaged to stop all military preparations."

The Austrian demand which violated Servian sovereignty was that an Austrian assessor should sit on the Servian court of enquiry into the assassination of the Archduke. He was not to have judicial or executive powers, but only to see that the enquiry was not a mock one. At Hodeida recently the Italians similarly demanded of Turkey that their consul should sit on the Turkish court of enquiry, and the demand was instantly granted.

The Germans spent July 30 in urging Austria to consider Sazonof's terms. Austria had broken off negotiations with St. Petersburg, and accordingly Bethmann-Hollweg in a note addressed to her that day used these words: "We cannot expect Austria-Hungary to negotiate with Servia, with which she is in a state of war. The refusal, however, to exchange views with St. Petersburg would be a grave mistake. We are indeed ready to fulfil our duty. As an ally we must, however, refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration through Austria-Hungary not respecting our advice." And the German ambassador was told to address this warning to Berchtold, the Austrian chancellor, "with all emphasis and great seriousness."⁴

Petersburg Cabinet of Austria's assurances that her only idea is to punish Servia, and not possess herself of that country.

"M. Sazonof has declared that it was impossible for Russia not to hold herself ready and not to mobilize, that however these preparations were not directed against Germany. This morning an official communication to the journals announces that 'the reservists have been called to arms in a certain number of provinces.' Knowing the reserve usually practised in official Russian communications, it is easy to infer that the mobilization is general. The German ambassador has declared to-day that he has exhausted the endeavors for peace which since Saturday he has unremittingly pursued, and that he is now left without any hope. I have been told that the English embassy has expressed itself in the same manner. Great Britain has as a last resort proposed arbitration. M. Sazonof has replied: 'We ourselves proposed it to Austria-Hungary and she refused it.' To the proposal for a conference Germany replied by proposing an understanding between the Cabinets. One may well ask oneself if it is not the case that all parties want war and are only trying to delay its declaration a little while in order to gain time. England began by giving out that she did not intend to be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan openly said so. To-day at Petersburg people are firmly convinced etc."

⁴Mr. M. P. Price in his work *The Diplomatic History of the War* shows that this telegram is genuine, although it has been impugned. Yet Mr. Gorcham quotes with approval Mr. Jas. M. Beck's denial that the Kaiser ever "gave the world the text of any advice he gave the Austrian officials."

Emperor Franz Joseph—the *enfant terrible* of the whole episode—had Sazonof's note (modified in certain ways by Grey, White Paper 120) laid before him by Berchtold on the morning of July 31. The old man's habit is to transact important affairs of state at 5 a. m. He so far yielded that Sazonof at once informed Grey through his agent in London, De Etter, of his satisfaction at the fact (White Paper 133) that "the Austro-Hungarian ambassador had declared the readiness of his government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia." Sazonof adds that "it is desirable that the discussions should take place in London with the participation of the great powers." He also "hopes that the British government will assume the direction of these discussions. The whole of Europe would be thankful to them." The extent to which Austria would have yielded to Russian demands would of course have depended on the course of these "discussions," which unhappily never took place.

One would have thought that Sazonof in this moment of diplomatic triumph might have been pleased to yield to the appeal which the German emperor had been making to him for two days to stay his military preparations against himself. For some reason or another Grey would not second this appeal; he was too much afraid of Sazonof ever to offer him advice, and even as early as July 24 had made the "stiff" tone of the note to Servia an excuse for refusing "to exercise any moderating influence on Russia" (White Paper 10), and our ambassador at Vienna was told from the first (White Paper 26) to support the policy of Sazonof. The latter now chose the moment of his triumph to complete his mobilization against Germany. This was early on the morning of July 31. As early as July 26 the Germans had warned Russia that if she mobilized they must do so too; and, they added, "mobilization means war." Russia paid no heed, with the result that at midnight on July 31 the Kaiser, seized with panic, gave her 12 hours to demobilize, and getting no answer, declared war late on August 1, on which day he also began to mobilize in his turn. I do not seek to palliate the guilt of the Kaiser in thus rushing into war, but I do aver that Sazonof had done all he could to provoke the poor man to declare war, and might have declared war himself if the Kaiser had not been in such a hurry.

The English Cabinet was still averse to war,⁵ and, in spite of

⁵ Mr. Lloyd George recently made the following statement: "This I know is true—after the guarantee given that the German fleet would not attack the coast of France or annex any French territory, I would not have been

Grey's secret undertakings to France, was willing to be neutral if Germany would give, like France, an assurance not to violate Belgium's neutrality. They accordingly sent Grey on August 1 "to make proposals [to the German ambassador] for England's neutrality even in the event of Germany being at war with France as well as with Russia." The ambassador immediately offered the required assurance on condition that Grey would make a definite statement with regard to our neutrality. Grey however refused "to be neutral on that condition alone." The ambassador then "pressed him to formulate conditions" on which we would be neutral. He even offered that the integrity both of France and of her colonies might be respected, in case France was beaten. Grey might also have asked and obtained the condition that the German fleet should keep itself in the North Sea. But Grey wanted to keep his hands free and refused to be neutral on any conditions; and the next morning (August 2) he did not even deem it worth his while to inform our Cabinet of the German overtures of the day before, though a majority thereof would certainly have embraced them. The Germans now made up their minds that we were really going to join France against them; and, thinking that they might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, went through Belgium. That issue swallowed up all our earlier negotiations, and we had to go to war. The only way to have kept out of it would have been to close with the offers made by Germany on August 1.⁶ But Grey resolved not to do that, and the Cabinet never heard of them in time.

It cannot be denied that on the morning of July 31 Russia had obtained all she had asked for. On July 27 (White Paper 55) Sazonof told our ambassador that all he wanted was that Servia's "territorial integrity must be guaranteed and her rights as a sovereign state respected," and by the 31st not only were these terms conceded by Austria, but Germany had offered to see that they

a party to a declaration of war had Belgium not been invaded; and I can say the same thing for most, if not all, of my colleagues. If Germany had been wise, she would not have set foot on Belgian soil; the Liberal Government, then, would not have intervened."

⁶ A war of Germany and Austria with France and Russia was likely to result in the emergence of many unforeseen issues and contingencies which made it unwise of England beforehand to tie herself down unconditionally to permanent neutrality. For example the war might have spread to Dutch, Danish and Swedish soil, even America might have been drawn in as well as Italy and Turkey. Nevertheless, since we had no army with which to repel a German advance through Belgium, I regret that Grey did not accept Lychnowski's overtures. We should have saved her from the excesses of German *Schrecklichkeit*.

were carried out when the punitive expedition was ended. But neither side trusted the other.

Grey's dispatches prove that his policy was to join in the war if it became general, and especially if France elected to go in. This he intended to do, Belgium or no Belgium. I believe it was an unwise policy. The Servian bone was foul and rotten, and stunk in his nostrils as long as only one big dog was growling over it, but as soon as the other big dogs began to snarl, it suddenly acquired for him an almost sacramental importance.

Germany, if we may believe the Italian Foreign Minister, San Julianò (White Paper 80), was all along "really anxious for good relations with ourselves;" and Sir E. Goschen at Berlin, in conversation with the German chancellor on August 4, remarked that it "was part of the tragedy" that the two nations should "fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years." One may well ask, if this was so, why Sir E. Grey did not accept the German overtures for peace three days earlier or at least give our very pacifist Cabinet a chance to accept them. But he evidently agreed with his friend M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador in London (White Paper 119, July 31), that "in 1870 we had made a great mistake in allowing an enormous increase of German strength, and we should now be repeating the mistake," if we did not attack Germany when we could. This is the moral standpoint which prevails in a thieves' kitchen. We made it, unwillingly and by accident, our own.

How the future historian will view this war we hardly can say, but I suspect he will blame Russia and Germany about equally. He will recognize that our House of Commons went to war to rescue the weak and oppressed, and that, except for the violation of Belgium, we would either not have gone to war at all, or have done so with little enthusiasm. He will recognize that the Germans honestly believed they were fighting a defensive war, which was to rid them of the double incubus of Russia and France holding their loaded revolvers at them on two frontiers. France will be rightly credited with a passion for *revanche*; the Russian peasant with his blind traditional loyalty for his "Little Father" the Czar. Finally the historian will conclude that any one of the five combatants with a little good-will could have prevented the war at the outset of the crisis and at any subsequent phase of it up to August 1; and he will blame all alike for the bloody popular convulsions, the plague and famine, the uprising of the East against the West, of the

yellow races against the white, the wasting feuds between race and race, the war between classes, the overthrow of faith in humanity, the destruction of all schemes of social amelioration, the general bankruptcy of states and individuals, the revival of superstition, the decay of literature and art, and countless other evils which will follow in its train all over Europe.

A WORD ABOUT THE ARMENIANS.

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.

AS Armenian immigrants are coming to this country in larger and larger numbers—many of them having acquired an interest in the United States through American missionaries and schools in Turkey, and all attracted by the freedom and opportunity of our land—a brief consideration of some of the characteristics of these new citizens of ours is pertinent.

Of all the dwellers in cosmopolitan Constantinople and Asia Minor, perhaps the most thoroughly Oriental are the Armenians. Their appearance is definitely eastern; swarthy, heavy-haired, black-eyed, with aquiline features, they look more Oriental than Turk, Slav or Greek. In general type they come closer to the Jew than any other people, sharing with them the strongly marked features, prominent nose and near-set eyes, as well as some gestures that we think of as characteristically Jewish. The type is so pronounced that to those who are akin to them they seem often very handsome, while to westerners they seem rather too foreign looking. Of course the type is not always preserved; white skins, even an occasional rosy cheek may be seen, and there is a small number of blue-eyed and fair-haired Armenians.

The resemblance to the Jews does not stop with physical features, for the fate of the two peoples has been sufficiently similar to bring out common traits. Like the Jew the Armenian has been oppressed and persecuted, and has developed a strength of nationality, a love for his own people and a persistence of type rarely seen elsewhere. Like the Jew he has learned to bend, not break, before the oppressor and to succeed by artifice when opposed by force. How else has he survived? Like the Jew he has developed strong business instincts, and like him he has a talent for languages, a power of concentration and unusual artistic gifts.

These resemblances have made many scholars question whether

the two races are not akin, whether the Armenian may not be descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel, but the philological basis for such a hypothesis is lacking. The Armenian language, say scholars, is Aryan and not Semitic. It is a rich language but harsh and guttural. Its alphabet is unique, consisting of thirty-six letters, most of them looking like capital U's, with added quirks, standing right side up or upside down or on their sides.

The Armenians boast a "golden age" of literature when for a brief cycle of fifty years a millenium ago their writers burst into poetry and song, translated the Bible into Armenian, and left a



ARMENIAN GROUP AT CONSTANTINOPLE COLLEGE.*

precious heritage of literature to their descendants. This literature is still studied in all the Armenian schools, and the church services are conducted in the language of this period. There is to-day a revival of Armenian literature, modeled in part on their revered classics and in part on French and English modern writings. The Armenian has a sense of style, a flow of language that often makes for oratory and fine writing.

Armenian names illustrate the sound of the language somewhat, such names as Keganoush, Heygouhee, Aghavni. As among

* Armenians have no distinctive national costume. The young women in these illustrations are representatives of Armenia in Constantinople College where Miss Jenkins was a teacher for some years.

all Christian folk, scriptural names are common, such as Mariam (Mary), Hagup (Jacob) and Bogos (Paul); there is also a tendency to use French names such as Madelaine and Eugénie, but the most characteristic names are those definitely Armenian, such as Armen, Krikor and Muggerditch for men, and Armenouhee, Nouvart, Astrig and Mannig for women. The use of the family name is just coming into vogue. Hitherto a man has been known as the son of his father; thus Bogos is Bogos Meenasian, *ian* meaning "son of," and his son in turn becomes Hagop Bogossian. But the tendency to keep one's grandfather's name and thus establish a



ROUMELIE HISSAR (FORTRESS OF EUROPE) ON THE BOSPHERUS.*

family name is growing in favor. Often the family name is a Turkish root with the vernacular suffix, which is also the case with Greek and Slavic subjects of Turkey. Thus *Boyadjee* means "painter" or "boot-black" in Turkish, and one finds among the Christians of Turkey the Armenian form of Boyadjian, the Bulgarian Boyadjieff, and the Greek Boyadjoglou, all meaning "the son of the painter." Shishmanian, or "son of the fat man," Shamdanjian or "son of the man from Damascus," and even the rather comic name of Shishkebabian, "the son of the fat mutton-chop," are all to be found among Armenian names.

* The towers were built by Mahomet II. Constantinople College is a few miles south of this fortress.

Although most of the Armenians have lived for centuries among the Turks and many have been brought up in the Turkish rather than the Armenian language, they very seldom speak Turkish without a strong Armenian accent amounting to a mispronunciation. It is merely one of the ways in which they have preserved their national individuality. They learn many languages early, in cultured homes generally speaking French and Turkish as easily as their own tongue, and now they are eagerly taking up English for its commercial as well as for its literary value.

The Armenians boast a church which is the oldest in Christendom, having been founded by Gregory the Illuminator some years before Constantine established the church in Byzantium. The mummied hand of Gregory is still laid on the head of each bishop at his consecration, thus carrying on the most perfect apostolic succession in the world. The church services and music are naturally very primitive.

The center of the Gregorian church is at Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus mountains, where are the sacred cathedral, the relics, and the head of the church, the Catholicos. Corresponding to archbishops in the Western church are the patriarchs in each great political state. The patriarch of Constantinople is the political and national head of the Armenians and their representative at the Porte. Thus his position is largely a political one, and it is uncommon, although not unknown, for him to be a man of religious character. He must be diplomatic and able rather than spiritual. The danger in so old a church and one so connected with politics is that it shall be spiritually dead. But the influence of Protestantism through its missionaries has been not so much to take out a body of Protestants from the national church, as to infuse a new life into this old body and awaken the Gregorian church, which is changing rapidly to a live and thoughtful institution.

The Armenians had once a kingdom among the mountains and table lands of Asia Minor, where they fought bitterly but vainly against the conquering Byzantines. Nine centuries ago they lost their independence to the Greeks despite the heroic struggles of their kings and their great national hero, Vartan. As the Byzantine conquerors were in their turn conquered, the Armenians passed under the yoke of Turkey and of Russia. In this last century when there have been so many national reversals in southern Europe; when with the aid of northern powers Greece, Roumania and the Slavic states have broken away from Turkey; when even the small body of mountaineers in Albania have been given their own govern-



ARMENIAN STUDENTS IN COSTUME FOR A "PAGEANT OF THE NATIONS."

ment, there has been little thought of establishing the Armenians as an independent power. They have revolutionaries, have had their own societies, and have joined in the Young Turk movement; they have called pitifully on Europe, especially England, to free them from oppression, but they and their sympathizers have laid no real plans for self-government.

None of the powers have any interest in reviving an independent Armenia, for it would mean simply making a gift of it to Russia, who already has a large Armenian population. Poor bewildered Albania was erected not for the benefit of her wild peas-



ARMENIAN STUDENTS IN CHEMICAL LABORATORY.

antry but for the convenience of the Triple Alliance and the discomfiture of Servia. There is no such reason for making Armenia independent.

A good many Armenians in eastern Turkey, enraged against Turkish misrule, have in these last weeks joined the Russian army. This seems short-sighted, for Turkish government is far less efficient, and hence less deadly than Russian. For centuries the Gregorian church has been maintained in complete security in Turkey, but when Russia took the Caucasus and rich Elchmiadzin fell into

her hands, she promptly looted it of its greatest treasures and suppressed much of its activity. An American missionary visiting the desecrated sanctuary ten years ago asked one of the priests:

"Don't you wish you were still under Turkey?"

"Yes," was the reply, "for Turkey lopped off our branches but Russia digs us up by the roots."

But within the last decade Russia has changed her policy and has allowed the Armenians within her borders such liberty that they have prospered greatly and now find Russian rule preferable to Turkish.

There is little if any racial antagonism between the Armenians and the Turks; had religion and politics never come in to antagonize them, they could live together in essential harmony. For centuries the Armenians were excellent citizens of Turkey and served as officials, often of the highest rank. But as Europe took up the question of reform and attempted to protect the "Rayahs," or Christian subjects of the Porte, the Turkish government grew resentful, and for political considerations and to show her independence of Europe, wreaked vengeance on the helpless Armenians. The frequent massacres of Armenians have not been the outcome of natural antipathy, nor often of religious fanaticism, but usually have been purely political, sometimes brought on by zealous Armenian revolutionaries themselves in their desire to call the attention of Europe to their wrongs.

Let us illustrate this point by the massacres of 1909. Abdul Hamid had stirred up a counter-revolution against the Young Turks. It was failing and his power was lost. In a mood such as inspired Samson to pull down the temple in his fall, he decided to discredit Young Turkey with the world by a series of massacres of the Christian population of many a district. In most cases the governors refused to execute his orders and in the case of Constantinople the army of the Young Turks arrived in time to stop it; but as all know, in Cilicia the orders were executed and thousands of Armenians went like sheep to the slaughter.

The Rayahs of Turkey were peculiarly helpless to resist attack, for they were not allowed to bear arms, and instead of the military service paid to the state by all Moslems they were called on for a monetary tax called *haradj*. Thus their warlike qualities were suppressed for centuries. But with the changes brought about by the beneficent revolution of 1908, the Rayahs were put on the same footing as the Moslems and were expected to enter the army. Although this appealed to the Armenian's sense of fairness it did

not in many cases please the individual who was drafted, and complaint, evasion and emigration have followed the effort to make the untrained Armenian fight for Turkey.

The Armenian is generally deeply attached to his homeland. He has not been allowed to feel that Turkey was his country in any real sense. More than one Armenian has told how patriotic songs of other countries made him grieve, because he could not say "my country" of any state. But they say it of the district where they live, being passionately attached to the village or stretch of country in which their families have grown up, and often after coming to America they are desperately homesick for the sunshine of Turkey.

When the revolution of 1908 seemed truly a national uprising not merely of Moslems but also of Christians and Jews, when the Armenians thought they had helped to put down the Hamidian tyranny and to found a new constitutional state which was theirs as well as the Turks', their joy was touching. One of the most affecting sights I have ever seen, I witnessed on the glorious day of the opening of the first parliament in Turkey, when through the gaily decorated streets of Constantinople moved a body of Armenian men carrying banners and singing a song that one of them had composed called *Vatanum* or "My Fatherland." As one looked on the solemnly joyful faces of the singers and realized that now for the first time in nine centuries they felt that they had a fatherland, one was deeply moved.

The revolution did not bring them all they hoped, although changes in their lot have been made for the better, and now many of these people are rejoicing in the probable break-up of the Ottoman empire. But the ruin of Turkey would not bring them independence, it would simply transfer them to another and heavier yoke. I feel that the best opportunity for the Armenian would come if the Turks, possibly confined to Asia Minor, should evolve an equitable government under which their Oriental subjects, Moslem and Christian, can live happily. And I still hope that Turkey will learn her lessons in government, and that the powers will leave her a kingdom where both Turks and Armenians may pursue their natural Oriental development. I think that the Armenians are happier and more at home in the East than in America.

There has been a considerable immigration of Armenians to the United States of recent years, although during the European war it has entirely stopped. Just how many Armenians have come to our land is impossible to learn, for in all immigration statistics the

Armenians are counted as subjects of Russia or Turkey. To one who knows the persistence of their racial characteristics in the Orient, it is surprising to see how they lose themselves in this country. As a little instance of their lack of insistence on their nationality, consider the names of their four restaurants in New York City, "The Constantinople," "The Cairo," "The Bosphorus," and "The Balkan," all of them Oriental, but none specifically Armenian names.

Their numbers in New York City have been variously estimated by themselves at from five to twenty thousand, but the latter number includes residents in Hoboken, Yonkers, Jersey City and other adjoining towns. There are also a good number of Armenians in Chicago, in Boston and its neighborhood, and in California. Very few go to the South.

The majority of the immigrants are single men, some of whom send home for good Armenian wives when they have become prosperous, and some of whom marry here. But a fairly large number of families come with their husbands and fathers to this country. By far the larger part of these Armenians belong to the national Gregorian church. They have two churches in the vicinity of New York City, one on Twenty-Seventh street which has just been purchased by Armenians and the other in West Hoboken, which has long been owned by them. The Protestant Armenians, although they are a much smaller number, are a more prosperous community because they devote more time and more money to their churches than do the Gregorians.

Most of the Armenian immigrants are peasants, either used to field work, or, when they are skilled laborers, being carpenters, cabinet-makers, brass or iron workers, tinsmiths, shoemakers, blacksmiths, weavers and silk workers. Hundreds of them are employed in the silk-mills of New Jersey. The Armenians who come from the Oriental cities are prepared to be clerks, bookkeepers, house men, waiters, butlers, tailors, jewelers and rug repairers. There are a few rich Armenian firms dealing in rugs and curios in New York and other great American cities.

When the Armenian immigrant arrives at Ellis Island, he is met by some member of the Armenian Colonial Association, who sees that he gets safely into the city, then furnishes him with temporary quarters, and as soon as may be finds him employment or sends him to some western farm. This society is entirely philanthropic, conducting a labor bureau, classes in English and lectures in American and United States history, hygiene and other useful subjects. Its object is to help the Armenian immigrant and develop

him into a good American citizen. The lectures they offer on Tuesday evenings and Sunday afternoons have an average attendance of five hundred. There are also a choral society and an orchestra within this friendly Colonial Association.

On Lexington Avenue there are several blocks where one may see the unique Armenian letters in many a window, showing that this is an Armenian locality. At number 69 there is a club called "S. D. H. Armenian Club." It has pleasant quarters where its members may read, write and smoke, and a membership of one hundred persons of both sexes. Another club of which the membership is largely Armenian is the Constantinople College Alumnae Association, where with Americans, English, an occasional Bulgarian, Greek, or Turk, are found some fifty Armenian women who have been students of the American College for Girls in Constantinople. Several papers are published in Armenian in Chicago, Boston, and Fresno, California, and one in New York City called *The Gotchnag*.

As I said before, I feel that the Armenians are so Oriental that they are as a rule happier to remain in the Orient, but if they come to us, we may find them good citizens, thrifty, industrious, eager to learn our customs and ideals, and willing to adapt themselves to our religious institutions.

TREITSCHKE.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

"Thinking calms men of other nations, it inflames the Germans."—*Madame de Stael*.

GOBINEAU characterizes Greek history as "the most elaborate of fictions of the most artistic of peoples," and though German history cannot be described in these terms, there is in it such an element of propaganda that its influence upon the German spirit is of considerable interest. Of German historians the greatest influence was Heinrich von Treitschke—a name before the autumn of 1914 known only to a small body of historians in England and America. Before 1914 only one of his works, *What We Demand from France*, was translated into English; in the last months of 1914 and the early months of 1915 there is a rapid succession of appreciations and translations. In the first hurry his name was not always correctly spelled even in the serious periodicals, but the journalists have now taken their note from specialists, and Treitschke is now treated according to his deserts.

Treitschke—"our great national historian," as he was usually called in Germany—was only one of a large group, Sybel, Droysen, Giesebrecht, Dahlmann, Hausser and others, who spent their learning and lives, as one of them says, "to express and justify the love and belief in the Fatherland." His prominence in this group is my reason for drawing attention to two characteristics of his work which seem to have aroused little adverse criticism in his own country, namely, an exaggerated national bias and certain defects in his equipment as an historian,¹ notwithstanding his qualities of

¹ Heinrich von Treitschke was born at Dresden in 1834. His career as teacher began at Leipsic in 1859. In 1866, at the outbreak of war, his sympathies with Prussia were so strong that he went to Berlin and became a Prussian subject. In 1874 he was made professor at Berlin. On Sybel's death he succeeded him as editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. He supported the

extreme diligence and scrupulous care in the use of authorities which are conceded by historians. He is significant not so much from his historical work, but as the trumpet and interpreter of the Prussian spirit, the man who far more than any other single character in German political life was responsible for the anti-English feeling which broke into a sudden blaze during the Boer war.² Probably no German professor ever drew such audiences to his lecture-hall in Berlin. As a lecturer he appealed to his hearers by his enthusiasm and his gift of fiery speech, and a theologian applied to him the words of St. John's Gospel: "Never man spake like this man."³ People felt reminded of what other nations had related of the impression a Bernard of Clairvaux, an Abelard, an Arnold of Brescia, a John Huss had produced upon their contemporaries; "all his hearers realized that these lectures acted like iron baths."⁴ Never since the days when Germany was under the heel of Napoleon, and Fichte sent his messages of hope and patriotic ardor through the nation, had a German professor made the heart of the people throb to his utterances as it throbbed for twenty years to the words of Treitschke.⁵

The subjects of his lectures were invariably historical and political; when speaking of the past he never forgot the present; what he said of Cromwell, Gustavus Adolphus and Napoleon always had its reference to present-day England, Germany and France. He combined for the young people politics with philosophy and religion, says a biographer.⁶

Other countries have partisan historians and school text-books in which their history is seen in a becoming light. In Germany the partisan history has been long established. Just as the slovenly housemaid sweeps dust and fluff out of sight under the carpet, so

government in its attempts to subdue by repressive legislation socialists, Poles and Catholics. His "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," of which the first volume was published in 1879, was not completed at the time of his death in 1896. The five volumes only carry the history of Germany to the year 1847. The work is described by J. W. Headlam in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (art. "Treitschke") as "discursive and badly arranged," and the same writer adds that "notwithstanding the extreme spirit of partisanship and some faults of taste it will remain a remarkable monument of literary ability." Treitschke also wrote his *Politik*, two series of *Deutsche Kämpfe*, and *Bilder aus der deutschen Geschichte*, political essays and literary portraits.

² J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, London, 1914.

³ *Treitschke, his Life and Works* (translated into English for the first time), London, 1914, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵ *The Times*, Educational Supplement, Tuesday, September 1, 1914.

⁶ *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 41.

the German historians contrived to hide and gloss over in their works the ugly side of Germany's records, or when the evidence was written too large in history, to extol it; while the dust-heaps of other nations were ruthlessly stirred up. Hegel's philosophy of history culminates in the choice the world-spirit makes of Germany as its resting-place and claims that the German spirit is the spirit of the new world. David Friedrich Strauss, the author of the *Leben Jesu*, declared that Prussia never made any but holy wars, and that the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was "a work of public salubrity accomplished by Germany, France being rotten to the marrow." Treitschke went so far as to say that "pure and impartial history could never suit a proud and warlike nation," and that he was a thousand times more patriot than professor.⁷ We have now before us the result of a proud and warlike nation fed upon history which is not pure and impartial, and of Germans who are a thousand times more patriots than professors.

The history of Germany was accordingly written in the spirit of propaganda; its historians became its apologists. Professor Delbrück openly "blessed" the falsified Ems telegram, and Sybel condoned Frederick the Great's complicity in the second partition of Poland, because Prussia "thereby gained a very considerable territory," though he admits it to have been a wrong and a "violation of law in the most literal sense of the word." Ranke refused to condemn any of Frederick the Great's aggressions, while he is ready to cast his stone at France, saying: "It is peculiar to France from century to century to break through the circle of legality."

Treitschke is in line with his fellow historians and his passionate worship of Prussia and equally passionate antipathy to the actual and potential enemies of Germany constantly warp his judgment. France is disposed of by calling her Sodom and Babylon, England is the "hypocrite who, with a Bible in one hand and an opium pipe in the other, scatters over the universe the benefits of civilization." The thought of the conquered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine inspired him with the thought that "the rule of Frenchmen over a German stock was at all times a vicious thing; to-day it is a crime against the intelligence which directs human history, a subjection of free men to half-civilized barbarians." "The nation is our enemy," he writes, in 1870, "and we must draw her teeth." His hatred of England reached a height and persistence of rancor which, as Professor Cramb mildly suggests, was "in so great a man arresting, if not unique"; and the Professor heard him on an

⁷ *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 43.

evening in 1895, pouring out in a company of friends "all the vitriol of his scorn, antipathy and hate for England and for the English, enduring no word of comment or contradiction.⁸ As Treitschke himself said "one only understands what one loves," his method stands self-condemned.

The leading motive of his lectures was that Germans were the chosen people,—the second time that supernatural guidance through shifting and devious ways has been claimed by an unpopular nation. To this view that to the chosen people all things must be permitted is due his saying: "The Cameroons? (on Germany's acquisition of that colony) What are we to do with this sand-box? Let us take Holland; then we shall have colonies." It will be remembered that the discreet Ranke once advised Bismarck to annex Switzerland. The theory that history should be written by patriots, that "true passion sees clearer than all the cold-blooded sophists, and only the historian writing from a party standpoint introduces us to the life of the parties and really guides us," is clearly a mischievous and provincial one, and led to Treitschke writing history for Germans, not for foreigners. "Foreign critics do not like my books? That is natural. I write for Germans, not foreigners," he once answered with impatient contempt when a friend pointed out to him the injury he did his chances of a European reputation such as Ranke's or Mommsen's. But apart from his Prussian bias, which was severely criticized in 1885 by Baumgarten in a pamphlet which contends that the great history of Germany ought to be read as "truth and fiction,"⁹ there are some curious deficiencies in his equipment as a historian.

Though his great diligence in research is well known, a carelessness in his use of oral information, surprising in the scientific historian, caused some difficulties. "Impressions of travels through all the valleys of Germany, poetry, newspaper extracts, conversation and humorous stories of friends were always at his command, and these combined with . . . information verbally received enabled him to shape his work. Considering his system of gathering information it was inevitable that occasionally he was provided with unauthentic news, for as soon as conversation arose on a subject useful to him his pocket-book appeared, and he asked to have the story put down. All sorts of protests against his anecdotes were

⁸ J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, p. 92. Speaking of England Treitschke said: "In this universe of ours the thing that is wholly rotten, wholly a sham, may endure for a time, but cannot endure forever." He frequently rings the changes on the "nation of shop-keepers."

⁹ *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 42.

raised after each publication. It is notorious how circumstantially he subsequently had to explain or contradict the story of the silver spoon of Prince Wrede, the red order of the Eagle of Privy Councillor Schmalz and many other things; and much more frequently still he promised correction in the subsequent edition to those who had lodged complaints."¹⁰

A further defect of Treitschke's is connected with the claim that the Germans are the chosen people,—a claim for the divine guidance of Germany. His audience gathered in his lecture-hall to hear the "story of the manner in which God or the world-spirit, through shifting and devious paths, had led Germany and the Germans to their present exalted station under Prussia and the Hohenzollern."¹¹ That a small state, "necessarily materialistic," should be successful is "ludicrous";¹² that a great state, such as England or Russia, should be predominant in Europe is a "ghastly prospect, immoral and appalling."¹³ It is essential that there should be but one chosen people at a time. A citation from the New Testament seems to him conclusive as to the morality of war: "It is precisely political idealism that demands wars, while materialism condemns them. What a perversion of morality to wish to eliminate heroism from humanity! . . . All references to Christianity in this case are superfluous and perverse. The Bible says explicitly that the powers that be shall bear the sword, and it also says: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' Those who declaim this nonsense of a perpetual peace do not understand the Aryan peoples." It would be difficult to pack a greater amount of disingenuousness in a smaller compass.

Sometimes the confusion of thought reaches to absurd heights. In discussing the question of women voting Treitschke says in effect: Either female suffrage benefits the married man or it does not; both results are wrong! "In the exercise of the right [of voting] by women there are only two alternatives possible. Either the wife, or it may be the daughter, votes as the husband and father, and thereby an unwarranted privilege is granted to the married man; or wife and daughter are good-for-nothings; then they vote against the man and thus the state carries its dispute in frivolous fashion right into the peace of the home."¹⁴

¹⁰ *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, pp. 74-75.

¹¹ Cramb, *Germany and England*, p. 89.

¹² *Selections from Treitschke's Lectures on Politics*, trans. A. L. Gowans, 1914, p. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *Selections from Treitschke's Lectures on Politics*, p. 57.

It may be objected that these criticisms are directed at unimportant details of Treitschke's equipment, and that it is no more worth while pointing them out to-day than Carlyle's apologetics for violence, his exaggerated worship of success. But while Carlyle's influence in England is dead, Treitschke's in Germany is still living and active; and the German press and professors to-day show the worst and most dangerous qualities—the naive national egoism and carelessness of the rights of other states, uncritical acceptance of doubtful evidence—of the man who saw in history an arsenal from which to draw weapons of offense to pursue his political aims, and whose ideals and passionate rhetoric have so deeply tinged German thought. That thinking cools the heads of other nations but inflames the Germans is as true to-day as when Madame de Stael first set this phrase in her work on Germany.

ANOTHER VIEW OF TREITSCHKE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE present number of *The Open Court* contains an article on Treitschke which is written from the British standpoint and presents a distorted picture of the man. The editor has accepted the article not because he endorses the judgment of the author but because he does not want to suppress opinions contrary to his own. He does not wish, however, to begin a controversy on the subject, because he has not made a specialty of history and still less of German history as written by Professor Heinrich von Treitschke; but feels it his duty to point out some flaws in the statements of Miss M. Jourdain.

Treitschke was a man of conviction, and his conviction is that Prussia is the state which best realizes the humanitarian ideal. Prussia therefore, according to Treitschke, is the best-fitted instrument of God—of the world-spirit, of the principle of progress—to bring about the union of Germany and be the leader of the Teutonic nation so that the German people may assume the place they deserve to hold in the history of the world. This conviction was deeply rooted in Treitschke's soul, not on account of any inherited prejudice in favor of Prussia, but in spite of contrary traditions which he naturally acquired from his surroundings, his education and inheritance, and we must honor his independence of thought, whether we agree with him or not.

Treitschke was a native of Saxony, the son of a high Saxon officer, a lieutenant-general in the Saxon army. He came from a state whose citizens at this time hated Prussia most intensely. He saw the reason for Prussia's greatness; he admired the strength of her policy, her unflinching sense of duty, her love of justice even toward enemies and the tradition of her rulers in whom the spirit of Frederick the Great was still kept alive. In 1866 war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and his native country

Saxony allied herself with Austria; but he felt so intensely for Prussia that he became naturalized as a Prussian.

History was not merely a theoretical study to Treitschke; it was the teacher of mankind, and from the past he learned the meaning of the present. He became an interpreter of the significance of the present and like a prophet he was bent on deciphering the future. He was not merely a professor of history, he was a prophet; and in his study of historical facts he pointed out the dangers of the future, preaching in his lessons the duties of the present generation.

Treitschke was a patriotic Prussian and can be said to be a representative German historian only in his own interpretation of Prussia's rôle in the history of Germany. We must bear in mind that Germany was not established as an empire until 1871, when Treitschke was thirty-six years old, and at that time each German state had its own local conception of history, most of them being anti-Prussian. Treitschke's view was justified by Prussia's success and so other historical conceptions fell gradually into oblivion.

Treitschke was very active in German politics. He did not belong to a reactionary party, to the Junkers or any conservative group representing German Tories; he was a member of the National Liberal party and was elected into the Reichstag for Kreuznach-Simmern in 1871 where he kept his seat until 1883. If he emphasized his partisanship, he did it because he had chosen his party after a scrupulous inquiry into the situation. His adherence to his political program was a matter of conscience with him, and that is the reason why he was forceful in his demonstrations and convincing in his arguments.

Treitschke was a historian, and he was better able than others to decipher the handwriting on the wall. He had studied not only the history of Germany but was also familiar with France and England. Noting the expanse of Germany's industry and commerce, he foresaw that Germany would soon become a rival of Great Britain and prophesied the impending war. His voice of warning, however, was not heeded, and he by no means attained that fame in Germany with which he has been credited in England. There was no hatred of England in Germany at his time, but in England his writings found an echo and made him better known than he could ever have been at home. In him the word has once more been fulfilled that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country.

It is needless to say that there are millions and millions of

Germans who never heard of Treitschke nor of Bernhardi until these writers were boomed by the English press as the men who had made the war. But such is the efficiency of the English press that a distorted view of them is now spread over the whole English-speaking world and it is all but impossible to correct it. Treitschke is known to be the most painstaking historian with regard to the authorities on which his statements are based. At the same time he was a good writer and his descriptions are full of fascinating detail. He was not only a theoretical thinker, but also an earnest man with a practical bent of mind. To him the use of a study of history was its application to present politics, so he took part in the upbuilding of the German empire, and the duties of practical life were to him more important than academic work among his books. Now we must learn from English sources that he did not care for truth, but for the sake of his partisan standpoint was ready to distort the truth as a matter of principle.

It is hard (even for the young generation of Germany) to understand how difficult it must have been in the middle of the nineteenth century for a young Saxon nobleman to embrace the cause of Prussia solely because he had gained the conviction that the enemy of his country was in the right. I feel sure that this same man would have gone to England and have become a British subject of his Majesty Edward VII if he had become convinced that the policy of the Triple Entente was wise and righteous. He did not approve of the British policy of a world empire for he knew that world empire means war with every nation capable of becoming a rival. He is now represented as an advocate of German world dominion while in fact he has denounced the very idea of it as false and dangerous.

It has become fashionable to condemn Treitschke's views on the state as the *ne plus ultra* of barbarism, and the less people who are anti-German know of him the more positive they are in their condemnation. But the explanations of his philosophy current in modern English literature slightly distort his views, whereby they succeed in representing him as a man who absolutely disregards *right* in favor of his idea of the nature of the state as *might*.

Treitschke describes the origin of the state in his *Lectures on Politics*, §1, as follows:

"The state is the people legally united as an independent power. By 'people' we understand, briefly, a plural number of families permanently living together. When this is recognized it follows that the state dates from the very beginning and is necessary; that

it has existed as long as history and is as essential to humanity as language."

"It further follows from the nature of the state as sovereign power that it cannot recognize an arbiter above itself.... Since it is impossible to picture to oneself a higher judge above states, which are sovereign by their nature, the condition of war cannot be imagined away out of the world."

".... This truth remains: the essence of the state consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power above itself. How proud and truly worthy of a state was Gustavus Adolphus's declaration when he said: 'I recognize no one above me but God and the sword of the victor.'"

Treitschke recognizes the necessity of war among sovereign states under definite conditions: "Among the civilized peoples war remains the form of lawsuit by which the claims of states are enforced" by the victor. Concerning war Treitschke says:

"From the natural horror men have for the shedding of blood, from the size and quality of modern armies, it necessarily follows that wars must become fewer and shorter, for it is impossible to see how the burdens of a great war can be borne for any prolonged period under present conditions in the world. But it is a fallacy to infer from that that they could ever cease altogether. They cannot and should not cease, so long as the state is sovereign and confronts other sovereign states."

While war is abhorrent to Treitschke, he sees some good in it. He appreciates its good effects in history thus:

"War is also an element that unites nations, not one that only separates them; it does not only bring nations together as enemies; they also learn through it to know and respect one another in their particular idiosyncrasies."

War is a cure for many social ills. As Treitschke says: "War is the only remedy for ailing nations."

War teaches a wholesome lesson to the people in times when a nation is sicklied over with individualism, the belief in the sovereignty of the individual, the insignificance of every single man in contrast to the greatness of the state: "The moment the state calls: 'Myself and my existence are now at stake!' social self-seeking must fall back and every party hate be silent. The individual must forget his own ego and feel himself a member of the whole; he must recognize what a nothing his life is in comparison with the general welfare. In that very point lies the loftiness of war, that the small man disappears entirely before the great thought of the

state; the sacrifice of fellow countrymen for one another is nowhere so splendidly exhibited as in war. In such days the chaff is separated from the wheat."

This quotation alone suffices to prove that Treitschke is not an admirer or follower of Nietzsche.

Treitschke believes in the institution of compulsory military service as it exists in Prussia and regards a people's army like that of Prussia as "a school for the peculiarly manly virtues of the people, which so easily become lost in an age of profit and enjoyment."

He says on the same subject: "You must realize clearly how these new formations of the army affect the waging of war. On the whole the tendency of the system is a peaceful one. A whole nation in arms is dragged out of its social employments into a frivolous war with much more difficulty than a conscript army. Wars become fewer and shorter, but at the same time also bloodier. The desire to get home again will give a strong impulse forwards."

"Carlyle prophesied that the Prussian idea of universal liability of service would make the round of the world. Since in 1866 and 1870 the Prussian army-organization stood its trial so brilliantly, almost all the other great states of the continent have tried to imitate it."

While Treitschke has always been represented as neglecting the nature of right, he regards the state as an intrinsically moral institution. He says: "A power that treads all right underfoot must in the end itself perish." He criticizes Machiavelli for not recognizing right in politics, but he recognizes Machiavelli's significance in the history of politics as follows:

"It will ever remain Machiavelli's glory that he set the state upon its own feet and freed it in its morality from the church; and also, above all, that he declared clearly for the first time: 'The state is power.' But he does not get rid of the idea that morality is altogether ecclesiastical, and, while he drags the state away from the church, he drags it away from the moral law altogether."

"Machiavelli has entirely failed to see how this doctrine of mere power is self-contradictory even from his own standpoint. . . ."

Against Machiavelli's theory he insists that "even the state is everywhere subjected to the laws of its moral nature, which it may not infringe with impunity."

Treitschke does not believe in the ideal of an international world peace. He says: "All the pipe-of-peace-smokers in the world will not bring matters so far that the political powers will at

any time be of one mind, and if they are not the sword alone can decide between them."

While Treitschke recognizes that statesmen ought to be smart, that they ought to possess the wisdom of serpents, he believes that real statesmanship must follow the truth. He says:

"Of course journalistic phrase-mongers talk of great statesmen as of a disreputable class of men, as if lying was inseparable from diplomacy. The very opposite is the truth. The really great statesmen have always been distinguished by an immense openness. Frederick the Great declared before every one of his wars with the greatest precision what it was he wished to attain."

Treitschke has been accused of having taught the Germans to aim for world dominion, but nothing is farther from the truth than that. We must remember that the medieval notion of empire was that of a universal dominion. As the pope was to be the spiritual head of mankind—really of Christendom for Christianity would be the universal religion—so the emperor should be its secular head. This notion of a world dominion of the emperor, who at the same time happened to be king of Germany, is severely criticized by Treitschke.

Treitschke condemns the very idea of a world-state as impossible in itself, because every state, every nation organized as a civilized society, should remain sovereign. He says: "The idea of a world-state is odious; the ideal of one state containing all mankind is no ideal at all."

Hence the man who is commonly accused of having induced Germany to aspire for world dominion points out his conception of Germany's future thus:

"The ideal towards which we strive is an ordered company of nations, which lays down limitations of sovereignty in the way of voluntary treaties without doing away with that sovereignty."

I do not regard Treitschke either as infallible or as a saint; his theories are not flawless. Though of Slavic descent, he believes in the German race to such a degree as to preach anti-Semitism, and he is quite reactionary in opposing woman suffrage on the ground that it is not proper for woman to take a share in politics. But though we may differ from him on many points, no one who knows him can doubt his honesty or the earnestness of his conviction. There is one point which I would insist on and it is this: If we criticize a man let us not condemn him for opinions which he never held nor for tendencies which he never possessed.

PROFESSOR CRAMB ON TREITSCHKE.

BY THE EDITOR.

TREITSCHKE is mostly condemned by English people on the basis of Professor J. A. Cramb's authority; but while Professor Cramb characterizes this German historian as outspokenly anti-English, he has the highest regard for him and apparently holds to him the relation of disciple to master. He speaks of him in terms of great respect and even admiration. He refers for instance on page 86¹ to Treitschke's "deep Teutonic moral nature," and on page 82 he says: "Treitschke's History is characterized by punctilious research and by reliance on original documents and original documents only."

Treitschke has often been made out to be a disciple of Nietzsche. This is impossible not only because Nietzsche was much younger than Treitschke, and Treitschke might *vice versa* have been the master and teacher of Nietzsche, but the two characters were too unlike to agree. Treitschke naturally looked upon Nietzsche as a crude immature pretender who had no depth and was not worth serious consideration. Professor Cramb makes these brief comments on Treitschke's view of Nietzsche:

"Against the creator of Zarathustra Treitschke was bitterly and irreconcilably prejudiced from the very beginning of the former's career, when Treitschke wrote of him to Overbeck as "that rascal fellow Nietzsche." He even quarreled with Overbeck because of the latter's sympathy with his young colleague at Basle. His roughness to Nietzsche in 1872 is not worse than Stein's roughness to Goethe, and arose from similar causes. Treitschke divines in the author of *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* "the good European" of later works; and therefore the bad Prussian, the bad German.

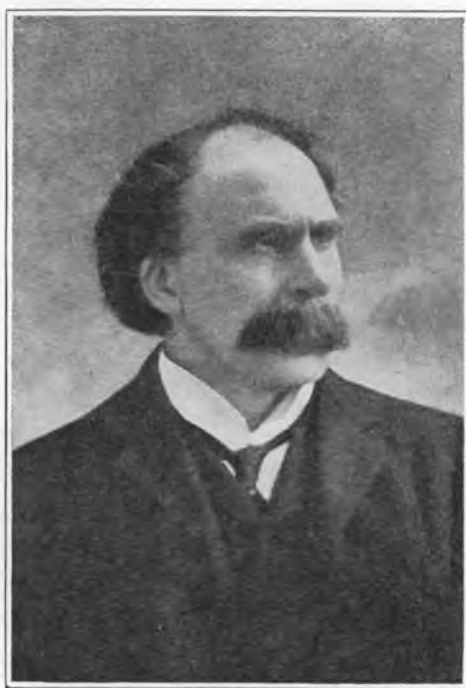
We must bear in mind that Treitschke was a professor of

¹ All the quotations in this and the following article are taken from Professor Cramb's posthumous book, *Germany and England*, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914.

high standing and even fame, while Nietzsche was regarded in university circles as a popular philosophaster, a pseudo-philosopher. People have long realized that he was a popular author appealing only to the unschooled masses but not to scholars, and even to-day he is not recognized among professional thinkers.

Because Treitschke is so strangely misrepresented in all English papers as well as in pro-British American literature, we will quote from Professor Cramb what he has to say on the German historian.

"Like many notable Germans of the nineteenth century, above



J. A. CRAMB.



H. G. VON TREITSCHKE.

all that German who is now beginning to arrest the attention even of Englishmen—for as a rule it takes at least half a century for any true German thought to cross the North Sea!—like Friedrich Nietzsche, and perhaps like Ranke himself, Heinrich von Treitschke was Slavonic in origin. His ancestors were Czechs who migrated from Bohemia during the turmoils of the Thirty Years' War and, seeking refuge from the Jesuit plague, found security under the Protestant electors of Saxony. During the eighteenth century they gradually rose in the favor of the ruling house. Under the last elector of Saxony a Treitschke became a privy councilor. He sent his sons into the army, secured for them in 1821 the syllable *von*, and

before his death had the joy and satisfaction of seeing one of them commandant of the fortress of Königstein, which still rises in gray and impressive solitude on its tall rock above the Elbe. This was Eduard von Treitschke, the historian's father.

"Treitschke was born at Dresden in September, 1834, one of the darkest and most disconsolate periods in modern German history. The old ideals were sinking; the new had not yet arisen. The despotism of Metternich lay like a dead hand upon Austria and the South; the princes clung to their privileges; Frederick William III still reigned in Prussia. Schelling died that year, sunk in obscurantism; Arndt was a professor at Bonn; Tieck had ceased to write; Wilhelm von Humboldt still lived in honorable retirement at Schloss Tegel; but Goethe had died two years before, and, a year earlier than Goethe, Hegel and Niebuhr had both passed away; Stein had died some months after Niebuhr in solitude and estrangement from his times, seeing not only Germany but Europe itself rushing upon the abyss. Schleiermacher preached for the last time in 1834. The heroes of the War of Liberation were long dead, or lived, an embarrassment and a reproach, amid a generation which, apathic and indifferent, half wished to forget their heroism. Scharnhorst had died of his wounds at Prague (1813), in the very hour of Germany's glory; Blücher, in 1819; Yorck in 1830; and Gneisenau (just when entering upon the Polish campaign), a Field-marshal at last, had died in 1831, like Hegel, of cholera, then raging throughout Europe. Who was there left to represent the past splendors? And in the deep night there was not a star to hint the coming dawn. Such was the world into which Treitschke was born.²

"In his childhood everything seemed to mark him out as a Saxon, as destined, that is to say, to follow a career in that country. Treitschke, however, early discovered something that alienated him from the career contemplated for him by his father. His mother, who was of pure German origin, was a reader of Willibald Alexis, above all of those tales the scenes of which were placed in the heroic times of Frederick the Great; and when Treitschke's own tastes began to form they led him as instinctively to the Wars of Liberation as Rousseau's tastes had led him to Plutarch, or Mirabeau's to Livy or the Rome of the Gracchi and of Sulla. He took to the study of history; and he discovered in that study the conduct of Saxony in the past, the conduct of the Saxon dynasty

² Treitschke himself has described this period in the third volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte*.

—perhaps the stupidest royal house in Europe. He discovered the part played by Saxony at Leipsic, and the yet more despicable part played at Waterloo; and all that was German as distinct from all that was particularist in that history took possession of his imagination.

“While he was still a boy his great heroes were not the heroes of Saxony; they were all Prussians. Just as in the eighteenth century the men of the French Revolution found their inspiration in the heroes of Plutarch, Caius Marius and Sulla and Brutus, so Treitschke found his inspiration in the Prussian heroes *à la* Plutarch, in those magnificent figures which fill and adorn the pages of Prussian history between 1809 and 1813. His heroes are Gneisenau, Blücher’s aide-de-camp, he who really controlled Blücher’s actions in all matters of diplomacy; and Scharnhorst, of whom he has left one of the most powerful sketches that German literature possesses. Again, his hero is Stein, or the philosopher Fichte, or Moritz Arndt the poet, the son of a serf, author of the famous song, ‘Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?’ And there is significance as well as authenticity in the anecdote which depicts him as a boy of fifteen reading aloud in the presence of Beust, one of Metternich’s most repulsive satellites, an essay in the dithyrambic manner rejoicing in the downfall of the princes and exalting German unity, a unity which is to be accomplished ‘by a race into whose blood has passed in their youth the free and bracing winds of the Baltic strand.’

“It is while he is a boy also that there overtakes him a disaster which tries the steel and stoicism in him. He has described it for us in a volume of verses published in 1856—the coming upon him of a fever, his slow recovery, and, at last, his astonishment at the persistent sorrow on his mother’s face, despite his recovery. He describes his being taken out into the garden on an early summer’s day, lying on a bench in the sun, seeing the bright skies for the first time after what seemed months and years. And then a strange thing happens. A singular feeling comes over him of a vast and unnatural silence. He sees the mounting lark; he hears no song. It is a silent universe. Terrified, the child rushes back into the house, and there he discovers the cause of the persistent sorrow on his mother’s face. He is nearly stone deaf, incurably and for ever.

“His description of the fight within himself back to courage, stoicism, and acceptance of life is a very remarkable passage in the poem; and in this passage something of Treitschke’s temperament throughout life is revealed. ‘There are men who are

doomed to pass their lives on broken wings,' he wrote later of Heinrich von Kleist, 'because some malevolent chance has excluded them from that sphere in which alone they could accomplish the highest that is in them to do.' To him in his youth that 'highest' seemed his missed career of action and war. For it is certain that Treitschke, compelled to be a writer of books, would, but for this disaster, have been a soldier.

"His course of study was the usual course of a young German of the time. Perhaps the greatest moment in it was when he came to the University of Bonn in 1851. There, amid the romance of the scenery, the mountains, the distant view of the spires of Köln—Balthazar, Gaspar, and Melchior, the three kings—the river, the castle from which Roland had started, he knew the happiest period of a university life. 'He who is not a poet in Heidelberg or Bonn,' he writes, 'is dead to poetry.'

"The intellectual activities of the place rapidly absorbed him. The aged poet, Moritz Arndt, was still teaching history; and one can imagine the thrill—indeed he himself has helped us to imagine it—with which the young Treitschke, with his enthusiasm for the heroes of the War of Liberation, first looked upon those high and noble features. Each successive phase of that heroic action Arndt had witnessed; his own songs had been part of the action; he had been the companion and confidant of the great minister Von Stein. Even more powerful was the influence of another of the Bonn professors—Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, the historian of Denmark. He too, like Arndt, had played his part in the War of Liberation, and at four-and-twenty he had walked across Germany with the poet of Arminius,³ determined to fight in the ranks of Austria, since Prussia was still too timid or too weak to strike at the tyrant. In the young student Arndt kindled memories and sentiments; but Dahlmann was at once an inspiration as a lecturer and in private a friendly adviser.

"Next perhaps to the influence of Arndt and Dahlmann upon him was the influence of the Rhine. It is hard for us in England to understand what the Rhine really means to a German, the enthusiasm which he feels for that river. Treitschke himself says of it, for instance, when he has to leave Bonn: 'To-morrow I shall see the Rhine for the last time. The memory of that noble river'—and this is not in a poem, observe, but simply in a letter to a friend—'the memory of that noble river will keep my heart pure and save

³ Heinrich von Kleist, author of *Die Hermannsschlacht*.

me from sad or evil thoughts throughout all the days of my life.' Try to imagine anyone saying that of the Thames!

"When Treitschke becomes a teacher himself and a professor at Freiburg these are the influences governing his teaching. His own career as a teacher began at Leipsic in 1859, and he inaugurated it in a striking enough manner by his treatise on 'The State.' This treatise might be described as an abstract justification of monarchy, just as Rousseau's famous essay might with fairness be described as an abstract justification of democracy. Like every sincere attempt in the field of abstract politics it is full of inconsistencies and contradictions; but it reveals the central tendencies of the author's mind. The friend of Bismark, the apologist of the Hohenzollern and the eager admirer of Prussian bureaucracy already announces himself. The essence of the state, he argues, is power; but it is a moral power, and in virtue of this moral nature the authority of the state over the individual is supreme and without appeal.

"Four years later, at Freiburg, he gave for the first time the lectures which developed afterwards into the two volumes entitled *Die Politik*. But the stress of the period speedily tears Treitschke from abstract speculation upon the state to living politics and to the study of the actions of men in the concrete. Bismark's struggle with the Prussian parliament is at its height. The safety and prestige of the Prussian monarchy is not yet assured. The dispute about the duchies is at hand, and behind it rises the war of 1864, and behind the war of 1864 and the Convention of Gastein loom the war of 1866, and Königgrätz, and the creation of the North-German Confederation; then the insulting half-maniacal jealousy of France, and the war of 1870.

"Treitschke had originally been destined for the army, and it is as a soldier of soldiers that we see him in each phase of those momentous nine years. 'Lay on my coffin a sword,' the dying Heine wrote in 1856. But the war in which Treitschke fought was less vague than that dim war for the freedom of humanity in which Heine imagined himself a fighter. Treitschke was an enthusiast for freedom, as his essays on Milton and Byron as well as scores of passages in his other writings attest; but he plunged into the struggle to assert the Prussian ascendancy over Germany with all the ardour with which, in an earlier age, Fichte and Dahlmann had plunged into the War of Liberation. At Freiburg, Kiel, and finally at Heidelberg, his own enthusiasm communicated itself to hundreds of students who heard him, and ultimately to thousands.

"His appearance at this period was striking: a tall, rather slim figure, marked nobility of feature and bearing, dark eyes and masses of thick dark hair. He was sparing in gesture, abrupt and effective, more chary of pure rhetoric than Droysen, more regardful of fact than Häusser. His voice was harsh, the Saxon accent unmistakable, and he had often to pause for a word. He seldom mixed with his audience after his lectures; his deafness made this difficult, for, to a man of his sensitiveness, an ear-trumpet in general company was abhorrent. But this was no real drawback; it rather invested the speaker and his impassioned utterances with a touch of prophetic remoteness.

"'Is Treitschke an orator at all?' and English admirer of his writings once asked a member of the Reichstag. 'In the sense in which Mr. Gladstone was an orator,' was the reply, 'certainly not. In the Reichstag he is always listened to with respect; he never kindles enthusiasm; and yet, if the art of the rhetor is to compel men to action, how many greater orators are there in modern Germany, or, for that matter, in modern France or England, than simply Heinrich von Treitschke?... And see, yonder he comes.'

"The excitement, the momentary pallor on the speaker's face, proved to the Englishman more powerfully than words the dominion which intellect united to moral greatness exercises over other men. He pointed to a solitary figure walking with a stick slowly down the shady path of the splendid street Unter den Linden. He walked as the deaf always walk, glancing rapidly from side to side. It was impossible to resist the melancholy of penetrating strength in the dark and luminous eyes, eyes of a type which one seldom meets in England, full of meditative depth and integrity, trust-winning. Once, where the crowd was less, he raised a soft grey felt wide-awake hat, for the day was hot, and the noble forehead was for a second visible. Involuntarily the Englishman raised his own hat with an instinct of reverence. That was in the summer of 1892.

"The years in which Treitschke wrote his greatest book are also the years of his greatest fame as a lecturer. Probably no German professor, not Fichte, not Schlosser, not Droysen, has ever commanded such audiences. His lecture-hall in Berlin did actually suggest a concourse such as, in the Middle Ages, met to hear an Abelard, or, in the Renaissance time, thronged around Giordano Bruno or Pico della Mirandola.

"And it was a true message, a 'gospel,' which they came to hear, a gospel which the commonest could understand, which the

most cultured could not disdain. His subject, of course, was history, or it was politics; but through all the mazes of historical narrative, carefully documented, fact on fact torn from hours in the Berlin archives, and amid all the mazes of political speculation, close and stern reasoning, sometimes repellent by its accumulation of apparently redundant matter and irrelevant illustration—amid all this a man's soul was wrestling almost visibly to bring home to his hearers his own burning conviction of the greatness of Germany, her past, her present, and the unfathomable vistas which open out before her in the future.

“That is Treitschke's central theme. It is the informing thought of each of his distinctive books or collections of writings—the five volumes of his *History*, the two volumes of his *Politik*, his two series of *Deutsche Kämpfe*, his *Bilder aus der deutschen Geschichte*, his political essays and literary portraits, above all, his magnificent full-length portraits of Dahlmann and of the poet Heinrich von Kleist.

“Treitschke has no philosophy of history in the sense in which Hegel or Buckle or Cousin has a philosophy of history. He has come too late into the world for that. But in a wider sense, like every true German historian, he *has* a philosophy of history. There is nothing in which German historians more completely differ from English historians than in this respect. No German historian is ever satisfied that he has the right to teach history until he has acquired for himself by individual vision, or adopted from another, whether Kant or Hegel or Lotze or Nietzsche, some general view, some theory of the working of God in history. To him history is a drama in which God is the supreme actor.”

BERNHARDI ENDORSED BY PROFESSOR CRAMB.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE late J. A. Cramb, professor of modern history in Queen's College, London, is a prophet of England who has called the attention of his countrymen to the German danger, explaining to them in vivid terms the messages of both Treitschke and Bernhardi to the German people. He is commonly referred to as the man who points out the "barbarism" of Germany, her militarism, her aspirations to world-power and the dangers which all this implies to Great Britain. And this is true, but it is a mistake to think that in so doing Professor Cramb belittles Germany, censures her militarism or ridicules her *Kultur*. He has no word of depreciation for Germany; on the contrary his attitude proves that he admires the Germans and wishes that his countrymen were, or in the present crisis would become, like them.

Senator Joseph H. Choate, who has written an introduction to the American edition, is apparently anti-German, but it would be wrong to ascribe the same tendency to the author himself. The fiery red protecting cover of this edition bears the announcement "Bernhardi answered" above the title of the book. The red color attracted my eye and I wanted to see what Professor Cramb had to say in answer to Bernhardi, but I found he practically endorses the German general in every important respect. He only insists on disproving the German idea of English degeneracy, English inefficiency, English haughtiness, English intolerance. The tone of the book is full of respect for Germany and for the old pagan view of the Germanic religion, the "religion of valor," the duty of offering one's life for the service of the fatherland, of standing up for right in battle, and of fighting the good fight, if need be, to the bitter end. The reader can feel in his lines Professor Cramb's regret at English narrowness, English unfairness and even the English

diplomacy which makes mercenaries or allies wage the wars of Great Britain. He still believes a revival of England possible, and appeals to the pride of the English, to their sense of honor, to their patriotism, that they may be strong and quit themselves like men in the struggle that is sure to come; and whatever the result, whether victory or defeat, that they, no less than the Germans, may be worthy to belong to the race of Odin's children.

Professor Cramb is well acquainted with Germany, German institutions, German literature and the German people, and he wants England to become better acquainted with Germany and refers not without irony to English ignorance on this special point. One passage of Professor Cramb will illustrate his regret that the English should give little heed to a subject which he deems very important. He says:

"If Germany is our enemy of enemies, if the twentieth century is to witness such a conflict for empire as that of England against France in the eighteenth century, or against Spain in the sixteenth, what is more important than that we should understand the spiritual as well as the material resources of that enemy, than that we should seek to discover the hidden foundations of its strength and probe the most secret motives of its actions, the characterizing traits of its policy, the deep convictions which mould the history of the nation? For with nations as with individuals, it is character that counts; he that wills greatly conquers greatly.

"If, on the other hand, Germany is to be England's friend, perhaps even her ally, if blood indeed be thicker than water, then perfect mutual understanding, the earnest scrutiny of our separate aspirations as they emerge from our separate pasts, can only strengthen that friendship and render that alliance more enduring. For there is no surer basis of friendship, whether between individuals or nations, than the sympathy that is born of knowledge and the knowledge that, in turn, is produced by sympathy.

"Yet how far from that knowledge and how indifferent to its attainment are the majority of Englishmen in these times! Germany has one of the greatest and most profound schools of poetry—yet how many Englishmen have the secret of its high places or access to its templed wonders? Since the decline of Alexandria there has been no such group of daring thinkers as those of Germany in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; yet to most English men and women the 'Critique of Pure Reason' and the larger version of Hegel's 'Logic' are sealed as the 'Enneads' of Plotinus.

"Merely as an unexampled opportunity for the study of the soul of a people why should England neglect this literature? Why in 1913 should the following characteristic incident be even possible?

"A few weeks ago the head master of one of our public schools exhumed a letter of the late Mr. Gladstone, in which that eminent politician cast a slur upon the whole of German literature, denouncing the author of 'Faust' and of 'Iphigenie' as an immoral writer in whose works we find virtue banished and self-indulgence reigning. Yet Goethe is, perhaps, the most serene artist in words since Sophocles, and amongst the children of men not one has striven with a loftier purpose to divine, even though darkly, the bond of the Many and the One, and thus to justify the ways of God to man and of man to God. That in the welter of literary opinions, published and unpublished, of the late Mr. Gladstone, such a verdict on Goethe and on German literature should exist is not astonishing. The astonishing thing is that in the second decade of the twentieth century an Englishman should have been found who, having exhumed such a verdict, did not from very shame instantly cover it again in complete oblivion. Instead of this, he incontinently published it in the *Times*, not once only, but in two different issues. The publication of this letter is discreditable at once to the critic, to the exhumers, to the press and to the nation.

"I have neither the wish nor the hope that every Englishman should become a master of the German language and a learned student of the philosophy or the poetry of Germany, its history or its politics. My ambition is more modest. It is the hope that during the next few decades there may gradually arise here in England a wall, as it were, of cultured opinion, which should make the blunt enunciation of such judgments by a prominent politician all but impossible by the ridicule to which they would at once expose him, and their ratification by the head master of one of our public schools absolutely unthinkable."

He adds further down:

"And the average Englishman, thus denied by his ignorance of the language all access to this deeper knowledge—to what sources of information does he trust? We know them well. There is, for instance, the Radical member of Parliament who, liberated from the cares of state, spends three weeks in Berlin, consorts with members of the Reichstag, and finds each and all of them thoroughly well-disposed towards peace with all men and with England in particular. What scaremongers are these, he asks indignantly, who talk of German ambitions or a German invasion? Then there is the

geographer and traveler who spends a somewhat longer period in the towns and villages of Brandenburg and West and East Prussia, and returns aghast at the intensity of hate which he found—at what he describes as ‘the all but insane desire for war with England’ which animates every class of society. There is, again, the statistician who enumerates the mileage of German railways and German canals, of Berlin streets and Berlin drains; or, again, the English officer of a type not yet obsolete, who, preparing for the Intelligence Department of the War Office, spends three months in Germany and finds in it ‘a nation of damned professors.’”

Professor Cramb recognizes the vigor innate in Germany, especially in Prussia, and quotes Frederick the Great, who, in the midst of danger, writes these lines:

“Pour moi, menacé du naufrage,
Je dois, en affrontant l’orage,
Penser, vivre et mourir en roi.”

Having surveyed the history of Germany, the heroism of the Teutons since the days of Alaric, he concludes:

“And now, under the Hohenzollern, what is the future? Bernhardt, at least, is explicit: ‘For us there are two alternatives and no third—world-dominion or ruin, *Weltmacht*¹ oder *Niedergang*,’ It is the interpretation of Treitschke’s maxim, *Selbst ist der Mann*.”

Professor Cramb continues:

“When, turning to England, I consider the apathy or the stolid indifference of the nation—when, for instance, I consider the deliberate and hostile silence or loud calumnies which for the past seven years have accompanied Lord Roberts’s crusade; and when over against this apathy I survey in this month of February, 1913, the energy, the single, devoted purposefulness throbbing everywhere throughout Germany, her forward-ranging effort, her inner life, her army, her fleet, I seem to hear again the thunder of the footsteps of a great host. . . . It is the war-bands of Alaric!”

Having listened to an inspiring speech of Lord Salisbury, in which was explained the growth of Germany from the building of the Kiel canal, he says that the first conflict between England and Germany arose when the latter began building battleships in spite of British protests. He adds in a footnote on page 41:

“And in that conflict England has suffered her first defeat, her first moral defeat. She has had to withdraw her fleet from the

¹ *Weltmacht* means world power and cannot properly be translated by world dominion; the latter would be in German *Weltherrschaft*. *Weltmacht* means a power whose influence extends over the whole world.

Mediterranean. That sea was once ours—an English lake. It is no longer ours. Our power is concentrated, watching our dearest friends, those Germans who have no intention whatever of coming near England!"

Lord Salisbury's speech made a deep impression on Professor Cramb. He says:

"As I walked from the meeting, the twilight falling across the park, the words of another orator came back to me—the exhortation addressed by Demosthenes to Athens, words which, spoken in Athens's darkest hour, bear a strange resemblance to those spoken by Lord Salisbury in this, the last of his great speeches. 'Yet, O Athenians,' said the Greek, 'yet is there time! And there is one manner in which you can recover your greatness, or, dying, fall worthy of your past at Marathon and Salamis. Yet, O Athenians, you have it in your power; and the manner of it is this. Cease to hire your armies. Go yourselves, every man of you, and stand in the ranks; and either a victory beyond all victories in its glory awaits you, or, falling, you shall fall greatly and worthy of your past!'"

This would mean militarism and would necessitate England's adopting the German institution of universal compulsory service in the army. Perhaps that will be England's fate in the future, although England claims that it is not fighting Germany but militarism. Professor Cramb no doubt would have England imitate Germany. He says:

"Rouse yourselves from your lethargy! Cease to hire your soldiers! Arm and stand in the ranks yourselves—as Englishmen should! And thus, dying you shall die greatly, or, victorious, yours shall be such a victory as nothing in England's past can exceed or rival."

We are constantly told that England stands for peace while Germany would establish an era of war. Let us hear what Professor Cramb has to say:

"Until about five hundred years ago England can hardly be said to have fought as a nation. Her wars till then represent rather the heroism of dynasties and of individual groups of men than the heroism of the nation as such. But towards the middle of the fourteenth century there began a series of really national wars in England—the wars against France, with their great battles of Crecy and Agincourt, and the great disaster, the hour when with Talbot at Castillon an empire sank. Then there is the war against Spain in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth the wars against

Holland and the France of Louis XIV, which continue into the eighteenth century and find their natural termination only in the wars against Napoleon. In the nineteenth century there is a long series of wars in all parts of the world—in the Crimea, in India and Afghanistan, in China, in New Zealand, in Egypt, in western and in southern Africa; so that it might be said without exaggeration that through all these years scarcely a sun set which did not look upon some Englishman's face dead in battle—dead for England!

"Now for what have these wars been fought? Can one detect underneath them any governing idea, controlling them from first to last? I answer at once: There is such an idea, and that idea is the idea of empire. All England's wars for the past five hundred years have been fought for empire. . . . And what was the stake for which England fought in all her battles against Bonaparte? The stake was world-empire; and Napoleon knew it well. France's opportunity was now, or her world-empire was lost for ever. Bonaparte fought for that, and fought for it titanically and superbly; and dying there in Sainte-Hélène there died with him a world-hope."

Professor Cramb traces the same aspiration in the history of Germany since the foundation of the Holy Roman empire by the Frankish King Charlemagne. The historian Treitschke calls attention to the failure of this ideal of world dominion and in evidence of it quotes the sarcastic verse from Goethe's *Faust*:

"Das liebe heil'ge röm'sche Reich,
Wer hält's nur noch zusammen?"

Apparently Professor Cramb does not cherish the ideal of the pacifists, but looks upon it as a kind of sickness which is apt to poison the life of weak or decaying nations. He says:

"Upon a young and virile nation, a rising military state, daily growing in power, pacificism can never exert much influence for evil; there is no possibility of such a nation being seriously turned from heroism. But to an old nation in which certain forces of decay *seem*, at least, already to be manifesting themselves, might not such a theory, if too ardently adopted, be fraught with very terrible danger, with very real and disastrous consequences?"

"In regard to Germany we are confronted by certain circumstances that indisputably merit our consideration here in England. There is, for instance, the annual appearance in Germany of very nearly seven hundred books dealing with war as a science. This points, at once, to an extreme preoccupation in that nation with the

idea of war. I doubt whether twenty books a year on the art of war appear in this country, and whether their circulation, when they do appear, is much more than twenty!....

"A nation's military efficiency is the exact coefficient of a nation's idealism. That is Treitschke's solution of the matter. His answer to all our talk about the limitation of armaments is: Germany shall increase to the utmost of her power, irrespective of any proposals made to her by England or by Russia, or by any other state upon this earth. And I confess it is a magnificent and a manly answer, an answer worthy of a man whose spirit of sincerity, of regard for the reality of things, is as great as Carlyle's.

"The teaching of Treitschke's disciple, General von Bernhardi, is the same. War to him is a duty. Nothing is more terrible than the government of the strong by the weak, and war is the power by which the strong assert their dominion over the weak. War sets the balance right. And the younger poets of Germany breathe the same spirit—Liliencron, for instance, who represents most fitly that aspect of modern German literature. That spirit of war and glory which informs his battle-sketches of the war of 1870—I can sum it up for you. It is in the verses of Goethe's Euphorion:

"Träumt ihr den Friedenstag?
Träume, wer träumen mag!
Krieg ist das Lösungswort!
Sieg! und so klingt es fort."²

"That is the spirit in which war is regarded in contemporary Germany."

England has become accustomed to wage her wars through allies, but Professor Cramb does not approve of that theory. He says:

"In this country we seem to be gradually acquiring the dangerous habit of mind of trusting to alliances rather than to our own strength. A great nation trusts to itself mainly; only secondarily to alliances, however intimate. For deep in the heart of every nation lie ancient, strong resentments, resentments that at a moment of crisis may flare up into ancient strifes.

"War has often revealed antagonisms between powers apparently friendly, and sympathies between powers apparently hostile. We speak much, for instance, of the Triple Entente; but of how

² "Dream ye of peaceful sway?
Dream on, who dream it may.
War still is empire's word!
Peace? By the victor's sword!"

long standing is our amity with France, and upon what foundations does it rest? Waterloo is not yet a century old, and Fashoda is but yesterday; and some half a century ago, between these two terms, the ignoble terror of a French invasion created the absurd volunteer system which a not less ignoble terror of Germany has recently transformed into the still more absurd territorial force.

"And Russia? At the present hour Germany seems in a state of dull hostility towards Russia, England in a state of very dull friendship with the same power. England, with her ancient dreams, her ancient traditions and ideals of the higher freedom, the larger justice, summons the aid of Russia to help her to govern, or mis-govern, Persia! How can we hope that such an alliance, so unnaturally framed, will last? Does it not contain within itself the very seeds of its own destruction? And along the northern shore of the Persian Gulf or on the Afghan frontier we have with our own hands laid a mine which might at any moment shatter the fabric to pieces. He who cannot take within his range a prostrate France and the alliance of Russia and Germany against England is not a student of politics, whatever else he may be."

Professor Cramb believes in the principle which he repeatedly quotes from Demosthenes, and addresses his countrymen thus:

"England must take upon herself the fulfilment of her destiny, depending upon herself alone for the realization of a destiny that is *her* destiny."

Professor Cramb is an Englishman and he appeals to his countrymen to be heroes and not (as he so often regretfully suggests) hypocrites. He has sat at the feet of Treitschke and Bernhardi; he believes in the religion of valor and ends his book with these words:

"And if the dire event of a war with Germany—if it is a dire event—should ever occur, there shall be seen upon this earth of ours a conflict which, beyond all others, will recall that description of the great Greek wars:

"Heroes in battle with heroes,
And above them the wrathful gods."

"And one can imagine the ancient, mighty deity of all the Teutonic kindred, throned above the clouds, looking serenely down upon that conflict, upon his favorite children, the English and the Germans, locked in a death-struggle, smiling upon the heroism of that struggle, the heroism of the children of Odin the War-god!"

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE NEWTON WINDOW IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

At the south end of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (England), is a stained glass window which, though its effect is not unpleasing, is a curious mass of anachronism. "To bring in," says the late Dr. Sinker,¹ "the two most famous sons of Trinity, we have here Newton presented to George III by a female figure apparently representing Fame, while Bacon sits by as though recording the fact. This window, which is from a design by Cipriani, was set up in 1774-5." It seems that the window was made by Peckett of York from a design by Cipriani which is preserved in the library. It cost £500 and was paid for out of a legacy from Dr. Robert Smith, Master of the College, who died in 1768.

Newton died in 1727; George III was born in 1738 and ascended the throne in 1760. Francis Bacon died in 1626, while Newton was born in 1646. So the meeting could not refer to this earthly life, whilst the appearance of George III in an exalted position in any other life is hard to explain. It must be due to the strange anachronisms of which this window is either an effect or a cause that Rosenberger² has described Bacon as a "friend" of Newton's. Of course in a vaguely rhetorical sense the spirits of great men may, like ordinary friends, have a great deal in common. But not so very long ago woe betide him who should suggest that Newton's soul was not whiter and his character sweeter than either George's or Bacon's. Indeed Newton is one of those few men of science who are held up as an example to children, and he is so orthodox that inns are named after him. But there were some points—notably those concerned with his treatment of Leibniz—that needed to be thoroughly investigated. It was not idle curiosity nor any merely base wish to expose the weak points in the character of a great man which prompted this investigation. It was the burning need to get at the truth about great scientific discoveries and also the more human but no less praiseworthy need to prevent others being unjustly known to future generations as having lived on a stolen reputation. Every man is entitled to be as mean, in money or in other ways, as envious, as selfish or as treacherous as he likes, providing only that these qualities do not interfere with the spread of knowledge or the happiness of other people. But this is of course an empty permission. It is probably impossible that there could be any circumstances in which weakness of character would not have harmful effects. And we know only too well that Newton was mean. With money he was, it is true,

¹ Robert Sinker, *The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1891, p. 10.

² *Isaac Newton und seine physikalischen Principien*. Leipsic, 1895, p. 303.

sometimes carelessly generous. But he was careless at first about keeping his rights to the discovery of the fluxional calculus and then showed real eagerness in asserting those rights, in imputing low motives to Leibniz and in trying to prejudice his own and future generations against him. Leibniz frankly told Newton all about his discovery, and Newton tried by underhand means to take from Leibniz the most precious thing he had. Quite apart from this Newton repeatedly kept knowledge from the world simply because he disliked controversy.

A little volume of three of De Morgan's *Essays on the Life and Work of Newton*, with very many notes by myself, has just been published by the Open Court Publishing Company. Augustus De Morgan's biographical sketch entitled "Newton" appeared in *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies* in 1846 and is the first essay printed in this volume. It was, after Baily's *Life of Flamsteed* of 1835, the first English work in which the weak side of Newton's character was made known. Justice to Leibniz, to Flamsteed, even to Whiston, called for this exposure; and the belief that it was necessary did not lower the biographer's estimate of Newton's scientific greatness and of the simplicity and purity of his moral character. Francis Baily's discovery of the correspondence between the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, and Abraham Sharp, as well as between Newton, Halley and Flamsteed, on the publication of Flamsteed's catalogue of stars, had thrown a new light on the character of Newton. It appeared that the practical astronomer had been treated ungenerously by Newton who failed to observe the conditions of publication agreed to by all parties; and afterwards, when remonstrated with, omitted the name of Flamsteed in places where it has formerly stood in the earlier editions of the *Principia*.

It was not only mathematical discovery and controversy that De Morgan treated in the just, broad-minded, and high-minded way that is characteristic of him. He disclaimed any particular interest in those religious beliefs of Newton which he discussed so thoroughly; still he seems to have felt more interest in the question, from its own nature, than he was himself aware of. He said, "Whatever Newton's opinions were, they were the result of a love of truth and of a cautious and deliberate search after it." That Newton was a firm believer in Christianity as a revelation from God is very certain, but whether he held the opinions of the majority of Christians on the points which distinguish Trinitarians from Arians, Socinians, and Humanitarians, is the question of controversy.

The second of De Morgan's essays printed in this volume concerns the great controversy about the invention of the fluxional or infinitesimal calculus, in which Newton and Leibniz were the principals. The essay printed is from the *Companion to the Almanac* of 1852 and is now extremely rare. It is of great interest and importance both on account of the fairness and vigor which De Morgan always showed in the defence of Leibniz against the imputations of Newton and the Royal Society and because it first introduced the English public to Gerhardt's important discovery of Leibniz's manuscripts showing his gradual discovery of the calculus in 1673-1677. This essay also contains a summary of much of De Morgan's historical work on the controversy. Where it seems advisable, notes have been added to the second essay giving an account of De Morgan's and others' work on the subject.

To this second essay I have added an appendix the chief aim of which is to give the sources at which may be found the original manuscripts written by Newton and Leibniz when they were discovering their respective calculuses. This has not been done hitherto and it is all the more necessary that it should be done as modern authors, such as Moritz Cantor in his monumental *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, neglect the fact that any early manuscripts of Newton's on fluxions are extant or that some have been published—by Rigaud, for example—and some still remain unpublished.

In 1855 appeared Sir David Brewster's *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, and De Morgan, in a critique of this work in the *North British Review*, showed clearly that Sir David had fallen into hero-worship. Here the faults of Newton are pointed out with an unwavering finger and the merits of Leibniz are recognized and his character defended against Brewster more at length than in De Morgan's biography of Newton. This review is printed as the third of De Morgan's essays on Newton. I have added two appendices to this third essay: the first is part of a biography of Leibniz which De Morgan wrote and which illustrates a laudatory reference to that great man in the third essay; the second is an extract from a later work of De Morgan's and deals with Newton's character and the relation to it of the Royal Society down to De Morgan's own times.

Numerous notes of either a bibliographical, explanatory or critical nature have been added to all the essays but all that is not De Morgan's is put in square brackets. Such notes have become necessary and it is hoped that the present ones will reply to all the calls of necessity and will make the book both useful and complete. Very little has to be criticized in De Morgan's history or conclusions. Like everything he wrote, these essays of his are marked by scrupulous care, sanity of judgment and wide reading; and one hardly knows which to admire most—the breadth or the height of his mind.

The frontispiece of De Morgan's *Essays* is from an engraving by E. Scriven of Vanderbank's portrait of Newton in the possession of the Royal Society of London. An engraving from this picture accompanied the original of De Morgan's biographical sketch; but the present frontispiece is from a much finer engraving prefixed to the biography of Newton in the first volume of *The Gallery of Portraits: with Memoirs*, of 1833.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF TAMERLANE.

We have received from Prof. Michelangelo Billia of Pisa (formerly of Milan) a pamphlet entitled *Le ceneri di Lovanio e la filosofia di Tamerlano* ("The Ashes of Louvain and Tamerlane's Philosophy"). It gives the text of a lecture delivered several times by Professor Billia in Milan and elsewhere. The spirit of the whole is characterized by the concluding pages which read in English translation as follows:

"Some barbarian has dared to compare Goethe to Dante, but what a gulf between them! Marguerite is a caricature of Beatrice, or rather an abortion. "Poor little German university professor" is the term Rosmini applied to Mephistopheles. The redemption of Faust comes finally in the very last part (added as an afterthought) in the Lutheran fashion without either works or faith. Although in the conception of Goethe Faust is supposed to be a German university professor he is nothing but an imbecile old man, a puppet in

the hands of the Evil One, and then finally (I might almost say in spite of himself) he is saved only because the patched-up work must needs end well—a spatial redemption, so to speak, crude and external. Faust is not transformed; he goes up to heaven because the good angels simply must bring redemption to that poor Devil's devil. But the real devil is Goethe himself, the embodiment of German egotism and immorality. As he sacrificed "the restraint of art" in forced allusions and in sounds and words as hard and thankless as the *Spezereie* in the song of the women at the sepulcher, so he sacrifices morality to the preconceived idea that the facts of history are justified provided only that they serve to enhance the greatness of man, that is to say, of the German; and in this he anticipates Hegel and follows Spinoza. Baucis and Philemon, the two little old people around whom tradition has thrown a halo, are burned alive in order to clear away the forest—and plant the Krupp factory in its place.

"Compare this philosophy of history from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* with the first and second cantos of the *Inferno* and the thirtieth and thirty-first cantos of the *Purgatorio*, and then tell me what German art and religion are!

"The German by his own conduct puts himself beyond the pale of humanity in wishing to impose on mankind his blighting domination, whence it necessarily follows, as with the usurer, that he becomes subject by his very nature, since he has annihilated within himself the finer human elements.

"Who, if not the Prussian, has kept the Christians of the Orient in fetters beneath the Ottoman ax? Thus would he bring about German industry and expansion! Who is it that has kept the highway of nations in the Hellespont closed for so many years and has obstructed all the avenues of trade and commerce? Who has even made science—which is everywhere universal and human—a harness of commercial domination in Europe by invading university chairs and the book market and scorning every sort of human worth which was not German? And this is almost worse than political oppression and the fury of war for it is the vice of the whole people; it is the fixed national purpose; it is the height of corruption by which the whole nation is indeed dehumanized in its loftiest nature, the spiritual. And when we were shuddering at the latest massacres in Armenia and at the other excesses of the Young Turks and felt that such infamy ought not to be expected in our day, even from the Turks, we committed a grave error in overlooking the explanation of this in the fact that the Turkish hordes received their instructions from Prussian officials.

"Belgium, then, has deserved well of the human race, of civilization itself, for by sacrificing herself for her sworn word she has delayed and to some extent frustrated the murderous attack of the enemy of the human race. Blessed are all the arms that are resisting and punishing him; blessed are the arms of commissioned men in the regular armies that are opposing the invader and mowing him down; blessed are the arms of the people who will maintain the fixed purpose of laying him low in the ground he now so insolently treads or will tread; blessed are those who are sparing blood and refraining for the present, while preparing to vindicate Italian rights and to dictate peace, a peace which may also be of the greatest benefit to the enemy himself, for when his degenerate pride has been humiliated it will direct him to that regeneration and that grace by which a nature once human may be restored and transformed. May that day come; but for the present, in order

to defend ourselves, in order to put an end to oppressions, in order to maintain our existence, it is highly desirable, it is necessary, it is right, that we disregard the shock to our feelings and fix our attention on the apparent and indeed profound paradox that the German is not a human being; and this is not alone due to his murderous arms, but also to the philosophy of Tamerlane which for a century academic lackeys have been distilling in the service of the king of Prussia."

STRIKES AND THE PUBLIC: THREE STAGES.

The great and short-lived Chicago strike in the field of intramural transportation came unexpectedly, in spite of weeks of talk and futile negotiations. It came unexpectedly and as a shock, not because the people of the United States have not suffered from tie-ups of elevated and street railroads; not because the paralysis, the losses, the hardships and inconveniences caused by such industrial conflicts have not been endured many times, but because the average man had somehow formed the flattering and comforting idea that such things belonged to a closed era, and that in our own more enlightened day they were practically impossible. Would either of the direct parties—the employees and the representatives of the capital invested in the public utilities—dare to defy or even ignore the great "third party," the innocent public? Have we not had a moral awakening in this country? Have we not had industrial investigations without number, commissions, new legislation, arbitration machinery, tremendous campaigns of education with reference to the wastes and the criminal folly of labor wars, and the duty of prompt and earnest resort to conciliation and arbitration? Why, then, neither capital nor labor, at least in the field of public utilities, would venture to offend the moral sentiment and the common sense of the great public. Needless and causeless strikes must therefore be regarded as impossible!

The Chicago strike of over 14,000 motormen and conductors caught the city and the public mentally unprepared; for the strike talk had not been taken seriously. When the order to walk out was issued few outsiders actually knew what the trouble was about. The cheerful assumption that everything would end happily after more or less strategic jockeying and bargaining, had rendered study and inquiry of the question altogether unnecessary.

But the ugly and unpleasant fact shattered the public illusions. Here was a great and needless strike; here was deliberate disregard of the rights and interests of the great public; here was confusion worse confounded. Aldermen, members of the state legislature, official arbitrators, utility commissioners, editors, civic reformers, were severally willing and anxious to help, but the calling of the strike found them bewildered and impotent. They had to work in the dark

Is there any lesson in the episode? There is. The developments of the short and sharp Chicago strike, when properly analyzed and interpreted, attested very considerable advance in social and public sentiment. The strike was unfortunate—but it had new features, features that had not characterized former strikes. The attitude of the public was changed; the comments of the average man as he ran—or walked—or pathetically tried to get into a jammed "jitney bus"—were different from the old, conventional comment.

The strikers and the managers of the utilities, even while ignoring the public in their warlike actions, tacitly recognized in their proclamations and explanations and disclaimers that the old order had given place to a new one. They accepted arbitration after 48 hours because of this change. These significant signs and symptoms presage a series of important practical readjustments and changes.

There are thoughtful observers of social-economic phenomena who, if they should write a history of "Strikes and Public Rights," would divide the evolutionary process in the premises into three distinct stages, somewhat as follows:

First Stage: No distinction between strikes or lockouts in the field of public utilities and similar disorders in other fields of industry. The right to strike and to lockout generally admitted. The public does not assert its interests at all; rather believes in the "freedom" to strike and dismiss without consulting any outside interest. The powerful corporations "have nothing to arbitrate" when strikes occur. The organized strikers ask arbitration and occasionally get it as a favor. The public mildly approves of arbitration and conciliation, but admires the manager who stands up for "his right to do as he pleases," especially when he claims to champion the "free laborer" and his "right to work."

Second Stage: Distinction drawn between public utilities and private industry. The interests of the public asserted more or less vigorously. Conciliation and arbitration in favor, but the stronger labor unions have lost their former enthusiasm for it. Sometimes the men even reject arbitration, having found it unsatisfactory because the average arbitral body "splits the difference" and adheres to no definite set of principles. The great public sees no virtue or beauty in "the right to strike" or the correlative right to discharge, and takes utilitarian views. Does not really see why it should suffer, lose money and run other serious risks, private and municipal, simply because industrial disputants lack common sense or regard for the common welfare.

We are living and moving to-day in this second stage, but we are slowly passing into the third one. The public is becoming conscious of the fact that its rights and interests *are* paramount and ought to be frankly and deliberately treated as such. It is also beginning to realize that its interests will not be properly and sufficiently respected by industrial belligerents if it does not itself take steps to insure such protection and does not establish the appropriate machinery. Appeals in the name of the innocent public are better, of course, than silence and indifference, or than open, bold declaration that the public has no rights entitled to consideration when belligerents choose "to fight it out" or to starve one another out. Still, appeals and protests, the more intelligent representatives of the public now see, are too often ineffective. The public must think out and work out ways and means of preventing strikes and lockouts, at least in the sphere of public utilities. It must set up efficient and adequate machinery for investigation, conciliation and arbitration. It must find a way of reaching and enforcing an impartial award, and of preventing any suspension of service pending investigation and arbitration. It must assert its interests in all charters and franchises that are granted in its name to corporations or labor organizations. It must not rely on the good will and benevolence of the other parties, but must itself, through legislation and fit, expert, "non-political" administration, adapt means to the end in view--the

prevention of industrial warfare where such warfare is unjustifiable and needless.

Now, there are differences of opinion as to the kind and amount of machinery that will have to be set up. Some will advocate public ownership and operation of utilities. Others will insist on semi-compulsory or compulsory arbitration, on trying better regulation and control first. But few will defend the policy of aimless drifting, of unpreparedness, of suffering great, disastrous strikes to happen first and of casting about wildly and hysterically for "ways out" afterward.

In the short-lived Chicago strike, to repeat, we have some rather vague evidence of considerable moral and theoretical advance, but the method, the machinery was not there, the public interest had no assured championship or protection. Both sides made serious mistakes and blunders. Both sides rendered lip service to the public interest without actually yielding to it and recognizing its primacy. Even if they had wished to yield, the public had no authoritative agent and representative to take control of the situation, and avert the break and the tie-up.

These lessons of the strike should and will be taken to heart. If they are, the encouraging moral advance we have made in the last several years will be embodied in concrete and practical measures—in potent safeguards and preventives.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HISTORY OF GERMAN CIVILIZATION. By *Ernst Richard, Ph.D.* New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 531. Price \$2.00 net.

Dr. Richard, lecturer on the history of German civilization at Columbia University, here gives a general survey of Teutonic culture from the dawn of history down to the present day. It is a clear and comprehensive sketch, laying down the historical development in its successive phases from pre-Roman ages through the time of Roman influence, the rise of German cities, the first great efflorescence before the time of the Reformation, and at the age of Luther and its complete breakdown during the war of 30 years, during which Germany was reduced from a population of 17,000,000 to 4,000,000. After the peace of Westphalia the French influence began. Science and industry began to rise and the German spirit is incarnated in Frederick the Great, king of Prussia. The age of Frederick the Great brings on Germany's greatest literary development in Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schiller and Goethe. The fifth book is devoted to the nineteenth century, portraying the misfortunes that came through Napoleon I, and the slow regeneration of Germany culminating in the restoration of the German empire in 1871, and ends with a general description of the reign of William II before the present war. The volume is written with spirit and is based on a thorough knowledge of the historical facts in question. If there is a criticism to be made, it seems that the author should have indicated more precisely the historical sources which he has utilized for his interpretation of history.

K



WILLIAM OUGHTRED (1574-1660).

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1915

NO. 711

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THE LIFE OF WILLIAM OUGHTRED.

BY FLORIAN CAJORI.

AT SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY.

WILLIAM OUGHTRED, or, as he sometimes wrote his name, *Owtred*, was born at Eton, the seat of Eton College, the year of his birth being variously given as 1573, 1574 and 1575. "His father," says Aubrey,¹ "taught to write at Eton, and was a scrivener; and understood common arithmetique, and 'twas no small helpe and furtherance to his son to be instructed in it when a schoole-boy." "He was a boy at Eton in the year of the Spanish Armada." At this famous school, which prepared boys for the universities, young Oughtred received thorough training in classical learning.

According to information received from F. L. Clarke, Bursar and Clerk of King's College, Cambridge, Oughtred was admitted at King's a scholar from Eton, on September 1, 1592, at the age of 17. He was made Fellow at King's on September 1, 1595, while Elizabeth was still on the throne. He received in 1596 the degree of Bachelor of Arts and in 1600 that of Master of Arts. He vacated his fellowship about the beginning of August, 1603. His career at the University of Cambridge we present in his own words. He says:²

"Next after Eaton schoole, I was bred up in Cambridge in

¹ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, Vol. II, Oxford, 1898, p. 106.

² "To the English Gentry, and all others studious of the Mathematicks, which shall bee readers hereof. The just Apologie of Wil: Oughtred, against the slanderous insimulations of Richard Delamain, in a Pamphlet called *Grammologia*, or the Mathematicall Ring, or *Mirifica logarithmorum projectio circularis*" [1633], p. 8. Hereafter we shall refer to this pamphlet as the *Apologeticall Epistle*, this name appearing on the page-headings.

King's Colledge: of which society I was a member about eleven or twelve yeares: wherin how I behaved my selfe, going hand in hand with the rest of my ranke in the ordinary Academicall studies and exercises, and with what approbation, is well knowne and remembered by many: the time which over and above those usuall studies I employed upon the Mathematicall sciences, I redeemed night by night from my naturall sleep, defrauding my body, and inuring it to watching, cold, and labour, while most others tooke their rest. Neither did I therein seek only my private content, but the benefit of many: and by inciting, assisting, and instructing others, brought many into the love and study of those Arts, not only in our own, but in some other Colledges also: which some at this time (men far better than my selfe in learning, degree, and preferment) will most lovingly acknowledge."

These words describe the struggles which every youth not endowed with the highest genius must make to achieve success. They show, moreover, the kindly feeling toward others and the delight he took throughout life in assisting any one interested in mathematics. Oughtred's passion for this study is the more remarkable as neither at Eton nor at Cambridge did it receive emphasis. Even after his time at Cambridge mathematical studies and their applications were neglected there. Jeremiah Horrox was at Cambridge in 1633-1635, desiring to make himself an astronomer. "But many impediments," says Horrox,³ "presented themselves: the tedious difficulty of the study itself deterred a mind not yet formed; the want of means oppressed, and still oppresses, the aspirations of my mind: but that which gave me most concern was that there was no one who could instruct me in the art, who could even help my endeavours by joining me in the study; such was the sloth and languor which had seized all....I found that books must be used instead of teachers."

Some attention was given to Greek mathematicians, but the works of Italian, German and French algebraists of the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries were quite unknown at Cambridge in Oughtred's day. It was part of his life-work as a mathematician to make algebra, as it was being developed in his time, accessible to English youths.

At the age of 23, Oughtred invented his "Easy way of delineating Sun-dials by Geometry," which, though not published

³ *Companion to the [British] Almanac of 1837*, p. 28, in an article by Augustus De Morgan on "Notices of English Mathematical and Astronomical Writers between the Norman Conquest and the year 1600."

until about half a century later, in the first English edition of Oughtred's *Clavis mathematicae* in 1647, was in the meantime translated into Latin by Christopher Wren, then a Gentleman Commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, now best known through his architectural creations. In 1600 Oughtred wrote a monograph on the construction of sun-dials upon a plane of any inclination, but that paper was withheld by him from publication until 1632. Sun-dials were interesting objects of study, since watches and pendulum clocks were then still unknown. All sorts of sun-dials, portable and non-portable, were used at that time and long afterwards. Several of the college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge have sun-dials even at the present time.

AS RECTOR AND AMATEUR MATHEMATICIAN.

It was in 1604 that Oughtred entered upon his professional life-work as a preacher, being instituted to the vicarage of Shalford in Surrey. In 1610 he was made rector of Albury, where he spent the remainder of his long life. Since the era of the Reformation two of the rectors of Albury obtained great celebrity from their varied talents and acquirements, our William Oughtred and Samuel Horsley. Oughtred continued to devote his spare time to mathematics, as he had done in college. A great mathematical invention made by a Scotchman soon commanded his attention—the invention of logarithms. An informant writes as follows:⁴

“Lord Napier, in 1614, published at Edinburgh his *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio*.... It presently fell into the hands of Mr. Briggs, then geometry reader at Gresham College in London: and that gentleman, forming a design to perfect Lord Napier's plan, consulted Oughtred upon it; who probably wrote his *Treatise of Trigonometry* about the same time, since it is evidently formed upon the plan of Lord Napier's *Canon*.”

It will be shown later that Oughtred is very probably the author of an “Appendix” which appeared in the 1618 edition of Edward Wright's translation into English of John Napier's *Descriptio*. This “Appendix” relates to logarithms and is an able document, containing several points of historical interest. Mr. Arthur Hutchinson of Pembroke College informs me that in the university library at Cambridge there is a copy of Napier's *Constructio* (1619) bound up with a copy of Kepler's *Chilias logarithmorum* (1624), that at the beginning of the *Constructio* is a blank leaf, and before this

⁴ *New and General Biographical Dictionary* (John Nichols), London, 1784, Art. “Oughtred.”

occurs the title page only of Napier's *Descriptio* (1619), at the top of which appears Oughtred's autograph. The history of this interesting signature is unknown.

HIS WIFE.

In 1606 Oughtred married Christ's gift Caryll, daughter of Caryll Esq., of Tangley, in an adjoining parish.⁵ We know very little about Oughtred's family life. The records at King's College, Cambridge,⁶ mention a son, but it is certain that there were more children. A daughter was married to Christopher Brookes. But there is no confirmation of Aubrey's statements,⁷ according to which Oughtred had nine sons and four daughters. Reference to the wife and children is sometimes made in the correspondence with Oughtred. In 1616 J. Hales writes, "pray let me be remembered, though unknown, to Mistress Oughtred."⁸

As we shall see later, Oughtred had a great many young men who came to his house and remained there free of charge to receive instruction in mathematics, which was likewise gratuitous. This being the case, certainly great appreciation was due to Mrs. Oughtred upon whom the burden of hospitality must have fallen. Yet chroniclers are singularly silent in regard to her. Hers was evidently a life of obscurity and service. We greatly doubt the accuracy of the following item handed down by Aubrey; it cannot be a true characterization:⁹

"His wife was a penurious woman, and would not allow him to burne a candle after supper, by which meanes many a good notion is lost, and many a probleme unsolved; so that Mr. [Thomas] Henshawe when he was there, bought candle, which was a great comfort to the old man."

IN DANGER OF SEQUESTRATION.

Oughtred spent his years in "unremitted attention to his favorite study," sometimes, it has been whispered, to the neglect of his rectorial duties. Says Aubrey:¹⁰ "I have heard his neighbour min-

⁵ Rev. Owen Manning, *History of Antiquities in Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 132.

⁶ *Skeleton Collegii Regalis Cantab: or A Catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows and Scholars, of the King's College....since the Foundation thereof*, Vol. II, "William Oughtred."

⁷ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

⁸ Rigaud, *Correspondence of Scientific Men of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, Vol. I, 1841, p. 5.

⁹ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

isters say that he was a pitiful preacher; the reason was because he never studied it, but bent all his thoughts on the mathematiques; but when he was in danger of being sequestred for a royalist, he fell to the study of divinity, and preacht (they sayd) admirably well, even in his old age."

This remark on sequestration brings to mind one of the political and religious struggles of the time, the episcopacy against the independent movements. Says Manning:¹¹ "In 1646 he was cited before the Committee for Ecclesiastical Affairs, where many articles had been deposed against him; but, by the favour of Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock* and others, who, at the intercession of *William Lilly* the Astrologer, appeared in great numbers on his behalf, he had a majority on his side, and so escaped a sequestration."

Not without interest is the account of this matter given by Lilly himself:¹²

"About this Time, the most famous Mathematician of all Europe, (Mr. William Oughtred, Parson of Aldbury in Surrey) was in Danger of Sequestration by the Committee of or for plunder'd Ministers; (*Ambo-dexters* they were;) several inconsiderable Articles were deposed and sworn against him, material enough to have sequestered him, but that, upon his Day of hearing, I applied my self to Sir *Bolstrode Whitlock*, and all my own old Friends, who in such Numbers appeared in his Behalf, that though the Chairman and many other Presbyterian Members were stiff against him, yet he was cleared by the major Number. The truth is, he had a considerable Parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate Judgment: He was also well known to affect his Majesty [Charles I]. In these Times many worthy Ministers lost their Livings or Benefices, for not complying with the Three-penny Directory."

HIS TEACHING.

Oughtred had few personal enemies. His pupils held him in highest esteem and showed deep gratitude; only one pupil must be excepted, Richard Delamain. Against him arose a bitter controversy which saddened the life of Oughtred, then an old man. It involved, as we shall see later, the priority of invention of the circular slide rule and of a horizontal instrument or portable sun-

¹¹*History and Antiquities*, etc., Vol. II, p. 132.

¹²*Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times, From the Year 1602 to 1681*, London, 1715, p. 58.

dial. In defense of himself, Oughtred wrote in 1633 or 1634 the *Apologeticall Epistle*, from which we quoted above. This document contains biographical details, in part as follows: "Ever since my departure from the Vniversity, which is about thirty yeares, I have lived neere to the Towne of Guilford in Surrey: where, whether *I have taken so much liberty to the losse of time, and the neglect of my calling* the whole Countrey thereabout, both Gentry and others, to whom I am full well knowne, will quickly informe him; my house being not past three and twenty miles from London: and yet I so hid my selve at home, that I seldomly travelled so farre as London once in a yeare. Indeed the life and mind of man cannot endure without some interchangeablenesse of recreation, and pawses from the intensive actions of our severall callings; and every man is drawne with his owne delight. My recreations have been diversity of studies: and as oft as I was toyled with the labour of my owne profession, I have allayed that tediousnesse by walking in the pleasant and more than Elysian fields of the diverse and various parts of humane learning, and not the Mathematics onely."

Even the opponents of Delamain must be grateful to him for having been the means of drawing from Oughtred such interesting biographical details. Oughtred proceeds to tell how, about 1628, he was induced to write his *Clavis mathematicae* upon which his reputation as a mathematician largely rests:

"About five years since, the Earle of Arundell my most honourable Lord in a time of his private retiring to his house in the countrey then at West Horsley, foure small miles from me (though since he hath a house in Aldebury the parish where I live) hearing of me (by what meanes I know not) was pleased to send for me: and afterward at London to appoint mee a Chamber in his owne house: where, at such times, and in such manner as it seemed him good to employ me, and when I might not inconveniently be spared from my charge, I have been most ready to present my selve in all humble and affectionate service: I hope also without the offence of God, the transgression of the good Lawes of this Land, neglect of my calling, or the observed scandall of any good man....

"And although I am no *mercenary man*, nor make profession to teach any one in these arts for gaine and recompence, but as I serve at the Altar, so I live onely of the Altar: yet in those interims that I am at London in my Lords service, I have been still much frequented both by Natives and Strangers, for my resolution and instruction in many difficult poynts of Art; and have most freely and lovingly imparted myselve and my skill, such as I had, to their

contentments, and much honourable acknowledgement of their obligation to my Lord for bringing mee to London, hath beene testified by many. Of which my liberallity and unwearyed readinesse to doe good to all, scarce any one can give more ample testimony than R. D. himself can: would he be but pleased to allay the shame of this his hot and eager contention, blowne up onely with the full bellowes of intended glory and gaine; . . . they [the subjects in which Delamain received assistance from Oughtred] were the first elements of Astronomie concerning the second motions of the fixed starres, and of the Sunne and Moone; they were the first elements of Conics, to delineate those sections: they were the first elements of Optics, Catoptrics, and Dioptrics: of all which you knew nothing at all."

These last passages are instructive as showing what topics were taken up for study with some of his pupils. The chief subject of interest with most of them was algebra which at that time was just beginning to draw the attention of English lovers of mathematics.

Oughtred carried on an extensive correspondence on mathematical subjects. He was frequently called upon to assist in the solution of knotty problems,—sometimes to his annoyance, perhaps, as is shown by the following letter which he wrote in 1642 to a stranger, named Price:¹³

"It is true that I have bestowed such vacant time, as I could gain from the study of divinity, (which is my calling,) upon human knowledges, and, amongst other, upon the mathematics, wherein the little skill I have attained, being compared with others of my profession, who for the most part contenting themselves only with their own way, refuse to tread these salebrous and uneasy paths, may peradventure seem the more. But now being in years and mindful of mine end, and having paid dearly for my former delights both in my health and state, besides the prejudice of such, who not considering what incessant labour may produce, reckon so much wanting unto me in my proper calling, as they think I have acquired in other sciences; by which opinion (not of the vulgar only) I have suffered both disrespect, and also hinderance in some small perferments I have aimed at. I have therefore now learned to spare myself, and am not willing to descend again in arenam, and to serve such ungrateful muses. Yet, sir, at your request I have perused your problem. . . . Your problem is easily wrought per Nicomedis conchoidem lineam."

¹³ Rigaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.

APPEARANCE AND HABITS.

Aubrey gives information about the appearance and habits of Oughtred:¹⁴

"He was a little man, had black haire, and black eies (with a great deal of spirit). His head was always working. He would draw lines and diagrams on the dust"....

"He [his oldest son Benjamin] told me that his father did use to lye a bed till eleaven or twelve a clock, with his doublet on, ever since he can remember. Studied late at night; went not to bed till 11 a clock; had his tinder box by him; and on the top of his bed-staffe, he had his inke-horne fix't. He slept but little. Sometimes he went not to bed in two or three nights, and would not come to meales till he had found out the *quaesitum*."

"He was more famous abroad for his learning, and more esteemed, than at home. Severall great mathematicians came over into England on purpose to converse with him. His country neighbours (though they understood not his worth) knew that there must be extraordinary worth in him, that he was so visited by foreigners"....

"When learned foreigners came and sawe how privately he lived, they did admire and blesse themselves, that a person of so much worth and learning should not be better provided for."

"He has told bishop Ward, and Mr. Elias Ashmole (who was his neighbour), that 'on this spott of ground,' (or 'leaning against this oake' or 'that ashe') 'the solution of such or such a problemc came into my head, as if infused by a divine genius, after I had thought on it without successe for a yeare, two, or three'....

"Nicolaus Mercator, Holsatus....went to see him few yeares before he dyed."

"The right honble Thomas Howard, earle of Arundel and Surrey, Lord High Marshall of England, was his great patron, and loved him intirely. One time they were like to have been killed together by the fall at Albury of a grott, which fell downe but just as they were come out."

Oughtred's friends convey the impression that, in the main, Oughtred enjoyed a comfortable living at Albury. Only once appear indications of financial embarrassment. About 1634 one of his pupils, W. Robinson, writes as follows:¹⁵

¹⁴ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

¹⁵ Rigaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 16.

"I protest unto you sincerely, were I so able as some, at whose hands you have merited exceedingly, or (to speak more absolutely) as able as willing, I would as freely give you 500 pounds per ann. as 500 pence; and I cannot but be astonished at this your age, wherein pelf and dross is made their summum bonum, and the best part of man, with the true ornaments thereof, science and knowledge, are so slighted...."

In his letters Oughtred complains several times of the limitations for work and the infirmities due to his advancing old age. The impression he made upon others was quite different. Says one biographer:¹⁶

"He sometimes amused himself with archery, and sometimes practised as a surveyor of land....He was sprightly and active, when more than eighty years of age."

Another informant¹⁷ says that Oughtred was "as facetious in Greek and Latine as solid in Arithmetique, Astronomy, and the sphere of all Measures, Musick, etc.; exact in his style as in his judgment; handling his Cube, and other Instruments at eighty, as steadily, as others did at thirty; owing this, he said, to temperance and Archery; principling his people with plain and solid truths, as he did the world with great and useful Arts; advancing new Inventions in all things but Religion. Which in its old order and decency he maintained secure in his privacy, prudence, meekness, simplicity, resolution, patience, and contentment."

ALLEGED TRAVEL ABROAD.

According to certain sources of information, Oughtred traveled on the European continent and was invited to change his abode to the continent. We have seen no statement from Oughtred himself on this matter. He seldom referred to himself in his books and letters. The autobiography contained in his *Apologeticall Epistle* was written a quarter of a century before his death. Aubrey gives the following:¹⁸

"In the time of the civill warres the duke of Florence invited him over, and offered him 500 li. per annum; but he would not accept it, because of his religion."

A portrait of Oughtred painted in 1646 by Hollar and inserted

¹⁶ Owen Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁷ *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1784 (John Nichols), Art. "Oughtred."

¹⁸ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

in the English edition of the *Clavis* of 1647, contains underneath the following lines:

“Haec est Oughtredi senio labantis imago
Itala quam cupiit, Terra Britannia tulit.”

In the sketch of Oughtred by Owen Manning¹⁹ it is confessed that “it is not known to what this alludes; but possibly he might have been in *Italy* with his patron, the Earl of Arundel.” It would seem quite certain, either that Oughtred traveled in Europe or that he received some sort of an offer to settle in Italy. In view of Aubrey’s explicit statement and of Oughtred’s well-known habit of confining himself to his duties and studies in his own parish, seldom going even as far as London, we strongly incline to the opinion that he did not travel on the continent, but that he received an offer from some patron of the sciences—possibly some distinguished visitor—to settle in Italy.

HIS DEATH.

He died at Albury, June 30, 1660, aged about 86 years. Of his last days and death, Aubrey²⁰ speaks as follows:

“Before he dyed he burned a world of papers, and sayd that the world was not worthy of them; he was so superb. He burned also several printed bookes, and would not stirre, till they were consumed.... I myselfe have his Pitiscus, imbelished with his excellent marginall notes, which I esteeme as a great rarity. I wish I could also have got his Bilingsley’s Euclid, which John Collins sayes was full of his annotations....

“Ralph Greatrex, his great friend, the mathematical instrument-maker, sayed he conceived he dyed with joy for the comeing-in of the King, which was the 29th of May before. ‘And are yee sure he is restored?’—‘Then give me a glasse of sack to drinke his sacred majestie’s health.’ His spirits were then quite upon the wing to fly away....”

In this passage, as in others, due allowance must be made for Aubrey’s lack of discrimination. He was not in the habit of sifting facts from mere gossip. That Oughtred should have declared that the world was not worthy of his papers or manuscripts is not in consonance with sweetness of disposition ordinarily attributed to him. More probable was the feeling that the papers he burnt—possibly old sermons—were of no particular value to the world.

¹⁹ Rev. Owen Manning, *The History and Antiquities of Surrey*, Vol. II, London, 1809, p. 132.

²⁰ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1898, p. 111.

That he did not destroy a large mass of mathematical manuscripts is evident from the fact that a considerable number of them came after his death into the hands of Sir Charles Scarborough, M.D., under whose supervision some of them were carefully devised and published at Oxford in 1677 under the title of *Opuscula mathematica hactenus inedita*.

Aubrey's story of Oughtred's mode of death has been as widely circulated in every modern biographical sketch as has his slander of Mrs. Oughtred by claiming that she was so penurious that she would deny him the use of candles to read by. Oughtred died on June 30, the Restoration occurred on May 29. No doubt Oughtred rejoiced over the Restoration, but the story of his drinking "a glass of sack" to his Majesty's health, and then dying of joy is surely apocryphal. De Morgan humorously remarks, "it should be added, by way of excuse, that he was eighty-six years old."²¹

²¹ De Morgan, *Budget of Paradoxes*, London, 1872, p.451; 2d ed., Chicago and London, 1915, Vol. II, p. 303.

THE PERSIAN RIVAL TO JESUS, AND HIS AMERICAN DISCIPLES.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

ONE of the most interesting of Oriental cults is a comparatively modern religion, Bahaism, its origin going back only to the middle of the nineteenth century. Although so recent, this religion has spread from its birthplace, Persia, to the furthest ends of the earth. Not alone in the Oriental countries, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India and Japan, have the Bahais found proselytes. There are thriving Bahai centers in France, Germany and England, while in the United States and Canada the work of conversion has met with even more success. Here Christians by the thousand have deserted the banner of Jesus for that of Baha'u'llah, and the work of proselytism is still being pushed onward with unabated zeal in the hope of making America Bahai. In thirty American cities Bahai meetings are held each week, and Bahai pamphlets are being unobtrusively but effectively circulated. A monthly periodical, half in English and half in Persian, is published in Chicago, and a Bahai temple is soon to be erected on the shores of Lake Michigan. Each year there gather together, at a quiet summer resort, representative Bahais from the United States and Canada, bringing with them the friends who are on the road toward conversion, and retreats are held at which eloquent Bahai speakers urge the claims of the new religion. Not seldom the European and Asiatic talent of the sect is called upon, and the *chargé d'affaires* of the Persian legation at Washington, Ali Kuli Khan, is usually a prominent figure at these meetings which extend through the months of July and August.

The present writer was brought by chance into contact with a number of Bahai converts, and the interest thus aroused finally led to an investigation of the history of Bahaism. Some of the material gathered together was very illuminating and furnished ground for an excellent view of certain aspects of sectarian re-

ligion. An account of these aspects in the history of Bahaism together with the impressions gained by personal experience among the American Bahais is what is here presented the reader.

The Bahais trace their origin to the preaching of Mirza Ali Mohammed of Shiraz, who in 1844 inaugurated a religious movement known as Babism, though in point of fact Bahaism is an offshoot rather than a legitimate outgrowth of the Babi cult. To the student of religions Babism and Bahaism offer this great advantage that, owing to the recency of the times in which they arose and the interest taken in them by certain Europeans (notably Count de Gobineau, Prof. E. G. Browne of Cambridge and Baron Rosen), materials are at hand from which may be drawn an impartial and tolerably complete history of these movements.

Ali Mohammed, the founder of Babism, was the son of a merchant of Shiraz, and in his early manhood took up this same vocation at Bushire, where for some five years he combined piety and business as so many shopkeepers do. His religious practices are said however to have degenerated into austerities not very conducive to either mental or physical vigor, one especially detrimental habitude being the exposure of his uncovered head to the rays of the sun for hours at a time. Finally he left his shop and made a pilgrimage to Nejef and Kerbela whence he returned in 1843 to set up in business anew as a professional reformer. His first efforts were directed, not toward founding a new religion, but toward rescuing Mohammedanism from the corruption into which it had fallen. In Shiraz he delivered a series of sermons in the Mosque of the Smiths, the chief characteristic of these sermons being bitter denunciation of the established Mohammedan clergy. About this time the leadership of a dissident Mohammedan sect, the Sheykhis, became vacant, and Ali Mohammed seized the opportunity to offer his services. The account of how he gained his first footing as leader among the Sheykhis is not without interest. Some time after the death of the leader of that sect a prominent member, Mulla Huseyn, paid a visit to Ali Mohammed at Shiraz. In the course of their conversation Ali Mohammed asked whether it was not time for the Sheykhis to select a new spiritual ruler to replace the one who had passed away five months before, and requested his guest to give an account of the marks by which the sect expected to recognize the person appointed by God as their leader. Huseyn described the signs by which the divinely appointed Master might be recognized. Ali Mohammed listened attentively, and when Huseyn was through said modestly: "Do you observe these

signs in me?", to which Huseyn bluntly replied: "I see in you none of these signs whatsoever." The next day Ali Mohammed again opened the subject, and repeated the same question. Again Huseyn replied in the negative. The would-be leader did not for the moment pursue the matter further, but the next day and the next day and the next he again took up the subject, and by dint of his pertinacity and the impression made by his masterly commentary on "The Tradition of the Handmaiden" and his other exegetical treatises on points of theological doctrine, he finally gained Mulla Huseyn as his first convert.

A portion of the Sheykhis accepted this new leader and became Babis, Ali Mohammed declaring himself the Bab or Gateway to Knowledge of the Divine. Another section, however, refusing to accept the innovations of the Bab, took as leader Mohammed Karim Khan whose descendants still rule the Sheykhi sect. In the struggle for leadership the Bab exhibited all of that kindliness characteristic of sectarian religion, and gave to his rival the courteous title of The Quintessence of Hell-Fire. It was not alone among the Sheykhis that the Bab found adherents; many converts were gained among the orthodox Mohammedans. One very prominent proselyte was a beautiful woman, Kurratu'l-Ayn, who left her husband in order to preach Babism to the people. When attempts were made to reconcile her with her husband she complacently replied to the peacemakers: "He, in that he rejects God's religion, is unclean, while I am pure; between us there is naught in common." When the disciples of the Bab took such an attitude it was not unnatural that animosity should arise between the Babis and the conservative Mohammedans who derided the pretensions of Ali Mohammed to speak with more than human authority. By the vilification of his opponents the Bab had made numerous enemies, and persecution soon began to rage. Many Babis were tortured and slain, the Bab himself being executed by the Persian government in 1850. It is the custom so to paint the character of martyrs as to conceal all traces of imperfection, but though we pity the Babis in their sufferings and condemn the barbarity of their enemies, history forbids us to regard the former as sheep and the latter as wolves. The first killing in the warfare between the two parties was made by the Babis, not by their persecutors, and was the cold-blooded murder of a Mohammedan Mulla.

The story of this murder, as told by the Babi historian Mirza Jani, is by no means an edifying one. Mulla Mohammed Taki was the uncle and also the father-in-law of Kurratu'l-Ayn and was an

orthodox Mohammedan who indulged in public tirades against the dissenting sects of Sheykhis and Babis, and disparaged the holy men whom the sectaries held sacred. Whether, in his denunciation of the Bab, Mohammed Taki equalled or surpassed the bitterness with which the Bab habitually attacked the orthodox Mohammedan mullas we have no means of ascertaining. But at all events the Babis became enraged, and one of their number stabbed Mohammed Taki while he was saying his prayers in the mosque; this, as the Babi historian unctiously tells us, being brought to pass "by the Lord" in order that Mohammed Taki "might no more speak insolently of the saints of religion." A spirit quite unlike that of the Babis was shown by the murdered Musulman on his death-bed, since (according to this same Babi historian) he declared with his dying breath that he forgave his murderer. The latter escaped and, as the historian puts it, "joined himself to the people of God," that is to the Babis of Mazandaran province, who apparently felt no compunction at sheltering a murderer. However, two other Babis suspected of having a hand in the crime were captured and killed, and these were the first Babi martyrs of whom history has any record.

Kurratu'l-Ayn was suspected of having instigated the murder of her uncle, and she too found it advisable to flee from her home and take refuge with "the people of God." It was not long before the Babis of Mazandaran were an armed body of outlaws in conflict with the Persian government. Scandal says that Kurratu'l-Ayn so exercised her physical charms as to gain many soldiers for the cause. Though she never took part in the actual battles, by the devotion she inspired in the camp she became to the Babis something of a Joan of Arc. Undue self-depreciation, be it noted, was not among her faults. Upon one occasion, when Mohammed Ali of Barfarush, a shining light among the outlaws, turned toward the customary "Kibla" to say his prayers, she modestly requested him to turn toward *her* as she was the Kibla.

The Babi bandits of Mazandaran, who were led by Mulla Huseyn, the Bab's first disciple, had in view a descent upon Teheran, and had even selected a place of burial for the ten thousand Mohammedans they expected to slaughter in the capital. This pious expectation was not however realized, and the outlaws were finally suppressed by the Persian government though not until they had performed many valorous exploits. Again and again they defeated the government troops in battle. One glorious feat was the sacking and burning of the Musulman village of Farra; none of the in-

habitants were spared by the Babis who butchered men, women and children indiscriminately. Still more memorable was the victory at Daskes, where the Babis glorified God by throwing their wounded enemies into the flames of the burning houses, adjuring these Mohammedans to burn as penalty for their impiety.

Another revolt broke out in the province of Zanjan, and it is in large measure to these two revolts—revolts so serious that they were not quelled until the government had brought into play all the resources at its command—that we must ascribe the execution of the Bab. His condemnation cannot be looked upon as wholly due to religious bigotry, but was in great part a political measure due to the apprehensions excited at the Persian Court by the insurrections of Mazandaran and Zanjan. To what extent these outbreaks had their origin in the maltreatment of the Babis by the Persian officials and the Mohammedan mullas and to what in the aggressiveness of the Babis themselves it is hard to say. We know however that, once begun, the warfare was carried on with the usual Oriental barbarity on both sides. The religious regeneration brought about by Babism did not avail to make the disciples of the Bab less inhuman than their unconverted opponents. We have already noted the inhumanities committed by the Mazandaran Babis in the name of religion. The Zanjan insurrectionists indulged in like cruelties; they would divert themselves by slowly burning a prisoner with red hot irons; stopping his agony only as he was just about to expire, when they would cut off his head and throw it into the camp of his friends. Inhumanities like these are not cause for wonder; they are precisely what one would expect of Persians in the middle of the nineteenth century. But they show us that we must not be too sanguine in estimating the force of the religious movement inaugurated by the Bab in the regeneration of the Oriental character. Modern admirers of this movement put on roseate spectacles, not only in viewing Bahaism, the cult that has grown out of Babism, but even in considering early Babism itself. To them the Babi martyrs appear as models of meekness. Thus M. H. Dreyfuss, in his *Essai sur le Behaïsme*, referring to the troubles that culminated in the death of the Bab, says that there was “everywhere unheard-of refinements of cruelty on one side and on the other courage and the resignation evinced by faith”—a statement with an implication that is, to say the least, not justified by the facts which we learn on turning to more serious and authoritative writers.

As to the teachings of the Bab himself, it cannot be said that

they erred on the side of inculcating too kindly a feeling toward those of other creeds. The present-day Bahais represent the Bab as "a fearless protester against despotism and fanaticism," "an instinctive and passionate believer in freedom," but in fact the conception of religious liberty was quite foreign to Babism. In the sacred writings known as the *Bayan* the Bab laid down that when his people came into power no unbelievers were to be allowed to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, while everywhere else the unbeliever was to be subjected to restrictions and kept in a position of inferiority. Anticipating religious wars in which his followers would be victorious, the Bab was careful to arrogate to himself a share of the loot. One-fifth of all the spoil taken from infidels, together with whatever is incomparable in value or beauty (beautiful women presumably included) belongs to the Bab. Another token of the Bab's cast of mind is found in his decree that the public authorities shall destroy all books on logic, jurisprudence and philosophy. Quite an elaborate scheme for the government of Babi communities was formulated by the Bab. Each community is to have its affairs regulated by a council of nineteen members which levies a yearly tax upon the inhabitants. And the Bab expressly lays down, as the chief method by which this council may enforce its decrees, the interdiction of marital relations between husband and wife for a longer or shorter period; the assumption, of course, being that one of the couple is not likely to be contumacious, but will remain faithful to the church. If a certain Christian sect is not belied by its enemies, this mode of enforcing discipline has been made use of in the Occident, and the devoutly religious nature of the women of the sect has made its results most gratifying. As then the men are to be kept in subjection through their wives, it is not surprising that early marriage is insisted upon. After the age of eleven marriage is compulsory, and widowers and widows must remarry, under penalty of a fine, ninety and ninety-five days respectively after the death of the spouse. The Mohammedans claim that the Babis held up as an ideal, communism, not merely of goods but even of women. And it does seem to be true that there were those among them who dreamt of a time when, under the rule of the expected Imam Mahdi (whose advent at some indefinite time in the future was looked for by the early Babis as well as by the Shi'ite Mohammedans), "men will go to the bazars, invoke blessings, and take as an equivalent whatever they please from the shops." The justification of such a procedure was the theory that all goods were the property, not of their apparent own-

ers, but of the Imam Mahdi, while likewise all women were "His handmaidens whom He giveth to whomsoever He pleaseth, and taketh from whomsoever He pleaseth." And it was thought that practice would follow theory with women as well as with goods, since, as one Babi hopefully urged, there was a tradition to the effect that the Imam Mahdi would change wives and husbands, precisely as the Bab (he said) had already done in taking Kurratu'l-Ayn away from her husband and giving her to another man.

A year before his execution the Bab appointed as his successor a young lad of nineteen, Mirza Yahya, who is known to history under the title assumed by him: Subh-i-Azal, i. e., Dawn of Eternity. There arose however, after the death of the Bab, a second claimant to leadership in the person of Asadu'llah of Tabriz, a man of some prominence in the sect, his coreligionists having distinguished him by the title of Dayyan (the Supreme Judge). Fortunately there were a number of Babis awake to the importance of preserving for this "great spiritual movement" the blessing of unity. These Babis pursued the false prophet, and succeeded in hunting him down near the Turkish frontier. Attaching heavy stones to the neck of Asadu'llah, they led him to a convenient river, the Shat-ul-Arab, and threw him in. He sank to rise no more, and thus the Babi brethren attained, at least for a time, peace and freedom from the horrors of schism.

An attempt made by certain Babis to assassinate the Shah, two years after the death of the Bab, led to new persecutions, and Azal and those of his adherents that could get away fled from Persia to Bagdad in Turkey whence the Turkish government removed them to Constantinople and later to Adrianople. For fourteen years Azal was the nominal leader of the Babis. But he was not suited for the leadership of a militant religious sect. Professor Browne, who knew him, describes him as "a peace-loving, gentle soul, wholly devoted to the memory of his beloved Master, caring little for authority, and incapable of self-assertion." Intent upon the spiritual needs of his flock, he left much of the administrative work that is incumbent upon the heads of a religious organization in the hands of his half-brother, Mirza Huseyn Ali, a man thirteen years his elder, to whose thoughtful care, as certain Babis tell us, was due the timely taking off of Asadu'llah. This Huseyn Ali was of a very different temperament from Azal; with astuteness and resolution he combined an ambition that soon made him a prominent figure in the sect, and put into his hands all the hidden wires of Babi intrigues. The post of administrator of temporal affairs for

his brother was not enough to permanently satisfy Huseyn Ali; he aspired to absolute domination, but for some years he patiently bided his time. At last, in 1866, he announced himself to be a new manifestation of the divinity. The other Babis, Azal included, were called upon to recognize Huseyn Ali as supreme, and to accept as divine the revelations he proceeded to promulgate.

Huseyn Ali, who now took the name of Baha'u'llah (Splendor of God), had well judged his power over the Babi organization. Spirituality rarely prevails, in this mundane sphere, over temporal ability. Active and astute emissaries were dispatched in all directions announcing the new order of things. The greater part of the Babis, having probably been gradually prepared for the change by Baha who had kept in his own hands the threads of communication with the Crypto-Babis of Persia and with the Babi communities in Egypt and other outlying countries, accepted Baha as their new prophet and became Bahais. The claim to prophetic power was doubtless an aid to Baha in his pretensions, the Babis, it would appear, having reached a point where they were thirsty for new revelations. Azal had modestly ranked himself as the mere guardian of the divine message sent to man through his beloved master the Bab. Baha, on the contrary, put the Bab in the background, and amended and abrogated his ordinances. The Bab was now held to be a mere forerunner like John the Baptist, the true Messiah being Baha himself. That the Bab regarded himself in this light, Professor Browne (the highest authority on the history of Babism and Bahatism, and one who errs, if at all, only by a too sympathetic treatment of Baha) characterizes as "devoid of historical foundation." The Bab's nomination of Yahya [Azal] as his successor was "explicit and notorious," and the Bahais, who take as prophetic the utterances of the Bab as well as those of the greater prophet Baha, are faced with the difficulty of explaining how the herald whom they say announced the coming of Baha'u'llah, was not aware that Huseyn Ali was this Messiah, but relegated the coming dispensation which was to supplant his own to some indefinite time in the future, and cast his eyes upon an Anti-Christ (as the Bahais deem Azal) in selecting the future shepherd for his flock.

Azal quite naturally refused to submit to his brother's authority, and there still adhered to him a body of believers, small in number but comprising some of the most eminent of the Bab's disciples. Argument proving unsuccessful, the Bahais resorted to the *ultima ratio religionis*, assassination. One by one the prominent Azalites were stabbed or poisoned, at Tabriz and Kerbela, at Bagdad and

Adrianople. Azal survived, but the Azalites accuse Baha of having attempted to poison him. In the language of their tale, Baha brought to his brother "a dish of plain food with one side of which he had mixed some poison, intending to poison his Holiness." Fortunately however Azal declined to eat. The Bahais tell the story somewhat differently; according to them it was Azal that put the poison in the dish, intending to poison Baha. However, leaving matters of dispute to one side, we know at least that a number of Azalites were killed by Bahais, and that Baha'u'llah, as his writings show, regarded the murder of these men by his own disciples not with abhorrence but as divine judgments upon his foes. This Baha, we may remind the reader, is he whom the Americans and Europeans that have accepted the Bahai religion accept as their Messiah in place of Jesus; Jesus, Moses and Mohammed being by them equally ranked as minor prophets.

The strife at Adrianople moved the Turkish government to insist upon a separation of the two factions. Baha and most of his followers were sent to Acre, while Famagusta in Cyprus was the place fixed upon as the residence of Azal and the Azalites. Four Bahai families were however sent with Azal to serve as unpaid spies for the government, and it was likewise designed to send four Azalites and their families to Acre. The Bahais promptly murdered one of the four Azalites and only three of the families started for Acre with the Bahais. Azal was not so bloodthirsty, and the four Bahai spies reached Famagusta safely and dwelt there unharmed.

The letter from the Turkish government commending the Bahais to the care of the governor of Acre described them as "thieves and murderers." They were apparently anxious to justify this description of themselves, for as soon as the authorities at Acre relaxed their vigilance and allowed the Bahais to range the streets of the city, a band of the disciples of Baha'u'llah went to the house where dwelt the Azalites that had come to Acre and slaughtered them in cold blood. This at least is the story as told to Professor Browne not by an Azalite but by a fervent Bahai who was in a position to know the truth. And the apologists for the Bahais find the best face they can put upon the matter is to contend that certain Bahais went to the house in which dwelt the Azalites, intending, not to kill them, but merely to threaten them with death if they did not cease their derogatory talk against Baha, and that the result of their mission was a fight in which three Azalites and one Bahai were killed. At all events, the men who killed the

Azalites were not in the least conscience-stricken but openly avowed their deed and glorified themselves for it. And the Turkish authorities, who as Mohammedans had no liking for either Azalites or Bahais, instead of executing the men, contented themselves with meting out more or less rigorous imprisonment to Baha and his followers. This imprisonment—which was probably due more to fear of what the Bahais might do to Mohammedans and Mohammedan rule in Turkey than to any care for the surviving Azalites—lasted some time, but in the latter portion of his stay at Acre the situation of Baha was much like that of the present pope in his “imprisonment” at Rome. The Bahais look upon the exile of their prophet at Acre as a “martyrdom.” An unprejudiced Occidental however may think it just as improper to apply this term here as to speak of the “martyrdom” of a commonplace criminal who, as penalty for instigating twenty murders, serves a term in jail and then is forced to remain the rest of his life under the eye of the police in some particular locality.

Baha remained in exile at Acre from 1866 until his death in 1892. Notwithstanding the impediments put by the Persian and Turkish authorities in the way of the Bahai propaganda, this went on with undiminished vigor. From Acre, Baha ruled the Bahai world which each year grew to more and more imposing proportions. In the East assassination is not regarded as unworthy of a prophet. The thought that Baha, the Blessed Perfection, as he was fondly called, must be, in some measure at least, responsible for the death of the murdered Azalites would not prove a stumbling-block to a prospective convert from Mohammedanism to Bahaism. Thousands of pilgrims flocked from every quarter to see Baha and obtain his blessing. Many Bahais indeed gave up their homes and settled near Acre devoting their lives to the services of their Master. Soon gardens arose where before all had been barren sand, and it was not long before Baha was living in a veritable villa on the outskirts of Acre surrounded by the orange groves of his adherents.

Baha put forth many revelations of his own. He showed himself to be an astute opportunist, setting aside the stringent ordinances of the Bab wherever this would make easier the path of the convert. Thus the interdiction upon tobacco was removed and the Bahais allowed to smoke, though this had been forbidden to the Babis. Upon one point however he, like other sectarian leaders, was firm; faith in the Bahai doctrines is of paramount importance. He that is without faith, says Baha'u'llah, is “of the people of

error, even though he produce all manner of good deeds." This admonition has not fallen upon deaf ears. Professor Browne, himself a sincere Christian but no bigot, on telling his Bahai friends that as between "a Jew and a Christian, the former merciful, charitable, humane, pious, but rejecting and denying Christ; the latter cruel, selfish, vindictive, but accepting and reverencing him," the Jew ought to be esteemed the better man, received as reply: "God forbid! The Christian is without doubt the better." God, the Bahais said, was merciful and forgiving, and might pardon sin, but unbelief could not be pardoned. The modern Bahais however are not quite so plain spoken in this matter as were the early Babis.

— Mirza Jani, the Babi historian, records, with apparently no inkling that it is at all unedifying, a conversation between himself and Seyyid Yahya of Darab, a Babi celebrity. Jani, on one occasion, not very long after Yahya's conversation, asked the latter what his father thought of the Bab. Yahya replied that his father was as yet undecided whether to accept the claims of the Bab and become a Babi or not; and added, confirming his words with an oath, "By the Truth of God's Holy Essence, should my father deny this most luminous Manifestation I would assuredly, notwithstanding his conspicuous virtues and eminent position, slay him with my own hand for the sake of the Beloved; and this although such a father as he and such a son as I are seldom met with under the Heavens of the Moon."

The religious doctrines held by the Bahais are not very distinctive. The first article of faith is naturally recognition of Baha'u'llah as the most recent manifestation of the Divinity. Previous manifestations are recognized, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed being equally ranked as obsolete prophets of the past whose messages have been superseded under the present dispensation by the teachings of the prophet of modern times, Baha'u'llah. It is even intimated, on occasions when a proselytizer wishes to influence the adherents of pagan religions, that Zoroaster, Buddha, etc. may have been divine manifestations in their day. This recognition of other cults as founded on truth but requiring the new revelation of Bahaism to bring them up to date is an important feature in Bahai propaganda and has had much to do with its success. In giving an exposition of their religion, modern Bahais lay the greatest stress upon its message of unity. The object of the Bahai movement, they say, is the unification of people of all religions on spiritual lines. But as they aim to soften religious prejudice through a universal recognition of the pretensions of Baha'u'llah, it is difficult to

see how in this respect Bahaism differs from other proselyting religions. All such cults strive for religious unity, and like the Bahais seek to bring it about by the absorption of the adherents of all remaining sects. It is true that a Bahai convert is allowed to take part in the ceremonies of his old religion, but since he is all the while bound to recognize the promulgations of Bahaism as paramount over what he formerly regarded as the essentials of faith, we cannot regard this fact as making the Bahai movement any less sectarian. It is really a very clever piece of tactics which not only makes the transition to the new faith much easier than it otherwise would be, but also gives the neophyte opportunities for bringing other souls over to Baha.

The doctrines held by the Bahais in the question of a future life are somewhat difficult to ascertain. As an excuse for keeping these matters veiled, one Bahai said to a Christian missionary: "We believe in a future state so unthinkably ecstatic that if its joys were now revealed to men they would commit suicide to hasten their entrance into it." Most investigators however have reached the conclusion that there are really no definite Bahai teachings on this subject. At all events the vivid pictures painted by Mohammed of the joys of the celestial paradise find no counterpart in the Bahai writings.

A deviation from Mohammedanism is likewise to be noticed in the Bahai attitude toward the female sex. Bahai women are not bound to wear veils, though in Persia they often find it advisable to submit to the prevailing custom. The education of women is also urged by the present leader of the sect. Polygamy is less prevalent with the Bahais than with their Mohammedan neighbors, and in the Bahai writings destined for European consumption strict monogamy is advocated, which is rather curious in view of the fact that the prophet Baha'u'llah was a bigamist twice over, having remarried when the mother of his favorite son Abbas died leaving the Blessed Perfection with only one wife. A husband may divorce his wife, even though she has committed no very grave offense, and he is compelled at the most to let her take with her out of the common funds of the household nineteen miscals of gold (about fifty dollars); a like facility for divorce at the instance of the wife does not seem to be provided for, notwithstanding the boast that Bahaism favors the equality of the sexes.

A systematic treatment of ethics is not a part of the Bahai teachings. There do however exist a rather haphazard collection of ordinances by which the believer is admonished to regulate his

life. Thus all men are exhorted to engage in some useful art or handicraft; gambling and the use of opium and alcoholic drinks are forbidden; and it is prescribed that the dead be wrapped in fine cloths of silk or cotton and placed in coffins of glass, the burial place being most suitably lined with cut stone. Prayer is recommended, and when engaged in it one's face is to be turned towards Acre. Celibacy is discouraged and monasticism is looked upon as sinful. The influence of Western ideas can be traced in the advocacy of peace between nations, disarmament and international arbitration, and the adoption of a universal language. When a country has been made Bahai, union of church and state is to take place. Each community is then to be ruled by a council of nine Bahais (called the Bait al-Adl) elected by the faithful, and this council is to levy yearly upon every citizen a tax of one nineteenth of his income. The numbers nine and nineteen are sacred in the Bahai scheme, and not seldom even an American or European member of the sect will gravely specify, as one of the important changes to be made when they come into power, the modification of the calendar so as to make the year have nineteen months of nineteen days each. It is enjoined to renew the furniture of each house at the end of a sacred cycle of nineteen years. The actual state of the household goods does not enter into the question at all, and a European missionary relates how a Bahai friend, in complying with this rule, discarded a magnificent Oriental carpet whose colors had softened with age, and replaced it with a glaring monstrosity of Manchester manufacture. The absurd regulations based on the sacredness of numbers are not the only puerilities among the enactments of Baha'u'llah, but on the whole such ordinances are far fewer than in Mohammedanism.

In Persia, where of late years there has been a regime of comparative toleration in religious matters and the Bahai sect has openly raised its head, most of the conversions to Bahaism come from the ranks of the Mohammedans. Some of the Zoroastrians have also deserted the faith of their fathers and accepted that of Baha'u'llah, but it is said that such conversions are being checked by the spirit of European rationalism which now to a large extent pervades the Guebre communities. Opinions as to the character of the Persian Bahais are somewhat various. Leaving aside however the enemies as well as the avowed partisans of the sect, the consensus of opinion would rank them slightly above the Mohammedans in all save regard for truth, while the Zoroastrians are classed as more trustworthy than either Bahais or Mohammedans.

To care little for veracity is an Oriental failing, and it is not surprising that the members of a proscribed sect who dared not avow their convictions should have become adepts in dissimulation. Not alone in the private life of the Bahais does prevarication prevail; it is also in evidence in their historical and controversial writings. To obscure the evidence that Subh-i-Azal was the legitimate and recognized successor of the Bab and to relegate the Bab himself in the eyes of the world to the lowly position of a mere precursor who was to Baha'u'llah what John the Baptist was to Jesus history has been rewritten and falsified and documents have been suppressed. The economy of truth is too plainly evident not only with the Oriental Bahais but also to an extent that is truly astounding with their American and European advocates. In the works put forth by the apologists in the Occident and purporting to give a historical account of the movement there is frequently no mention at all made of Azal, and when the latter is by exception mentioned there is little more than a passing reference to his claims as utterly absurd. Nor is there any more candor in the treatment of the question of the murdered Azalites. Usually the matter is quite ignored, and at most an attempt will be made to explain away one or two of the misdeeds accredited by history to the Bahais while the rest of the long list of Bahai crimes will be vaguely referred to as "other accusations equally incredible." In the Orient the Azalites claim that the Bahais deliberately destroyed or fraudulently tampered with the Babi writings on a very large scale. One notable book⁷ which the Bahais could not hope to destroy entirely, the "Point of Kaf" of Jani (which included a history of Babism), they rewrote, eliding all matter that favored the Azalites, and put the expurgated work forth under the name of "The New History." Fortunately a copy of the original work had found its way to Europe before this was withdrawn from circulation in Persia, for later on, when Professor Browne looked for it there, though he made "many inquiries amongst the Babis in different parts of Persia for Mirza Jain's history" he found, he tells us, "no trace of its existence." He adds: "This fact is very instructive in connection with the history of other religions, for it is hard for us, accustomed to a world of printed books and carefully guarded public libraries, to realize that so important a work as this could be successfully suppressed; and equally hard to believe that the adherents of a religion evidently animated by the utmost self-devotion and the most fervent enthusiasm, and in ordinary every-day matters by obvious honesty of purpose, could connive at such an

act of suppression and falsification of evidence. The application of this fact, which, were it not established by the clearest evidence, I should have regarded as incredible, I leave to professional theologians, to whom it may not be devoid of a wider significance."

The present Bahai leader Abdul Baha (Abbas the son of Baha), in whom there blends great astuteness with a certain apparent naivety, due probably to the inability of the Asiatic to comprehend the moral and intellectual standards of the European, in an interview with Dr. Jessop some years ago expressed with great frankness his idea of the duty of a historian. Speaking of Professor Browne and his writings on the subject of Bahaism, Abdul Baha complained that "He heard us and then heard our enemies (the Azalites) and wrote down the views of all. How can he get at the truth? Now supposing that a man wanted to learn about the Jews, and you are, we will suppose, an anti-Semite. He asks you about the Jews and writes down your views. Then he asks a Rabbi and takes down his views and prints both. How can he get at the real truth?" Realization that a Bahai writer may take this point of view which puts suppression of inconvenient facts in the light of a virtue will enable us to comprehend many things that puzzle one accustomed to Occidental straightforwardness.

Abdul Baha himself, to help on the cause of his religion, wrote the "Traveler's Narrative" in which not merely is Subh-i-Azal disparaged by the imputation of want of personal courage (and in truth Azal seems never to have committed a murder) but he is even represented as never having been appointed by the Bab as his successor, and as never having been recognized by the Babis as their spiritual ruler. The fact is, the naming of Azal for this position by the Bab was explicit and notorious; the Bab even authorized him to augment the sacred writings and to add to the Bayan eight sections of nineteen chapters each. And upon the death of the Bab Azal received the almost unanimous recognition and homage of the whole Babi community.

Baha'u'llah died in 1892 having previously named his son Abbas as his successor. Abbas took the name of Abdul Baha (Servant of Baha) and is recognized by his flock as the Bahai pope. Baha'u'llah however had other sons by another wife; and apparently there was not the kindest of feelings between the two families, as one of these other sons, Mohammed Ali, also laid claim to the office of spiritual ruler, and was supported by his two younger brothers. This new schism has not as yet found any large number of adherents, but it is of interest to note that in the United States

the apostle who introduced Bahaism to our country, Ibrahim Kheiralla, espoused the cause of Mohammed Ali. New apostles being sent to counteract his heresy, most of the believers in America were persuaded to remain in the orthodox fold, and during one period Mr. Kheiralla is said to have felt that his life was in peril. This seems ridiculous to the prosaic American, but we must remember that Ibrahim Kheiralla knew his own people, and had doubtless vividly before his mind the fate of Asadu'llah and the twenty murdered Azalites. In the Orient where, as Professor Browne puts it, "human life is held cheap and religious fervor runs high" killing at the command of a prophet is not regarded as murder. Professor Browne tells us of a discussion he had with a Babi Seyyid in the course of which the good Babi said with a look of extreme surprise, "Surely you cannot pretend to deny that a prophet, who is an incarnation of the Universal Intelligence, has as much right to remove any one whom he perceives to be an enemy to religion and a danger to the welfare of mankind as a surgeon has to amputate a gangrened limb?"

Abdul Baha, the present ruler of the sect, who with his followers was liberated from his exile at Acre in 1908 by the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey, was born in 1844, and is a mild-looking venerable old man of pleasing personality. Kind to friends as he is, he is said by Persians to be very bitter toward his enemies. He took an active part in the affairs of the sect at the time of the strife with the Azalites, and history makes it doubtful whether he can be completely absolved from responsibility for the bloodshed that occurred. But there is no reason to believe that, whatever part he took in the factional warfare, he ever once acted against the dictates of his conscience. Oriental morality is not like that of the civilized West, and an Oriental, after doing what we would all regard as the most detestable deeds, may look back upon them with the greatest complacency, and be aided by their recollection in acquiring the benevolent facial expression of a philanthropist.

Abdul Baha rules his flock with a firm hand, and is docilely obeyed by his people. Ranking himself below his father, he nevertheless insists upon his own place in the Bahai dispensation as the "Center of the Covenant" in which capacity he assumes the sole right to interpret the inspired words of the prophet Baha'u'llah. Private interpretation of the scriptures is strictly forbidden. It was this assumption of authority in doctrinal matters that caused the schism led by Mohammed Ali. The seceders cite as decisive the

words of the prophet Baha'u'llah who, they say, characterized as a "liar and calumniator" any one that, before the expiration of a thousand years, should arrogate to himself such authority as is claimed by Abdul Baha. The latter, besides infallibility, claims a certain gift of prophecy, but faith in this was rudely shaken by the failure of certain predictions to materialize a few years ago. In the spring of 1908 Abdul Baha put forth in his "Tablets" (pastoral admonitions to the faithful) the promise of peace and prosperity for the Shah, Mohammed Ali, and made the prediction that the latter would rule Persia for the remainder of his life. Peace and prosperity however took the strange form of civil war; and the enforced abdication of Mohammed Ali in the middle of the next year, combined with his obstinate refusal to die after giving up the Persian throne, was the source of much scandal to the faithful and exposed the pretensions of the Bahai pope to the scoffing of the unbelievers.

Some years ago, when in Persia it was a perilous thing to be even suspected of holding the Bahai faith, the most exaggerated claims regarding the growth of the sect passed muster. Quite commonly a European would be told that half the inhabitants of Persia were secretly in sympathy with the movement and only waited the dawn of religious liberty to openly avow themselves Bahais. But these predictions were by no means realized when the state of affairs in Persia began to approximate toward something like religious toleration. It is true that even now Bahais, when talking with foreigners who know nothing of modern Persia, will often claim for their sect several million adherents. But this number will be abated to two or three hundred thousand when a better informed European comes along. The Christian missionaries put the number still lower, and estimate there to be not more than one hundred thousand followers of Abdul Baha in Persia. Whatever be their number we cannot estimate lightly the power of a sect which is composed of a well-disciplined body of believers that history shows will stop at nothing to attain their ends. In politics they ostensibly stand aloof but there is no doubt that they are strongly pro-Russian and are opposed to the spirit of nationalism, much preferring to see their country in the status of a Russian province than to have Persia enfranchise herself from foreign sway. In the troubles that took place a few years ago, the conflict between the parliament and the imperialists, the Bahais kept in the background, but it was thought that they carried on intrigues in favor of the Shah. Their rivals, the Azalites, who

still exist as a minor sect, were on the contrary devoted heart and soul to the cause of constitutional liberty, and worked ardently for the parliamentary party.

The sketch of the Bahai movement that has just been given shows its history to be not altogether an edifying one. And yet, desiring to be perfectly fair, we have not given credit to certain tales, which, though by no means incredible, are not established beyond a reasonable doubt. Thus we have not recorded the Azalite story that Baha'u'llah sent Abu'l-Kasim, a Bakhtiyari robber, one of the adornments of the Bahai sect, from Acre to rob a merchant in Constantinople who had fallen away from Bahaism, and that the emissary, received in the merchant's house as a guest, broke open the safe of his host and abstracted £350. A portion of this money Abu'l-Kasim is said to have kept for himself, while the rest he used to purchase clothing and other goods for Baha'u'llah from whom he received a blessing in return. Nor have we set down the story of Rizvan Ali, the son of Azal, who claims that when he paid a visit to Acre a few years ago his cousin, Abdul Baha, attempted to poison him. Leaving quite out of account such doubtful matter, there nevertheless remains so much infamy to be accredited to the sect that it is astounding to learn that Bahaism has gained a foothold among civilized human beings, and that in two years Mr. Kheiralla converted two thousand Americans, there being seven hundred of these converts in Chicago alone. A few years ago the Bahais claimed thirty thousand American converts which apparently was the high water mark in their propaganda here. More recently there has been a falling off, but the loss in numbers is compensated by the devotion of those that remain faithful. As an illustration of the command that the head of the sect has over his flock, we may mention that, realizing the importance of controlling the marriages of his followers, Abdul Baha from time to time tries with his European and American disciples to arrange a match that will be of advantage to his projects. And not infrequently the parties concerned docilely obey the mandate. There is to-day, in the city of Washington, an English lady of refinement married to an American negro whom she accepted at the behest of Abdul Baha.

To a student of human nature the American and European Bahais are most interesting, and the present writer, in two summers passed in the midst of the Bahai colony at Eliot, Maine, had an unusually good opportunity to study these curious people. My first impression of the Bahais, I must say, was rather favorable. At that time all I knew of the history of Babism and Bahaism was

derived from one or two highly eulogistic accounts of the Bab written by his admirers. It is true that no one who came into personal contact with the Bahais would be likely to overestimate either their intelligence or their erudition. As an illustration of the latter I may mention that one of my earliest experiences was to have a Bahai, in the course of what purported to be an account of the history of Bahaism, give me the interesting information that Persia is ruled from Constantinople and is a part of Turkey! But on first acquaintance the Bahais did appear to me to be simple kindly folk and I began to like them. Much to my regret I was subsequently compelled to modify this opinion.

The summer colony at Eliot finds most of its recruits among the New England Bahais, but quite a number come from New York and from Washington for a longer or shorter visit. Naturally women predominate. Among the members of the sect are a few of fairly high social standing, and the majority would seem to be in comfortable circumstances. Most illuminating, in a study of the morals and methods of the Bahais, is the story of how they came to make Eliot their summer headquarters. Some twenty odd years ago, after the Congress of Religions in Chicago, there was founded in Eliot the "Greenacre Conferences." The purpose was to continue for further fruition the religious parliament idea; to have each summer people of the most diverse creeds mingle with each other and with people of no creed at all. Religion was by no means the only topic discussed; sociology, science and art also had their turn, and the general spirit of the place was that each should look upon a heretic from his religious or sociological or artistic creed, not as a person to be avoided or merely tolerated, but as one to learn from and sympathize with. The aspiration common to all was that of broadening one's horizon, not only in religion, but everywhere. Things went very smoothly at Greenacre, a beautiful estate on the banks of the Piscataqua River, for a number of years, and it is quite certain that many persons here received great help in their spiritual development. Visitors came from the furthest parts of the world; Swamis and Buddhist priests as well as representatives of our domestic religions contributed to the mutual enlightenment. Like other religions Bahaism was given a hearing, and at Greenacre it was put forth as the religion of humanity with the brotherhood of man for its keynote. It was with this conception of Bahaism that a number of the Greenacreites, who naturally were not conversant with the dark side of the movement in the Orient, formally declared themselves Bahais. Of these, some, upon becoming better

acquainted with the new sect, severed their connections with it, but quite a few others remained in the fold. At first Bahatism at Greenacre was not a source of dissention; what disagreements there were being due to other causes. But in 1912 the Bahai pope, Abdul Baha, took a trip to the United States and was invited to Greenacre. Exhibiting a pleasing and impressive personality and an urbanity remarkable even for a Persian he succeeded in heightening the devotion of the old converts and in gaining new ones.

Before leaving the United States Abdul Baha is said to have casually remarked to a group of the faithful that it would be a very fine thing if the Bahais could control this beautiful place at Eliot. Really to attribute this remark to Abdul Baha may be wholly unjustified, but the fact remains that the Bahais did control Greenacre the following year. To manage the Greenacre conferences, an association entitled the Greenacre Fellowship had been legally constituted, at whose head were five trustees elected by the members. Factional quarrels had broken out in the Fellowship some time before the visit of Abdul Baha. Cynics said this was largely due to about thirty thousand dollars worth of property that the Fellowship had acquired by donations and bequests, and that the reason certain persons who never avowed themselves Bahais acted in unison with that sect later on was their desire to have a hand in the control of this property. But such a statement may be entirely without foundation, and the persons in question (with whom we are not concerned here) may have acted from the purest of motives. At all events, early in the year 1913 the Bahais set quietly at work to get their people into the Greenacre Fellowship. Circular letters of appeal were sent around to the Bahai brethren asking all to become members, with the observation that fifty cents was a sufficient membership contribution to insure the right to vote, and bidding any one who could afford to give more to put in a separate member for each fifty cents, as those who could not attend the meeting at Eliot could vote by proxy. Thus if any Bahai could give ten dollars, he should (in the words of one communication) "let twenty membership blanks be signed by twenty different friends and thus we will secure the necessary vote to elect the Board of Nine." To have a board of nine trustees was an innovation at Greenacre where five had always hitherto sufficed, and it would seem that the idea was to change the board into a Bait-al-Adl—that committee of nine which Baha'u'llah prescribed for the governing of communities unfortunate enough to be under Bahai rule. In striving to get as many voters as possible into the Fellowship, one pious lady with that

insouciance and disregard of purely mundane considerations characteristic of the religious zealot, had printed and circulated a communication to which, as was shown later in certain proceedings in the courts, she affixed the names of other persons without first taking the trouble to obtain their sanction! By means of these tactics, the Bahais, with their allies mentioned above, attained a majority of the votes in the meeting of the Greenacre Fellowship in 1913. They enlarged the board of trustees from five to nine, and finding it advisable to give their allies four seats on the board, distributed the other five among themselves, their opponents being left without any representation at all. To prevent anybody else gaining control of the Fellowship in the way they had themselves adopted, they amended the by-laws so that no one in the future could enter the Fellowship except by consent of the board of nine. An amendment was also passed under which the board of trustees is no longer to be elected by the members of the Fellowship; in future the board of nine will be self-perpetuating, any vacancy being filled by the remaining trustees. Finally, to make assurance doubly sure, the rank and file of the Bahais docilely passed a resolution by which even they could be prevented from kicking over the traces, since it was ordained by this that no future alterations in the by-laws could be made until after the board of nine had consented to the change.

The meeting of 1913 at which these new by-laws were adopted is said to have been a stormy one. I attended the meeting of 1914 as a disinterested spectator, expecting in my innocence to see exhibited some of that love-your-enemy spirit about which religious people are so fond of talking. But I saw none of this; there was not even that magnanimity in which an ordinary man of the world sometimes indulges. There was however in evidence a good deal of petty spitefulness. The Bahais had an overwhelming majority, many of their opponents having given up the fight as hopeless after the passage of the new by-laws. A few anti-Bahais did still claim their rights as members of the Fellowship to be present and take part in the proceedings; but most of these were debarred, it being ruled that they had forfeited their membership by paying the requisite annual contribution a day too late. There were at that time two vacancies on the board of trustees, which was then composed of five Bahais and two of their allies, and the last I heard of the matter was the report that these two seats also had been given to the Bahais, who would then have seven seats on the board out of a total of nine.

Greenacre has now all the benefits of Bahai rule. In past years such celebrities as Guglielmo Marconi, John Fiske, Joseph Jefferson and Edward Everett Hale found their way to Greenacre, but under the new regime things have changed. The present idea in selecting speakers for the conferences seems to be to consider soundness in Bahai doctrine as of first importance, and purely worldly ability as of very little consequence. A few lecturers that were not Bahais were brought in last season, but the Bahais seemed more anxious to convert these lecturers to Bahaism than to profit by what they put forth. A prominent feature of the Bahai regime are the devotional exercises, held seven days a week, at which the good Bahais listen to readings from the works of Baha'u'llah and from the "Tablets" of Abdul Baha. In addition, once or twice each week Bahai conferences are held at which the right to ask questions upon doctrinal points is granted any one who seems of promise as a proselyte. I used to attend these exercises quite frequently, drinking in the deep wisdom of Baha'u'llah. For instance: "The time cometh when the Nightingale of Holiness will be prevented from unfolding the inner Significances, and all shall be bereft of the Merciful Melody and Divine Call." Or the admonitions of Abdul Baha: "Oh servant of God! Be thou a sign of guidance, a standard of the Supreme Concourse and a light shining in the meeting of the maid-servants." Maid-servants of God, I must explain, is the tasteful title given to the ladies of the Bahai flock, whose good quality, Abdul Baha tells us, is submissiveness. Some passages are more pertinent: "Withhold not from My servant in whatsoever he may ask of thee, for his face is My face, and thou must reverence Me." "Oh My Friend by Word, Reflect a little! Hast thou ever heard of the beloved and the stranger dwelling in the same heart? Therefore send away the stranger, so that the Beloved may enter His home."

Toward any one whom they have hopes of converting, the Bahais behave in a very friendly manner, but they quickly assume a different attitude when they learn you are not likely to enter the fold. Of kindness without ulterior motives there is in reality very little. I saw nothing at Eliot which would lead me to believe that the Bahai religion widens the sympathies; on the contrary it seems to narrow them, but of course this is true of all sectarianism be it in religion or elsewhere. Especially noticeable is the animosity the Bahais feel toward the original Greenacreites who fought against them for the control of the Fellowship; a feeling which may perhaps be due to the proverbial fact that men usually come to hate

deeply those whom they have injured. Eliot is still a pleasant place to spend a summer vacation; there yet come each year a number of cultured and interesting men and women who have kept fast to the ideals of the old Greenacre; but you must not be seen in the company of any of these ungodly people if you wish to keep in the good graces of the Bahais.

In proselyting the Bahais begin by exhibiting Bahaism in a very alluring aspect. No dogmatic theology is brought to the notice of the neophyte who is given to understand that the very keystone of the sect is the absence of sectarianism. As one of its exponents puts it: "The ultimate aim of Bahaism is the spiritual unification of mankind. Its mission is not to supply the world with a new ethic, for a lofty ethic is already furnished us in the world's religious literature, but to knit all the faiths of the world and all the peoples of the world into one." Another prominent Bahai tells us that "The mission and object of the Bahai Movement is the uniting of all nations, religions and races in the love of God and the brotherhood of man." That lip devotion to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man makes the Bahais better members of society there is no evidence, and an investigation soon finds equal stress laid upon other doctrines which are trivial and even silly. The anxiety of the Bahais to increase the board of trustees to the sacred number of nine is an instance of this. These ludicrous touches are not however the worst features of the Bahai creed. Though kept in the background, the intolerant dogmatism of the old theology is by no means absent. To be sure the Occidental Bahais will tell you (to take the words of one of their European exponents) that they wish to "unite all existing religions by freeing them from the obsolete trammels of dogmas and rites," but this doctrine is only for neophytes and outsiders. In the inner circle it is taught that the vital thing is, not to be of service to humanity, but to tag yourself as a Bahai; that to enjoy the benefits of the new dispensation—the new covenant between God and man—it is necessary to accept Baha'u'llah as the Messiah and Abdul Baha as the Center of the Covenant: as the infallible interpreter of the words of the Bahai Saviour. Great discretion is however used in circulating the Bahai writings which deal with this side of the Bahai doctrine. When I was at Eliot a young lady of the sect was so incautious as to show such a work to a newcomer who had a genuine sympathy with what Bahaism appeared to be on the surface, but none with the esoteric doctrine. The result was the alienation of the prospective proselyte, and the Bahai saints of the inner circle are said to have roundly scolded the

poor girl for her indiscretion. They informed the man who had read the book that she had no right to show it to him as he was not yet far enough advanced in Bahaism to be able to profit by it—a way of looking at matters that does not impress one with the idea that the Bahais are particularly frank and sincere.

Not all Bahai proselytes cling permanently to the sect; many, when they get to know its true inwardness go elsewhere. And those men and women that remain as permanent converts seem to be of the type that like nothing better than to be bound by the shackles of an intolerant sectarianism. Persons to whom morality is supreme and dogma little or nothing are not at home among the Bahais. Needless to say, scholars and thinkers are also conspicuous by their absence. There is to be sure a certain amount of culture to be found with many of the Bahais, but it is the culture of names, not the culture of knowledge. They can talk fluently upon various subjects and handle deftly the vocabulary of science or art or religion, but are usually woefully deficient of any real understanding of what they talk about. Of the history of their own religion they are particularly ignorant. Their conversion has not been attained by a dispassionate consideration of Bahaism, but by their reading some passages from Baha'u'llah or Abdul Baha which struck their fancy, or by listening to the rhetoric of an eloquent Bahai speaker. So limited is their mentality that they can scarcely conceive of a bad man writing a good book or delivering an eloquent address. And notwithstanding the evidence of history they persist in endowing Baha'u'llah with all the virtues because he has written something that appeals to their emotions. A really rational person when he reads anything that stirs him and helps make him a better and happier man will appreciate it, and can be grateful to the author without feeling it at all incumbent upon himself to reverence this author and accept as inspired everything the latter has written. Still less will he wish to tag himself with the name of an author he admires and join a sect that groups itself around that name. But the sectarian, whether in religion or in any other field, is quite different. He delights to tag himself, and fastening his attention upon the one work or set of works he most admires, deliberately makes himself purblind to all else that is wise or noble or beautiful. And Bahaism is simply a sectarian religion; it is a reversion to modes of thought that the ideals of civilization have long ago outgrown.

ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AND THE FUTURE OF THE "HUNS."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE main question of the present war in the beginning was whether the Slav or the Teuton is to be the leader in Europe. The Teuton holds the most dangerous position in the middle of the continent. He was the guardian of civilization and Christianity during the Middle Ages ever since Charlemagne was crowned emperor at Rome in 800, and for a full thousand years down to modern times, when Napoleon I broke to pieces the German-Roman empire (*das heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation*) and established a new order of things by crowning himself Emperor of the French.

If Napoleon had but understood the needs of the times and had founded a European empire, if he had not trodden underfoot the rights of the conquered but had raised them to the equality of a free and humane alliance, he might have succeeded and his empire might still be standing. He could have counted on the support of the Germans (for they have always been cosmopolitan) to join him in founding an empire of the United States of Europe which would finally expand into a confederacy of all mankind. But his egotism was boundless, his genius was very onesided, and his greatness was limited to an extraordinary talent for strategical cleverness while he regarded broad humanitarian ideals as farcical. This and this alone is the reason for his final doom. He forced Germany to resist, and she asserted herself, rose against his tyranny and abandoned her cosmopolitan tendencies. He was defeated and England reaped the benefit, remaining in undisturbed possession of the seas and of the most valuable territories of the world.

Russia is truly England's most dangerous enemy. Russia is a menace to China, Tibet, Persia and also India. She is moving slowly but surely, and England set Japan against the growling bear. Japan was victorious and England felt relieved; she ceased to fear

Russia. But in the meantime her former ally of Waterloo has grown. Germany has become united, and her expansion not only in the peaceful arts and sciences but also in commerce and in military efficiency has developed in an unparalleled degree. England has come to believe that Germany is a much more dangerous rival than Russia, and so in the struggle between Slav and Teuton she steps in and throws her influence against Germany on the side of Russia.

This move of England's may have been smart from the standpoint of the ruling oligarchy of England; but from the standpoint of progress and of the future of mankind it was not wise to side with the most reactionary power of the world, with Muscovite autocracy, against the most advanced and most progressive nation of the world. It was a shrewd enough plan to attempt to crush the most progressive people so as to remain in the lead, but it was a wrong policy to profit by ruining a rival instead of outstripping him by doing better than he, by excelling his virtues, by learning from him and advancing beyond him. That is what England ought to have done to win a real and effective victory. But that would have meant labor, and education, and it would have meant an advance of the English people by means which would not have suited the English oligarchy. It would have necessitated the spreading of knowledge among the middle classes and enabling them to take a share in the administration of affairs.

The English middle classes, the yeomen as they are called, are a sturdy race; they are still the backbone of the country but they are kept in ignorance. They are not given a due chance to develop their abilities to the utmost; they are meant to be, and to be kept, subservient and to sacrifice themselves for their country, but not to share in the advantages of the aristocracy. At present the yeomen are satisfied with believing that they are the freest people in the world. So long as they have this conviction and can be kept in ignorance they are easy to rule, and the English oligarchy can be maintained to the disadvantage of the yeomanry.

The British empire resembles the constitution of Russia much more than is generally believed. Dean Burgess¹ contrasts the sham liberty of the former to the real liberty of the German empire speaking of Great Britain as "the system of the colonial empire, with its upper ten thousand rolling in wealth, splendor and luxury, and its hundreds of thousands, nay millions, groveling in ignorance, want, misery and crime; with its grip upon a quarter of the earth's land surface and a quarter of mankind of all races and colors as

¹ In his recent book *The European War*, p. 110.

its subjects; with its continual territorial expansion through intrigue, war and bloodshed; with its sovereignty over the high seas and a vast naval power to sustain it."

The English oligarchy saw the danger which threatened not so much the English people as the British government. England boasts of being the freest land in the world, but it is only a few representatives of the English nobility who reap the harvests of British power. The crafty Sir Edward and his helpers saw that Germany was steadily gaining in peaceful competition, and so they came to the conclusion that Germany should be crushed by an anti-German alliance of the most powerful nations of Europe, if possible of the world. Russia is dangerous to Great Britain as a competitor in land-grabbing, but Germany *even more so* because of her superiority in education, in liberal institutions and in a general advance, all of which makes her more efficient in both peace and war.

For this reason British diplomacy sided with the Slav against Teutonic civilization, and I repeat that it was a grievous mistake in English policy, although it was a clever trick of the English oligarchy now in power. The leaders of the aristocratic portion of England, led first by King Edward VII and after his death by his clever disciple, Sir Edward Grey, took advantage of the European embroglio and supported the Slav who was deemed too slow and ignorant ever to become dangerous to England.

The Germans are the most advanced people and they are more progressive than any other nation, neither Great Britain nor the United States of America excepted. History teaches us that such a nation, a nation that represents the advance of mankind, stands under the special protection of God, the God of history, and it is not advisable to fight against the Almighty.

Persia was a remarkable nation, small but vigorous, the only one of Aryan stock among the numerous Semites of Hither Asia. She conquered Babylonia, Lydia and Egypt, and founded a world empire of unlimited possibilities extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indies, from the inhospitable steppes of the Scythian savages in the north to the barbaric black Abyssinians in the dreary south. But when the Persian kings decided to punish the little people of Greece for being progressive, independent, courageous, and intellectually superior, they undertook a struggle against the God of history who had chosen the Greek nation as the one in which He would reveal the eternal laws of art, of science, of humaneness and of manhood. The Persians brought against Greece

all the hordes of Asia and Africa and outnumbered the Grecian armies more than a hundred to one. Their uncounted wealth was inexhaustible compared with the simplicity of Greek life. Millions of Asiatic soldiers invaded Greece and forced their entrance at Thermopylae; they burned Athens and there was no resistance against their well-equipped hosts. But all their warfare was in vain. They fought against the chosen people of God—the elect of the God of history—and the Persian onslaught, so formidable and apparently irresistible, collapsed miserably and hopelessly. Only a few years more than a century and a half had elapsed when Alexander the Great, the representative of Hellas, made an end of the Persian empire and established a new era not only for Asia but for mankind, in which Hellenic civilization dominated the world.

We are the heirs of the Greek spirit; all civilized mankind have accepted Greek modes of thought, and the people who are the Greeks of to-day are the Germans.

There are more instances in history where the advance of mankind has been represented by minorities, where the efficient, the vigorous, the progressive, the God-inspired courageous heroes of the broad cause of mankind were confronted with designing enemies who conjured the greatest powers of the world against them; and it is as if the God of history permitted such combinations against those whom He desires to entrust with the holiest treasures of the future in order to prove them worthy of the great task.

When Frederick II of Prussia had proved his genius, his grit, and his right to existence among the powers of Europe in the first and second Silesian wars, his enemies formed an alliance consisting of Austria, France, Russia, even the Holy Roman Empire itself, and a number of smaller states to crush him. Their motto was *Borussia est delenda*. Prussia was to be wiped off the map of Europe, and Frederick's fate seemed to be sealed according to all human calculations. But the God of history had entrusted to Prussia the leadership of the German nation, and it was the presentiment that Prussia might gain this leadership which produced the venomous hate of the powers that wanted to prevent it. Yet in spite of outnumbering little Prussia with her small but very efficient army again by almost a hundred to one, the allies did not prevail. Quality proved more efficient than quantity, and after a war of seven long years they accepted the inevitable result of the survival of the fittest and allowed historians to call the victor "Frederick the Great."

To-day there is the same presentiment again which makes the Slav and the Latin races feel that Germany has a great future, that at any price her career must be checked; and England who holds the balance of power has come to the conclusion that in her own interest she must help to crush the German upstart before he grows too strong for her. So she joins her old enemies, preferring to take the risk that Russia may take India and become the mistress of Asia, and in taking this risk she plays a significant part in the history of the world. She serves the God of history as the instrument to test Germany's worthiness before the latter country assumes the great task of taking the lead of mankind.

England is misguided but the fault lies entirely with herself. God has sent prophets to announce his plans. Think of Carlyle! But the English did not listen, and Carlyle remained a voice crying in the wilderness. They have rejected their prophet and say, as an English friend of mine lately expressed himself, "Carlyle is antiquated." The English no longer read Carlyle; he should be ignored; he would be radically opposed to Sir Edward Grey, and you know Sir Edward Grey is so clever, so very clever!

There are many more warnings that have come to England, but in order to make then inefficient the Baal priests of Britain have invented a great mass of falsehood about Germany and have systematically spread misrepresentations of her advance as contrasted with the glorious conditions of England, all of which taken together bewilders the English nation and leads them to their doom.

One of the Baal priests of English diplomacy is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He defends the British position and denounces Germany as barbarous and iniquitous in an article contributed to the *London Chronicle* under the title: "A Policy of Murder. How Prussia has Degraded the Standard of Modern Warfare." He has been answered most decisively and his false charges against Germany have been most convincingly refuted by the American war correspondent James O'Donnell Bennett. But will the English read the other side? Probably not. They continue to repeat unveracious news, they overlook the testimony of their own people favorable to the Germans and of impartial observers. Mr. Bennett concludes his article thus:

"My testimony is the testimony of an American who loves England and who has not a drop of German blood in his veins. What things I have seen I have here set down because I believe that what raises the man of my calling above the level of a scribbler is the telling of the truth."

One of the symptoms that England will lose in this conflict is the fact that it is the policy of her diplomats and of the defenders of her cause to suppress the truth. The victor, and the one who deserves to be victorious, never suppresses the truth and scorns to use the lie as a weapon. The British diplomats however have established a strict censorship and set great hopes on the efficacy of wrong reports and misrepresentations. There are a few men in England with backbone who speak out boldly and criticize their government, but they are unpopular at home, and the truth they have to tell is resented. We mention the best of them when speaking of Professor Conybeare of Oxford, the Hon. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge, J. Ramsay Macdonald; and we must not forget Mr. Aleister Crowley who has sent a circular to his friends in which he castigates English hypocrisy under the title "An Orgy of Cant."

Our American public is very much divided. American manufacturers believe it their inalienable right to assist Great Britain and her allies with war materials and ammunition, and in this they are supported by our present administration.

Why our administration allows the manufacture and exportation of war material is a problem. Is it done in subservience to Great Britain, or in subservience to those millionaires who profit by this iniquitous trade? Or in subservience to both? It is difficult to say. One thing is sure, that if Great Britain succeeds in crushing Germany the next rival to be crushed will be the United States of America; but our administration does not see this although the principle has been pronounced repeatedly and most unequivocally, and the policy of England toward us has always been the same—the same ill-concealed jealousy, or even contempt, the same insidious methods of weakening us or making our republic subservient to the British empire. The United States ought to recognize Germany as her best friend and not assist Great Britain in her attacks on the fatherland. A well-prepared newspaper campaign undertaken in the United States against Germany has distorted the facts regarding our own danger. It is incredible how we can be so blind to the actual state of things, but, says the French proverb, *Qui se fait brebis, le loup le mange*. Those who see deeper understand very well that the German victory in the present war means a defeat of our most dangerous enemy.

The Germans are as much kin to us as the English, and if there is a difference between our relationships with the two it is in favor of the Germans. We have never had a quarrel with Ger-

many, but have had to fight England repeatedly and owe our independence to a war with her. It is noteworthy also that the English people are not in the habit of becoming naturalized in America as readily as other nationalities.

It is true we speak English and most of us speak and read no other language; but that is our disadvantage. We are limited to English reports and the English diplomats find our people gullible enough to credit English reports and imbibe the prejudice which they have against the Germans. Are we so ignorant and feeble-minded that our opinions can be made in England and we adopt them ready-made without critique as if we were still an English dependency?

The great predecessor of the present Kaiser, the hero of the three Silesian wars, unexcelled as a leader in battle and also as a ruler in peace, sent to George Washington a sword of honor to show his sympathy with the new republic and his recognition of its successful founder. When we had a serious difference with England with reference to the Alabama case, in consequence of her sympathies with the southern states, we found an impartial umpire in William I, the first German emperor. Moreover, we are closely related to the German people by ties of blood through many millions of our citizens of German birth and ancestry. But what weighs heavier still is the intellectual connection with the German fatherland whose schools and other institutions we have imitated and at whose universities tens and tens of thousands of spirited Americans have drunk from the fountain of science and philosophy. We owe to England mainly our political institutions and our language, but to Germany we owe at least as much and perhaps considerably more through the influence upon us of German science and industry and humanitarian ideals.

We Americans are sometimes distinguished by a narrowness which in its insularity is otherwise only met with in England and the English colonies; perhaps it is an inheritance which we preserve with reverence for the English nucleus from which we have grown. Such narrowness was evidenced in our objection to allowing a statue of Frederick the Great, a present offered by Emperor William II in remembrance of Frederick's admiration for the great republic in the west, to be set up at Washington simply and solely on the ground that he was a king!

The people who raised this objection forgot that Frederick was a real king and also a great man—a noble man born on the throne as a legitimate heir to a crown, a man who was a better

ruler than many presidents elected into leadership by political art and political artifices. Frederick was among kings what Lincoln was among presidents—a rare exception, and he bears his cognomen "the Great" not merely because he was a great general but because he was noble as a man and efficient as a prince of peace.

Well known is the story of the miller of Potsdam who would not sell his mill, fearlessly relying on the king's sense of justice. He knew the king would not confiscate private property but would submit to the law, for even above the king there was justice and against the king the miller could appeal to the courts, knowing that no Prussian judge would break the law or render an unjust decision merely to curry favor with the king.

We Americans ought to be proud of Frederick's sympathy with us and should remember that he was the king who conceived of kingship not as the right and privilege of ruling his country but as the duty of serving its interests—a principle which he expressed in the sentence, "I am the first servant of the state."

If the kings of England had been like Frederick the Great there would have been no need of an American revolt against the yoke of England, and we would still be an English colony. Why then this objection on our part to erecting a statue of Frederick the Great? Whether or not it is proper to have the statue of a king in Washington depends on our reason for erecting it, and when we refuse to place the effigy of a great man in our capital because he was a king, we forget that he was a king who sympathized with the establishment of a great republic, himself a republican on a throne. We are unwilling to see his statue in a prominent place among those of other great men, because we are too small, too puny, to recognize greatness in a king, in a royal hero, in a crowned sage, who used to eat with his friends at a round table because he desired to be an equal among his guests. Are we afraid that if a man like him lived among us he would robe himself in purple? We need have no fear.

We had a man like Frederick among us, born in the most unpretentious hut; it was Lincoln, our great and noble martyr president, who when confronted with a great crisis had only the one thought—to do his duty, and proposed to resign and surrender his high office if there were any one more capable than himself to assume the responsibility.

We Americans ought to be proud of having had the friendship and esteem of a king like Frederick the Great; we ought to bear in mind that kings who have a lofty conception of kingship like

that proposed by Frederick hailed the birth of our republic at a time when republican institutions on a large scale were still generally regarded as impossible, as positively Utopian, or at best a questionable experiment.

Contrast Frederick's views with the opinion of English noblemen as characterized in the behavior of the English when they robbed and burned the city of Washington in 1814. When they entered the Hall of Representatives in the capitol they proposed to kindle "this democratic rathole" and used the books of the Library of Congress for lighting the flames!

Democracy is a good thing. It means that the people shall govern themselves. But they cannot all be rulers, they cannot all be kings. They must entrust leadership to one, and they call him their president. In a democracy every one has a chance to become president, while in a kingdom the ruler of the people is born and educated for the office of kingship. It remains to be seen which of the two systems is better. There are advantages on both sides. If a democratic president has been elected because he has given evidence that he is fit to rule, a man like Lincoln, he will be the right man in the right place, while a king like Louis XIV whose sole aim was the aggrandizement of his own person is a curse to his country. The main point is that the man who has been entrusted with the leadership of his people—whether by birth and good fortune or by political conditions or ability—should prove both efficient and conscientious in the administration of his high office; and since the Great Elector of Brandenburg it has been a deeply-rooted conviction in the Hohenzollern family that duty comes first and all the privileges of rulership exist merely in order to make a thorough performance of duty possible.

The ascent of the Hohenzollern family from the time when they are first mentioned in history as counts, to prince-electors, then to kings and finally to emperors, is not accidental but is based upon the serious spirit of the men themselves and their noble traditions faithfully preserved from generation to generation.

Frederick the Great was the most distinguished among them, but even such weak and narrow-minded monarchs as Kings Frederick William II and III had their redeeming features and though lacking in judgment and guilty of many blunders, they at least were anxious to do their duty.

It is not the titles that are essential, but the actualities of life. Republics are not preferable to monarchies because they have no kings, but only if they give democratic advantages to the people

so as to enable them to make their influence felt upon the government, to secure liberty to all and equal rights before the law and equal chances to all according to their capabilities. A republic where the president imposes his will upon the people in a dictatorial fashion is certainly worse than even a bad kingdom.

Scholars who have made a special study of historical and social institutions and have compared the actual conditions of the different nations, both republics and monarchies, almost unanimously agree that Germany is the most democratic country in the world and that its institutions deserve imitation everywhere. It is remarkable how even the Socialist party of Germany stood up for the defense of the country and endorsed the policy of the imperial government.

We have always had democratomania with us who would even abrogate the office of the presidency, and it will be remembered that they opposed the proposal to make the eagle the emblem of our nation. They might have been endorsed by a democratic majority, had not their childish narrowness been brought to ridicule by a sarcastic wit who, granting that the eagle was a bird of prey and as the emblem of royal power might be objectionable, suggested that we might choose the goose for our emblem instead since this good and honest household bird was certainly more democratic than a bird of prey and would otherwise prove a convenience, for while a goose would mark our dollars, the gosling would be appropriate on our dimes.

If it is the aim of this country to bring all down to the level of the lowest standard of incompetence we had better publicly justify the method of suppressing recognition of royal genius in our very school-books and praise the goose in preference to the eagle. Was it perhaps in unconscious recognition of this principle that our Populist party is symbolized in its ultra-democratic simple-mindedness by the goose, as the Republicans are pictured as the pompous elephant and the Democrats as the braying donkey?

We Americans with our democratic ideals are pretty simple-minded in our comprehension of the essential significance of our aim, and we have been most easily duped by cunning methods of misguiding our judgment.

English diplomacy is the craftiest of all. The English understand how to pit other powers against each other and thereby to hold the balance of power in their own hands. They gained control of India mainly by making Indian rajas fight among themselves, finally to submit to British rule as an acceptable yoke of leisure

and security, preferable to those who love pleasure more than independence. English diplomacy has succeeded in building up an enormous empire and in gaining unlimited wealth which, however, remains in the hands of the few, while the large masses of the English people are kept under the illusion that in spite of the abject poverty and ignorance of London's East End and the poor all over the country, they are the freest people on the face of the earth.

The English aristocracy is so entrenched in traditional rights as to be quite secure in their possessions, and their well-devised plans anticipate any dangers that might threaten to arise. The British empire was menaced by France under Napoleon I, and in more recent times by French enterprise in building the Suez Canal and soon afterward again by the French advance in the interior of Africa up to Fashoda, but English diplomacy overcame these obstacles. At the same time Russia's power was growing and it seemed probable that Russia would become master of Asia by taking Constantinople at the western end of this large continent and by invading Japan at its farthest eastern extremity. It seemed as if the conquest of Tibet, of Persia, of Afghanistan and finally of India was inevitable and merely a question of time to be delayed but unavoidable.

A third danger, however, loomed up on the horizon, and that was the unparalleled growth of Germany. Were the English diplomats right in deeming this danger the greatest of all? Whether they were right or not, they acted on the principle that in comparison to the dangers implied by the growth of Germany the dangers of France and Russia were insignificant, and that it would therefore be wiser to crush Germany first and deal with the other rivals afterwards.

It seems true that the German danger was indeed more threatening than all others. The German empire has become a new factor in history. The Germans have become leaders in the sciences and arts, and their industry in times of peace has slowly but with systematic certainty overtaken England. Against such a nation there is only one remedy: it must be crushed. Here is a people among whom education has reached the highest level hitherto attained, and liberty has become the dominant feature of its political institutions. The increasing wealth of Germany is more evenly and justly distributed through all the classes than anywhere else, the republican commonwealths of Switzerland (the freest of all), France and the United States not excepted, and a peaceful competition with Germany could be successful only if England would

adopt German methods by spreading the benefits of education and giving the poor an opportunity to rise higher, to assert themselves in a legitimate and orderly way, and to improve their conditions without resorting to revolution—at any rate to insure them against the dire fate of wretched poverty or destitution.

This method was not acceptable to the English oligarchy and so there was only one way of competing with Germany successfully—war. Germany has taken a step forward in the development of mankind by becoming democratic not in name but in fact, by raising science to its proper place in social arrangements and by encouraging all to join in the general advance and share in its benefits. Our English diplomats shirked a step which would rob the aristocracy of some of their privileges and democratize the British empire. They preferred therefore the other course which aimed at the elimination of this unwelcome rival. To obviate the danger of German competition in peace was impossible; in peaceful pursuits the Germans were winning, and every peaceful year of further development showed them farther and farther ahead of English industry and commerce.

But how destroy Germany's industry and her power with the least risk before they could outgrow Great Britain? English diplomacy makes other nations fight for Great Britain. So Russia and France were engaged to attack Germany and do the work. This is the meaning of the Triple Entente, and British diplomacy was successful in hypnotizing both the Gallic republic and the autocracy of the Czar.

The principle that Germany must be crushed was first pronounced in the much discussed articles of the London *Saturday Review*, "*Germania est delenda*." Russia and France could be pushed aside and duped by diplomatic tricks; they were dangerous, but not to be feared since they could be manipulated. But Germany's advance appeared somehow and in a mysterious way uncanny even to England's keenest diplomat, and the danger could only be averted if Germany were crushed.

The result of this logic was the Triple Entente, and thus Germany came to be surrounded by enemies strong enough to break her power forever. There is only one flaw in the logic of the Triple Entente. It overlooks the fact that although quantity is an important item in calculation, quality should not be forgotten. Quantity, which means superiority in numbers, is on the side of the Allies, but quality is in favor of the Germans; and it would not

be for the first time in history if quality proved more important than quantity.

More than any previous conflict in the history of the world this great conflagration is a war of diplomacy, or, to state the fact more boldly, a war of intrigues; and the question for us neutrals is and will be whether or not we shall be sufficiently sagacious to understand the situation at the critical moment which will turn up in the progress of events. There was the terrible disaster of the *Lusitania* with its terrific loss of lives, among them one hundred and odd Americans; there is the protest of the Washington administration against Germany's submarine warfare; there is a disturbance of neutral traffic on the seas by the English policy of cutting off Germany's trade with the world; and I am sorry to add, America finds it profitable to furnish enormous quantities of war material to the Allies. Our witty orator (who happened at the time to be our Secretary of State) declared that if we did not furnish England and her allies with war material we would be guilty of a breach of neutrality.

There were two boys wrangling and a third boy stood by and handed one of them a knife, and then he said in excuse of his action, "It would have been unfair (or unneutral) if I had not handed that boy a knife for he just needed it in order to stab the other."

The Germans—it must be said to their honor—are poor diplomats. They have proved even unwisely outspoken and act on the principle that honest truthfulness is the best policy. Will they win in the long run in spite of their lack of diplomacy? It almost seems so.

English diplomacy has utilized the circumstances of the Servian conflict by promising Russia her assistance against Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Russians would not have dared to begin the war alone or merely with the assistance of France, and so England prompted the war. And in this war the Russians imagine that Great Britain is fighting for Russia, and the English believe that the Russians are fighting for the English cause and trust to their successful diplomacy for protection against Russia.

France has suffered severely by English diplomacy, but English diplomacy has succeeded in enlisting her interest with Great Britain against Germany only by utilizing the French cry of revenge for Alsace and Lorraine.

It would have been in Italy's own interest to remain a faithful member of the Triple Alliance, but English diplomacy has

succeeded by hook or crook in persuading the Italian ministers to join the allies in support of England, France and Russia. Rumania will probably follow suit, and the question is whether the United States will continue to support the Triple Entente by continuing its manufacture of war material, or will even declare war against Germany. English diplomacy is certainly artful, and what will be the result among us? Let us hope that we cannot be so easily lured as Italy.

And what will be the end of the war?

It is not advisable to indulge in prophecy, but I shall venture to express my opinion freely. If we read history in the light of the truth that the development of mankind follows eternal laws, we see in the present struggle the oft-repeated attempt of reactionary powers to crush the rising progress and to prevent the growth of mankind. The same kind of intrigue as often before has once more arrayed a world against a people who are the most advanced and therefore the most dangerous community in the world, most efficient in peace and in war. Before they can enter upon their inheritance they must be destroyed, lest the future be theirs and Great Britain be dislodged from her snug position where she rules the seas and exercises her profitable benevolent dominion over the world.

I will prophecy without hesitation that England will meet her Waterloo. She has been declining for some time under the domination of a very narrow-minded egotistical oligarchy, and if she is defeated the result may after all be beneficial to the English people.

There is enough strength left in the English commoners, but it remains to be seen whether they will assert themselves when their clever masters are overthrown. It is to be hoped that in the future men like Sir Edward Grey will find it impossible to drag England into a disastrous war simply because it seemed the best means to preserve the oligarchy and its privileges.

What will become of Germany?

The Allies will not succeed in conquering her; and even if she should be defeated she will rise again and again from her humiliation, until finally she will be triumphant, not to dominate over the rest of mankind, but to lead the other nations on the paths of progress onward and upward.

At the end of the war Germany will, if at all possible, restore Poland and make of it an allied kingdom with a common tariff, and also a military confederate. She may restore Belgium, give part of it to Luxemburg and let the northern and western portions be rehabilitated as the duchy of Flanders with her own old Flemish

speech. It is to be hoped that the Baltic provinces and also Finland will become independent and that in a more distant future all the states of central Europe may see fit to form an alliance for the purpose of a common tariff system and as a confederation in arms. This would embrace the northern states, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, also Holland and Switzerland. Austria-Hungary will probably join, and the result would be a condition of well-assured peace establishing also the principles of the freedom of the seas.

THE NEW PARSIFAL.

A STUDY OF WILHELM II.

BY ALEISTER CROWLEY.

WORLD-CRISES are always preceded by world-prophets. The artist is the secret incarnation of the *Zeitgeist*; his contemporaries always fail to recognize him even as an artist, unless he live long enough to impose his will upon them, and so see the world swing slowly towards his sun.

I am fortunate in that, young as I still am, I behold the establishment of the moral principles for which I fought even as a boy. I see the death agony of sham religion, the destruction of that cave of petty tyrannies and narrow ideals that the "good" called the "home," the general recognition of what was then called degeneracy, but was in truth moral courage asserting its divine destiny, as part of the normal life of the best men. Hypocrisy is squirming still, but such is the habit of slain reptiles. So, before I am forty, I find the world almost an ideal place to live in. Being an optimist, I had hoped much; but this greatest thing I had hardly dared to hope, the dissolution of Syphilization in universal war. Only in my prophet-mood could I speak it aloud.

I feel that there is a certain historical importance in making this claim, for the Celtic race, the holy clan that derive even their blood from Osiris and Isis, must constantly deserve the golden harp upon the banner of green, the symbol of poetic inspiration, and the older banner, the sun blaze, which I bear on my own shield, token of the fatherhood of Apollo.

For there were prophets in the shrine before me, and it is of them I speak. The weapon of one was music, of the other philosophy. And these two men understood what was seething in Europe, were torn by the throes of the birth of this giant child of Time,

Horus, the God of War. And so secret and so awful was this labor that no poet could join their godly company, else it may be the birth had been hastened and the child still-born. Even now when he is come, he appears in so black a veil that men, remembering the prophet of Khorassan, shudder and pass on.

But after the rule of the prophet comes the rule of the king. In the world-crisis which they foresee arises the hero. And just as they are forced to prophesy against their will, so often enough the hero is a man of peace. Any one who has studied the history of Napoleon with broad clear vision will not read ambition, but necessity, in his campaigns. The shallow mind forgets that at that time France, already self-mutilated and bleeding from the revolution, was beset by the armies of the world. Napoleon saved France from Bourbon sloth, stupidity and selfishness in the hour of the ruin they had brought about. His subsequent wars were the fruits of his past victories. If you disturb equilibrium ever so little the whole universe shakes. In order to readjust the machinery which has slipped a single cog, it may sometimes be necessary to scrap the whole plant and rebuild it from new material. It is impossible to localize war. For the moment the affair may be prevented from spreading, but the force continues to operate invisibly.

So by the irony of the gods the warrior king is often a man of peace. The popular mind is unable to perceive these subtleties. It tends to regard Julius Caesar as a warrior rather than as a legislator, and Mohammed to this day is considered rather as the conqueror than as the greatest author and lawgiver of the Christian era, the man who built up a civilization whose essential force carried Europe through the dark ages, and prevented the destruction of knowledge from being complete.

Thus, it being necessary for the popular mind to interpret the prophets in some concrete manner, the popular imagination seizes on some convenient figure and makes him a hero. There he stands, in marble sometimes, more often in bronze, but always colossal, with the inscription "Hail Saviour of the World" upon the pedestal.

In the present crisis there are more pigmies than men. Obscene dwarfs like George V, pot-bellied *bourgeois* like Poincaré, could only become heroic by virtue of some Rabelais magic-wand. Joffre and Kitchener are quiet business-like subordinates with no qualities that can seize the reins of the horses of Apollo. The Czar is a nobody.

But there is no necessity to seek so far. The lavish gods have

matched their prophets well with their hero this time. Wilhelm II¹ has always been to a certain extent conscious of himself as an incarnation of Lohengrin, Siegfried, Parsifal.

The last thing that Wagner wanted to draw was an overman. Wagner's intellect was socialistic. But the prophet in him, as in every true artist, was aristocratic; and every time he drew, he drew a saviour. His hero was not merely a king, but a holy king. He was the custodian of a sacred treasure; he wielded magic weapons, and wore armor consecrated and invulnerable.

It was a great thing for Germany that she had an emperor with the intelligence to perceive what these things meant, and to realize himself as the Messiah of whom the prophet Wagner spoke. This being so, he stepped readily and naturally into the place, as on a well-rehearsed stage. Already, before the war is ended, he is apparent even to neutrals and to enemies as the central figure of the drama, the new Agamemnon.

This is the age of fairy tales. The newspapers have weaned us from the truth. So even the All-lies have conspired in stupid hate to endow the Kaiser with all the qualities of a demigod. In truth, to his own soldiers he appears, flashing hither and thither, like St. Michael, to rally, to encourage, to lead forward in the charge. Where the fight is thickest, there is the emperor, pale and stern, like Christ as he arose from Gethsemane and walked forth to meet Fate, and to find triumph and immortal glory. From front to front he rages, whirling aloft the consecrated sword of his fathers. He never spares himself; he is a comrade to every soldier in the ranks.

There is something here to catch the popular imagination. To his very enemies he seems like Lucifer or Attila, not wholly human. They endow him with the magic gifts; he is reported simultaneously on every battle-front, as well as in a dozen of his castles. Even the Crown Prince is killed a hundred times and rises to renew the combat, ever more glorious because more glittering as he breaks through the spider-web of myth whose gossamer shrouds him as with the veil of a high priestess over the silver armor of a knight of the Graal.

There is no such magic drapery about the Czar. He is in Petrograd, and goes to the front now and again, a mere king, hardly a warrior king, certainly not a sacred king, and still less a demi-god. But Wilhelm II is the genius of his people. He has

¹ It is remarkable that Franz Josef fits in quite well as the aged king. He is Titirel.

the quality that Castor and Pollux had for Rome. He seems omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, the very angel of God, terrible and beautiful, sent to save the Fatherland from savage foes. Even if he perish, he will not perish as a man. He will acquire the radiance of Milton's Satan, and go down the ages as the hero of the great lost cause of humanity.

None will know the place of his burial. Legends will grow up around him as they did for Christ, for Balder, for Adonis, for Arthur, for Mohammed, for Napoleon. "He is not really dead; he will come again to lead his people to the final triumph," will be the word in the mouth of every peasant, and a subconscious hope in the heart of every noble. The poet will know that this is mystically true; for he knows that there is no death, that character is more permanent than flesh and blood, that men are in truth the incarnation of some god. He knows that the hero, compact of myth, is yet more real than the historical figure of the man himself. Imagination holds more truth than science; art is real, life is illusion. For art holds the idea complete and pure, the divine thought clothed about with beauty. Art formulates deity; art, from the quarries of the amorphous earth, builds its imperishable palace of white marble, or of onyx, porphyry and malachite.

Ave, Guglielme! Rex, imperator! Hail, Saviour of the world, that, clad in golden armor, with the helm of holiness, wieldest the sword! Hail, sovereign and saviour, that healest all the disease of the ages, that hurlest back the heathen from the sacred realm.

Welcome to the world that lay in anguish, hungering for thy dawn, O sun of righteousness! The holy kings of old salute thee; the prophets anoint thee with the oil of benediction; they offer thee the crown of Europe. The poets see thee, and know thee; their songs weave silken veils about thine armor!

Ave, Guglielme, rex, imperator!

"MADE IN AMERICA."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Cleveland Automatic Tool Company has published an advertisement in *The American Machinist*, which praises a new interesting machine invented for making high grade projectiles to exceed in power the old-fashioned shells. One great advantage of the new projectile, for which it is especially recommended, is the innovation that it will be filled with high grade explosives which will poison every portion of the fractured pieces and will thus make death under most excruciating agonies unavoidable within four hours, even for those who have been but slightly wounded. There is no other way of protecting those hit than by at once cauterizing the wound. And this comes from America!

The advertisement has been translated into German and has been published in many German newspapers. No wonder that the Germans begin to be as much embittered against America as they are against Great Britain. They attribute the formidable coalition raised against them to British diplomacy. They regard the British as their bitterest enemy. They regard the French as the fools of Great Britain and would easily be inclined to forgive them, but they hate England. It is regrettable that America supports the Allies by sending them war materials in great quantities, and German mothers will add to the announcement of cases of death suffered by their sons on the field of honor: "Killed by a bullet made in America."

The hate against England is a "holy hate." It is difficult for us to understand the holiness of it, but any one who studies the origin of the war and the role which British diplomacy has played in it will comprehend its power and its religious nature, yea, he will understand that, though hate in general is not desirable, this hate is justified.

And now America comes and not only continues to send ammunition but furnishes means of providing poisonous shells of a most barbarous nature. These same Americans join their British

May 6, 1915

Buying—AMERICAN MACHINIST—Section

27

Worth Knowing

On the opposite page we show two sizes of high explosive shells which can be produced from the bar on our 4½" PEDESTAL BASE MACHINE (see cut on opposite page).

On this machine we can finish a 13-lb. shell all over as it appears from very tough material from which shells are made, in 24 minutes, and from ordinary machine steel in 17 minutes

The 18-lb. shell in 30 minutes, or from regular machine steel in 22 minutes.

When you figure about \$1.00 per day for operating this machine, you can then arrive at the actual labor cost for producing the piece.

We are going to say a little more—something which might be interesting. The following is a description of the 13- and 18-lb. high explosive shells which are now being used so extensively in the war to replace common shrapnel.

The material is high in tensile strength and VERY SPECIAL and has a tendency to fracture into small pieces upon the explosion of the shell. The timing of the fuse for this shell is similar to the shrapnel shell, but it differs in that two explosive acids are used to explode the shell in the large cavity. The combination of these two acids causes terrific explosion, having more power than anything of its kind yet used. Fragments become coated with these acids in exploding and wounds caused by them mean death in terrible agony within four hours if not attended to immediately.

From what we are able to learn of conditions in the trenches, it is not possible to get medical assistance to anyone in time to prevent fatal results. It is necessary to immediately cauterize the wound if in the body or head, or to amputate if in the limbs, as there seems to be no antidote that will counteract the poison.

It can be seen from this that this shell is more effective than the regular shrapnel, since the wounds caused by shrapnel balls and fragments in the muscles are not as dangerous as they have no poisonous element making prompt attention necessary.

CLEVELAND AUTOMATIC MACHINE COMPANY

Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

cousins in denouncing the Germans as barbarians and Huns. To help manufacture poisoned shrapnels is no better than to sanction the poisoned arrow of the savage, and the machinery made in

America will help to kill those men who heroically defend the fatherland in the trenches.

Must we not expect that the hatred of England will be extended to America? Enormous quantities of ammunition have been sold to the Allies, and our President, so famous for his humanitarian protestations, continues to allow these munitions to be sent, and in the name of humanitarianism forbids the employment of submarines to blow up ships that carry ammunition, because those Americans who happen to be on board must be protected under all circumstances.

The case of *The American Machinist* advertisement has been investigated, and as it seems the Cleveland Automatic Tool Company has been whitewashed on the ground that they do not make shells but only machinery to make the shells, and it is claimed that they are a harmless, peaceful company, whose advertisement is unfortunately so worded as to produce the impression that they favor the use of poisonous projectiles.

I must confess that I do not see any great difference between the advertisement and the whitewashing statement of the company that has published the advertisement, and cannot blame the Germans for being embittered against the country that allows the furnishing of instruments of slaughter to the enemies of Germany.

No wonder that the Germans in this country also feel bitter because America is following a policy of neutrality which is neutral only in claiming the rights of neutrality while neglecting its duties, whereas in practice it favors Great Britain and creates difficulties for the Germans.

"Made in Germany" has become a humorous term expressing the unparalleled progress of German industry, the products of which have become ubiquitous all over the world.

"Made in England" has become a joke on English newspaper items which are often reprinted in American papers. They glory in the victories of the Russians, the French, the Italians, and proclaim that the retreat of the English in the beginning of the war was one of the world's most glorious military operations in which the English army even excelled the glory of Xenophon's retreat from the interior of Persia with his ten thousand Greek warriors.

"Made in America" now comes to denote the production of machines for human destruction, indeed those of the most barbaric and death-dealing efficiency—and all the while in our hypocrisy we are posing as the sponsors of a higher humanity and peace among men!

MISCELLANEOUS.

A COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR CONYBEARE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I would like you to publish the following supplementary note to the article and letter on the antecedents of the war, which I recently sent you. [See "Responsibility for the War" in the July issue.]

I regret that I used so strong a phrase as the "lies and hypocrisies of our public men and press." I should have used the word *rhodomontade*. I referred to the absurd campaign of vilification against German learning and science. We ought long ago to have set ourselves to imitate their thoroughness and efficiency. I also had in view the manner in which early in the war mere skirmishes were magnified by our orators and reporters into victories. The papers were full of such headlines as "The Germans Routed by Land and Sea," "Last Stand of the Huns," etc. *Punch* even had a cartoon of the Kaiser fleeing in terror before a host of Cossacks. It seemed to me that before even we put our armor on we were boasting as might a man when he puts it off, and I felt it all to be very ominous.

I am not sure also that I was not too severe upon Sir Edward Grey. It used to be said of him that he was a lath painted to look like steel, and I fear he is a weak man and given to vacillation; but that he is a pacifist his well-meant attempt to alter the law of capture at sea surely proves. His ideal here was on the whole "free ship, free goods"; and if all nations adopted it there would be no need of navies on their present scale, for the ocean would be neutralized to all intents and purposes.

Perhaps too I was too severe on Sir Edward Grey for not adopting Sir G. Buchanan's plan of non-intervention; for it must be remembered that it is as vital an interest for us to defend France as for Germany to defend Austro-Hungary. I fancy that Grey's idea was to be able in any crisis to restrain France and Russia, and so keep the peace of Europe. But this policy really puts us at the mercy of Russia or of Germany; whichever of them chose to go to war, we were committed to joining in it, for or against. In this case it was certainly Germany that on July 31 was the first to relinquish the attitude of defense for that of offense. Even if Russia threatened her by mobilizing she should not have gone beyond counter-mobilization. She struck the first blow and so precipitated the catastrophe; and by way of making it worse she invaded Belgium, knowing full well that that would inflame us to declare war on her. I am sure Lloyd George is right when he states that without the outrage on this small and innocent state neither he nor the majority of his colleagues would ever have voted for war.

Why did Germany on July 31 so suddenly abandon her peaceful attitude of the day before? Was the Emperor overpowered by the war faction? Was he afraid of being stigmatized as a poltroon, as he was in 1911? We shall know some day.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.

A PALACE OF DARIUS I.

In the spring of 1914 a French architect, Monsieur M. L. Pillet, published a neat little volume at Paul Geuthner's in Paris, treating of the palace of Darius I at Susa, which belongs to the fifth century B. C. (*Le palais de Darius Ier à Suse*). The identity of the ruins was established by Sir Kenneth Loftus in 1851, who published the results of his excavations in a work entitled *Travels and Discoveries in Chaldea and Susiana* (London, 1857). Sir Kenneth has proved that these tells are the historical seat of the Achemenids, the ancient Persian kings, and that this is the palace where Darius I resided. The



COIN OF DARIUS III.

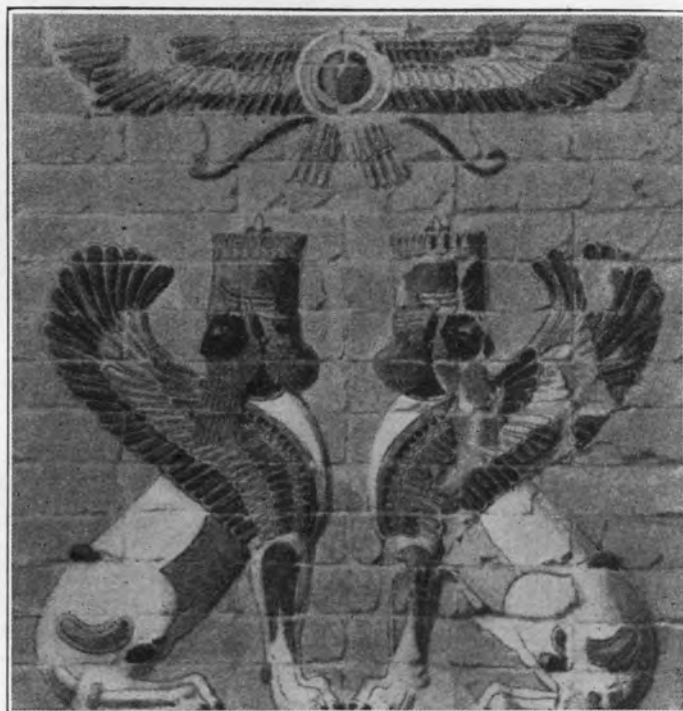
book before us makes no attempt to enter into the historical problems. The author's interests center about the archeological, and he has concentrated his attention upon the buildings alone. For instance, such a problem would be the discussion of the evidence as to whether this were not the palace which saw enacted the history of King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther. There are no references to ancient texts on the history of the owners of this memorable palace. A daric of Darius III Codomannus (337-300 B. C.) is shown



THE MOSQUE OF DANIEL.

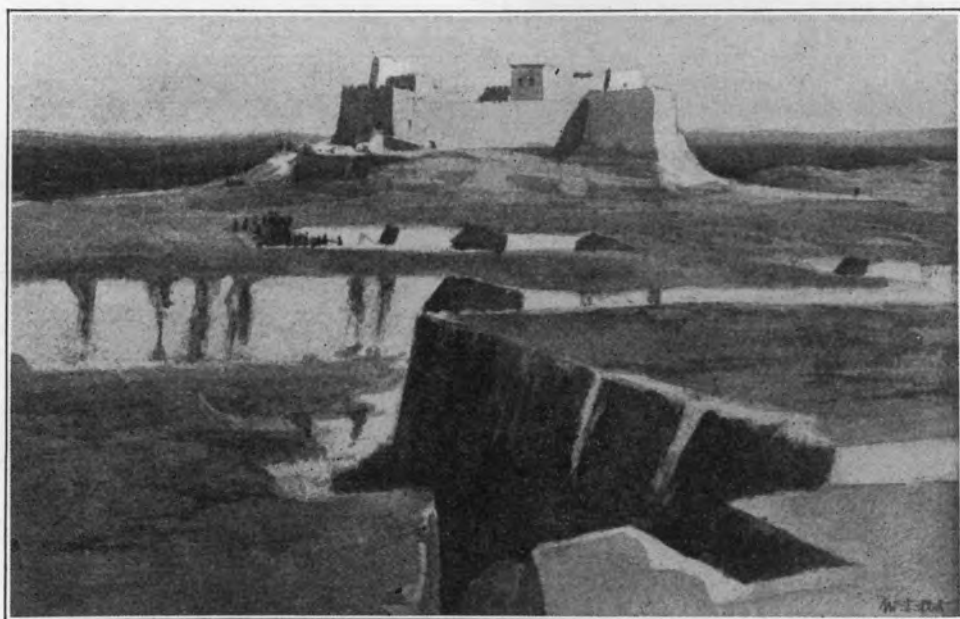
in reproduction. Investigations of historical matters are left to philologists and historians, but the work is none the less interesting on account of the author's artistic taste and architectural interest.

The book is ornamented with heliogravures, mostly taken from water colors made by the author. There we see the mosque of Daniel with its



SPHINXES. A MOSAIC IN ENAMELED BRICK.

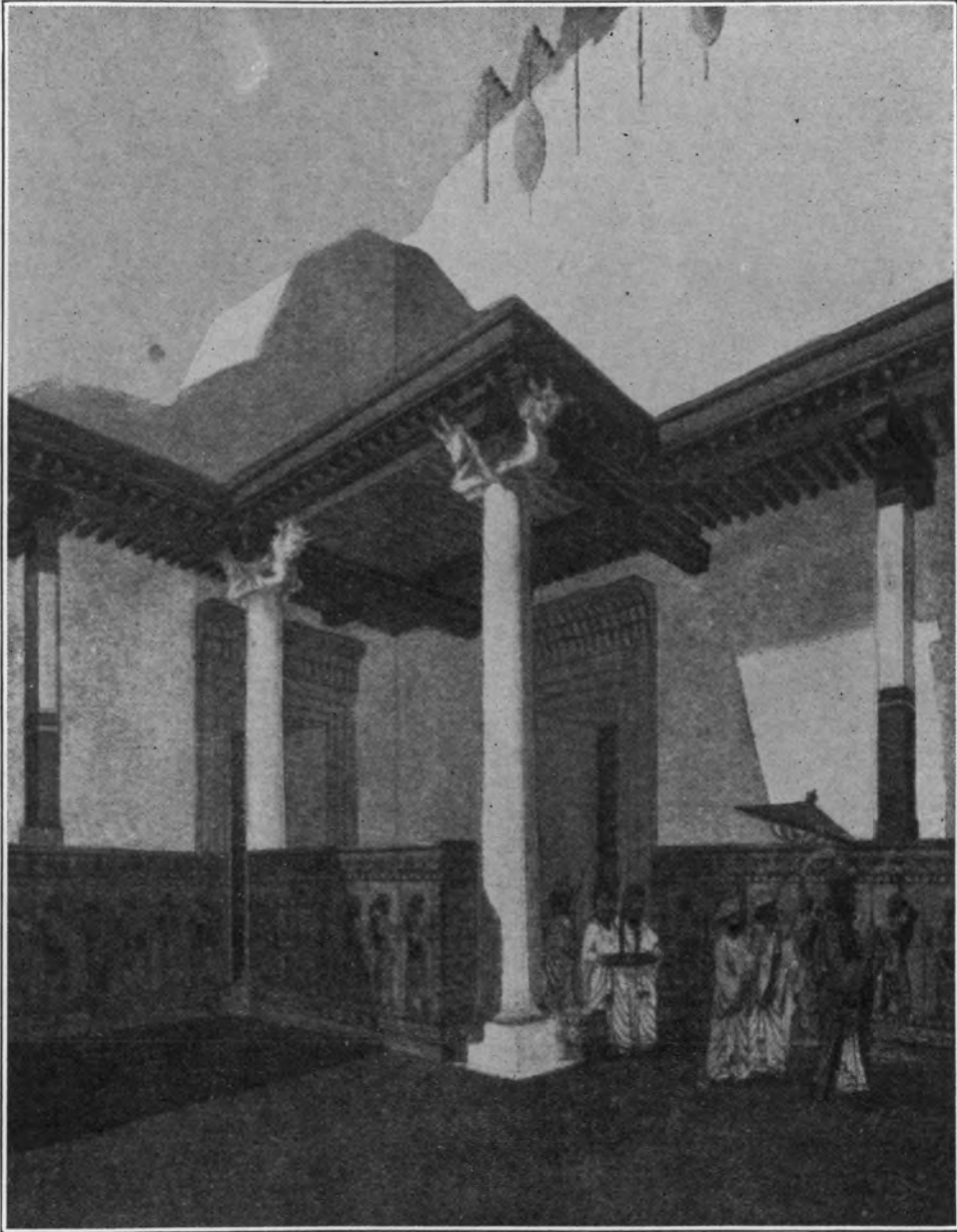
From a water color by M. Pillet.



EXCAVATIONS OF THE ACROPOLIS WITH THE QAL'A IN THE BACKGROUND.

From a water color by M. Pillet.

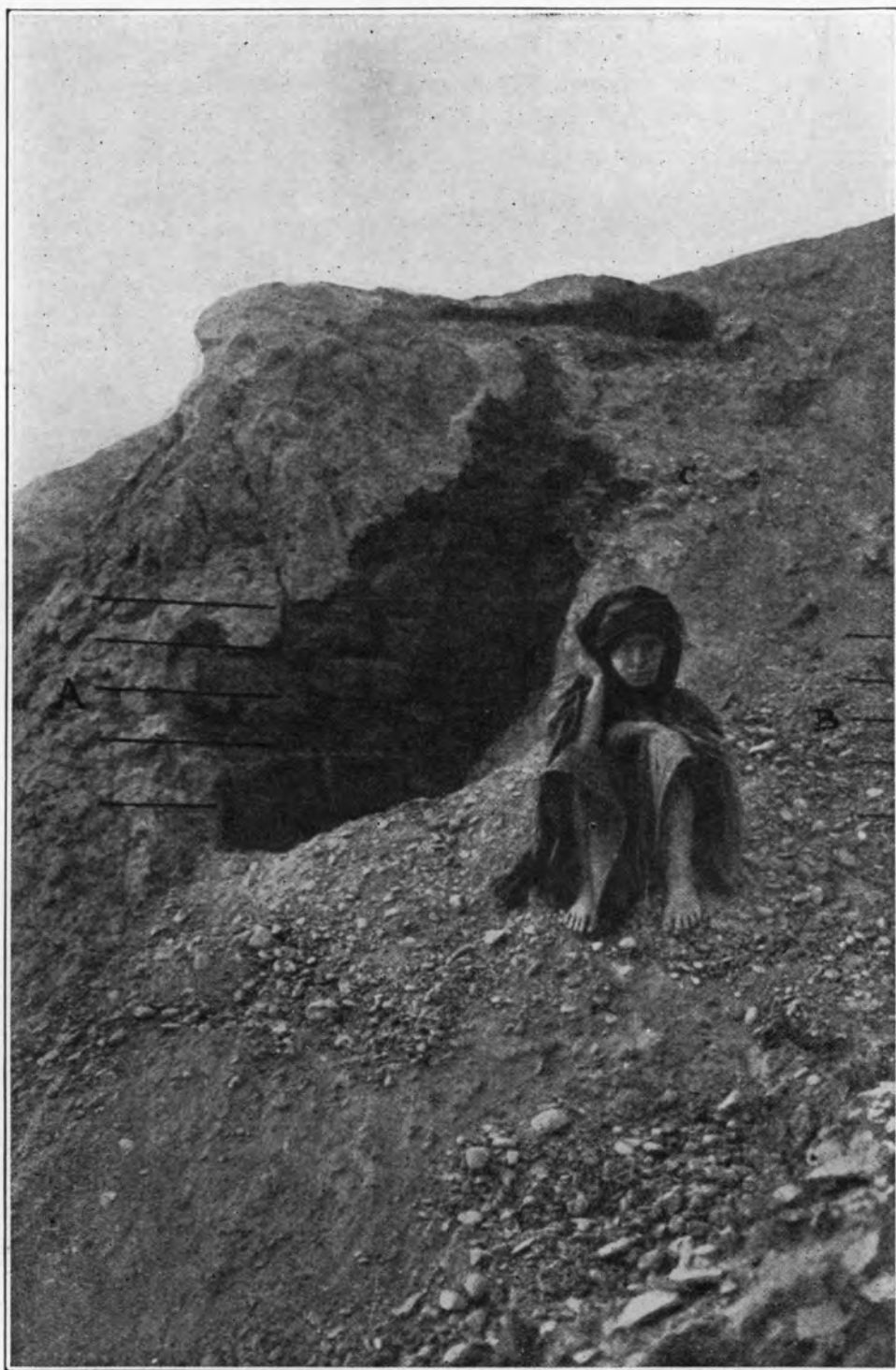
imposing conical monument. The acropolis must have been formidable and the paradise of gardens extremely luxurious, and all these details are here depicted in a truly artistic style. Among the reproductions we notice the



THE PORCH OF COLUMNS RESTORED.

From a drawing by M. Pillet.

columned porch in a restoration which gives us a fair impression of the character of the ancient palace buildings. The author also offers us an interesting reconstruction of the palace as a whole.



A NATIVE OF SUSIANA.

Many mosaics of enameled brick were found in the entrance of the palace and some of them still set in position in the flagging. A number of these have been removed bodily to the Louvre. M. Pillet has copied one of them in water colors and we reproduce it here. It is a fine decorative motif showing two sphinxes composed in a conventional symmetry. The left-hand figure has been largely restored by the artist.

A touch of local color is provided by the photograph or a bit of buried wall made to illustrate the direction of the layers of the construction bricks. Incidentally a native girl is included in the picture.

At the north end of the acropolis may be seen a formidable building which stands out in bold relief above the undulations of the surrounding plain. It is called the Qal'a and is a fortress built as lately as 1897 by Mr. J. de Morgan for the purpose of providing a shelter for the men engaged in excavations and their valuable scientific material, and also to provide a stronghold to resist any chance incursions of the neighboring nomads.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA. By *Henry Jones Ford*. Princeton: University Press, 1915. Pp. 607. Price \$2.00 net.

This interesting book on a very interesting subject treats in a sympathetic way the history of one of the most important portions of the population of the United States. It tells the story of the Ulster plantation, and of the influences that formed the character of the people. We read on page 1:

"In 1609, six years after the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England as James I in its line of kings, a scheme was matured for planting Ulster with Scotch and English, and the following year the settlement began. The actual settlers were mostly Scotch, and the Ulster plantation took the character of a Scotch occupation of the north of Ireland. In that plantation was formed the breed known as Scotch-Irish, which was prominent in the struggle for American independence and which supplied to American population an ingredient that has deeply affected the development of the nation. It is the purpose of this work to give an account of this Scotch-Irish strain in the composition of the American people, tracing its history and influence."

This thrifty and industrious settlement soon won the envy of England because of the success early attained by Irish woolen manufacture. Mr. Ford writes thus of its effect on the English government (pp. 184-185):

"The House of Lords and the House of Commons both made urgent representations to King William that the English woolen manufacture was menaced by the Irish industry. The memorial of the House of Commons urged William 'to enjoin all those you employ in Ireland to make it their care and use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except it be imported hither, and for discouraging the woolen manufacture.' The King promised to comply with the request and the Irish parliament itself was submissive....By existing laws Irish woolen manufactures were already excluded from the colonial market, and were virtually excluded from England by prohibitory duties. In 1699 the work of exclusion was completed by a law enacted by the British parliament prohibiting the Irish from exporting manufactured wool to any other country whatever."

The result of such legislation was that from 1714-1720 there was an active

emigration from Ulster to New England although the main stream from this source soon turned toward Pennsylvania. Mr. Ford says (p. 208):

"Every writer on Ulster emigration notes its bearing upon the American Revolution. Killen, a Belfast minister, in his church history says: 'Thousands of them [the Ulster tenant farmers] sought a home on the other side of the Atlantic, and a few years afterward appeared in arms against the mother country as asserters of the independence of the American republic.'"

Of the personal characteristics of the Scotch-Irish in America we read on pages 539 and 540:

"There can be no question that there is a distinct Scotch-Irish type of frame and physiognomy. It is well known and easily recognized. The long chin gives a characteristic square effect to the lower part of the face. One may notice it in the pictures of Woodrow Wilson as in the pictures of Andrew Jackson. And the race character is as persistent as the physical type. Professor Herron's description of the distinguishing characteristics of the Ulster Scots is applicable also to their kinsmen, the Scotch-Irish in America:

"'An economy and even parsimony of words, which does not always bethoken a poverty of ideas; and insuperable dislike to wear his heart upon his sleeve, or make a display of the deeper and more tender feelings of his nature; a quiet and undemonstrative deportment which may have great firmness and determination behind it; a dour exterior which may cover a really genial disposition and kindly heart; much caution, wariness and reserve, but a decision, energy of character, and tenacity of purpose, which, as in the case of Enoch Arden, "hold his will and bear it through"; a very decided practical faculty which has an eye on the main chance, but which may co-exist with a deep-lying fund of sentiment; a capacity for hard work and close application to business, which, with thrift and patient persistence, is apt to bear fruit in considerable success; in short, a reserve of strength, self-reliance, courage and endurance, which, when an emergency demands (as behind the Walls of Derry), may surprise the world.'"

"The activity and influence of that race have a securely established importance among the factors of American history."

Mr. Paul Zillmann, editor of the *Neue Metaphysische Rundschau*, sends to America an appeal to American women written by a representative of the women of Germany. After expressing the kindest possible feeling for American women, the writer proceeds to accuse them of indifference and thoughtlessness in the present crisis. She pleads, as woman to woman, that the women in this country exert their influence collectively and individually to restrain our government from permitting the shipment of munitions to the continent of Europe. She says: "Without America's criminal action in continuing to furnish munitions of war to our unhappy continent we should now be at peace, and mothers and wives whose hearts are trembling day and night in anxious solicitude for the dearest treasure God has given them could breathe freely once more; the sun which now shines upon death and destruction could once more awaken happiness with its rays. If your own consciences were not hardened you would realize that you are on the right path to bring a thousand-fold upon yourselves and your loved ones all the sorrow our eyes witness daily and for which our hearts are daily bleeding."



JIKOKUTEN, GUARDIAN OF THE EAST.

From a terra cotta in the Todaji temple at Nara (8th century).

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1915

NO. 712

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FUDO-MYOWO.

BY DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI.

FROM the earliest days of Buddhism in Japan, one of the most popular gods is found to be Fudō, whose Sanskrit name is Achala, the Immovable. His name and his general features and attitude suggest the fierceness of his original character. One might think that such a terrible-looking god could represent only evil, destroying every vestige of goodness in the world. But in fact he is worshiped as one who will grant his devotees all the worldly advantages that they may ask of him. Hence his extreme popularity.

According to the Shingon sect, he is the central figure of the five Vidyārājas (lords of magic¹) or Krodharājas (gods of wrath), and is considered a manifestation of Vairochana Buddha himself (Dainichi²). His original vow, that is, his *samaya*, (every supernatural being is supposed to have made some kind of vow in the beginning of his existence,) was to remove all possible obstacles which lie in the way of Buddhism.

¹ Ordinarily, five or eight Vidyārājas are mentioned, though there are some more belonging to this class of gods. The five most commonly grouped are Yamāntaka (Dai-itok), Trailokyavijaya (Gōsanzé), Achala (Fudō), Vajrayaksha (Kongo-yasha), and Kundali (Gundari). They all seem to represent Shiva in his destructive form. Theoretically speaking, every Buddha or Bodhisattva has his Krodhakāya, his angry expression, as well as his female counterpart; but the number of the known gods of wrath is less than that of the Buddhas.

² Dainichi, the great illuminator of the universe, is, according to the Shingon, the central figure of the world-system. It is through him that all existence is made possible, and that life can be enjoyed in its purity though filled with various defilements. That Fudō came to play such an important role in the pantheon of Buddhism is probably due to the fact of his being an incarnation of this all-powerful godhead, Vairochana. But some sutras consider him a manifestation of another Buddha.



AN IMAGE OF DAINICHI (VAIROCHANA).

The Buddha is here attended by Fudō (Achala) and Kwannon (Avalokitesvara). From the Shimpuku-ji, Kyoto.

In one of the *kalpas*³ concerning the worship of this god, we are told how to represent him in a picture: "Paint Achala the Messenger⁴ on good silk,⁵ put on him a red garment worn across the body, and his skirt too should be red. One braid of his hair hangs down over his left ear. He looks somewhat squintingly with his left eye. A rope is in his left hand, and a sword is held upright in his right. The top of the sword resembles a lotus-flower, and on its handle there is a jeweled decoration.⁶ He sits on a rock made of precious stones. His eyebrows are lifted, and his eyes expressing anger are such as to frighten all sentient beings. The color of his body is red and yellow. When you have thus painted the god, take the picture to the bank of a river or to the seashore,⁷ where he should be enshrined according to the established formula."⁸

³ Rules of ritual, forming a special class in the body of Buddhist literature. They are known in Japan as *Himitsu-Giki*, mystic rules of worship.

⁴ His title is sometimes "messenger," sometimes "lord of magic," but sometimes simply "the honorable." In these may be traced various stages of the historical development of the god.

⁵ This is not always required. To make the prayer especially efficacious for the suppression of evil doers, the devotee may paint the god with his own blood on cloth taken from a grave. It is sometimes recommended to paint him on any good cloth.

⁶ In none of his pictures so far I have come across is this observed.

⁷ Hence his association with waterfalls and springs.

⁸ This is taken from the book containing the "Mystic Rites of the Dhārani of Achala the Messenger." A little further down, however, we have a somewhat different description of the god. He is now to be reddish-yellow, wearing a blue garment across the body, but still with a red skirt. His left-side braid is the color of a black cloud. The features are boyish. A *vajra* (thunderbolt) is in his right hand and a rope in his left. From both ends of his mouth his tusks are slightly visible. His angry eyes are red. Enveloped in flames he sits on a hill of stone.

In the *Trisamaya-achala-kalpa* (there are two versions of this book, one in three volumes and the other in one), the god is supposed to wear a skirt of the color of red earth and sits on a lotus-flower. In another place he holds a *vajra*, not a sword, in his right hand and a sacred staff in his left. The eyes are somewhat reddish, and his whole person is enveloped in flames.

These representations, though differing more or less in detail, are essentially alike. Quite another form of the god is described in the "Book of Rites concerning the Ten Gods of Wrath" as follows: "He has a squinting eye boyish features, six arms and three faces each of which has three eyes, and he wears boyish personal ornaments. The front face is smiling; the right is yellowish, with the tongue sticking out, the color of which is bloody; the left face is white, has an angry expression, uttering the sound "hūm." The color of the body is blue; the feet rest on a lotus-flower and on the hill of precious stones. He stands with a dancer's attitude, and has power to keep away all evil ones. The entire person wrapped in flames has a circle of rays about it like the sun. The first right hand has a sword, the second a *vajra*, the third an arrow. Of the left hands the first holds a rope with the thumb standing, the second the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and the third a bow. The god wears a Buddha crown which is the symbol of Akshobhya Buddha.

There are some other forms of the god, more or less unlike the foregoing ones, but I will not go into details here. Suffice it to state in a general way that he assumes different features according to the different purposes for

This is the way Fudō is generally painted, and in most modern pictures or images of him we see flames enveloping his whole body, which is blue;⁹ and the seat on which he sits or stands is not always decorated with gems; it may be merely a huge block of stone, or a sort of tiled pedestal. His forehead has in most cases some wrinkles in the form of waves, which is in accord with the description in the "Vairochana Sūtra."

The meaning of all these various symbols is explained as follows in the introductory part of the *Trisamaya-achala-kalpa* (the three-volume version): "There is a deep significance in his being one-eyed,¹⁰ for this is the symbol of the utmost ugliness, and compels Achala to think of his own shortcomings and defects which stand in such contrast to the noble, perfect and superior features of the Buddha. Furthermore, this ugliness tends to frighten away evil beings. The seven knots on the top of his head signify the seven branches of *bodhi*, wisdom. One braid of hair hanging down his left shoulder typifies his merciful heart, which is sensitive to the sufferings of all lowly and much-neglected beings. . . . The sword in his right hand is meant to wage war against evils in the same way as a worldly warrior fights against his enemy. The rope in his left is to bind those devils whose unruly spirits have to be kept under control by the Buddha's restraining hands. The rock on which he sits is the symbol of his character, that is, immovability. Like the mountain pacifying the tumultuous waves of the great ocean, the rock represents the eternal calmness of the mind. It also represents spiritual treasure as the mine conceals in its bosom precious metals and stones. The fire enveloping the deity signifies the burning up of all the impurities that are attached to the human heart."

Another interpretation of Fudō appears in I-Hsing's "Commentary on the Vairochana Sūtra" (Vol. V, pp. 46f.): "This god has in a long past attained his Buddhahood upon the lotus pedestal of Vairochana; but owing to his original vow he now manifests himself in his early imperfect form, which he had at the time of the first awakening of his great heart. Becoming the

which his help is invoked. For instance, when he is requested to suppress the enemy, his body is to be painted yellow, with four faces and four arms. Sharp tusks are protruding from the mouth. His expression of anger is most intense, and encircled in burning flames his attitude is such as to make one think that he is going at once to devour an entire army of the enemy.

⁹ This tallies with the "Rites of the Ten Gods" as well as with Vajrapāni's description of the god in his "Sūtra on the Baptism of Light."

¹⁰ In the foregoing descriptions, squinting; but in some images both eyes look in the same direction.

Tathāgata's servant and messenger, he is engaged in various menial works. He holds a sharp sword and a rope in his hands in obedience to the Tathāgata's wrathful commands to destroy all sentient beings.¹¹ The rope represents the four practical methods of preaching, woven out of the heart of knowledge [*bodhichitta*]. The rope will ensnare unruly ones and keep them in check. The sharp sword of wisdom is to cut off the interminable life of karma possessed



FUDO IMAGE AT KOYASAN.

Kōyasan is the sacred place of the Shingon sect.

by unruly spirits, in order to let them obtain a great transcendental existence. When karma's seed of life is removed, all idle windy talk will come to a final end. Therefore the god tightly closes his mouth. The reason why he sees with one eye only, is to show that when the Tathāgata looks about with his eye of sameness¹²

¹¹ Meaning "every evil tendency to be found in us."

¹² In another place this is understood as meaning the uniqueness of the Buddha's spiritual eye-sight which is one, and not two nor three.

there is not a sentient being who is to be forgiven. Therefore, in whatever work this god is concerned, his whole object is to accomplish this. His firm position on the pile of huge stones signifies the immovable spirit with which he works for the confirmation of the pure heart of knowledge."

Fudō in fact is the incarnation of obedience, faithfulness, and loyalty. He becomes the messenger of Vairochana, for he wishes to perform for him the servile duties of transmitting the august orders and messages of his lordship. As he is commanded, he goes among the poor as well as the noble; he makes no discrimination, and his only anxiety is to execute all the offices, whether good or bad, entrusted to him by Vairochana. He therefore symbolizes all the good virtues of a slave. The knots of hair hanging on the left side of his head denote the number of generations of the master whom he has served. The lotus-flower on his head¹³ is the vehicle on which he will convey his master to the other shore of life eternal, that is, to the Pure Land. In his menial capacity he will most faithfully serve his worshipers who are at the same time his masters. I am told that the reason his left eye looks in a different direction from the right, is because this is a noticeable peculiarity among the servile class.

In the *Trisamaya-achala-kalpa* (one-volume version), we are advised to "make an offering to this holy one with a part of our own food and drink. As his original vow is to give himself up to lovingkindness, he is willing to serve all those who hold and recite his *mantrams*;¹⁴ his desire is to enslave himself, as we may see from his one-eyed form. He accepts our left-off food and if we thus remember him at each meal will be sure to protect us against the evil demons including Vināyaka (Ganesha) and will remove for us whatever obstacles or difficulties we may be encountering."

The following story is told of Fudō in I-Hsing's "Commentary on the Vairochana Sūtra" (Vol. IX; Chap. 3, "On the Removal of Obstacles"): When the Tathāgata received enlightenment all the sentient beings in the universe came to greet him, except the great lord of the heavens, Maheshvara, who was too proud to come and salute the Buddha. Thereupon, Achala was despatched to summon him to earth. But the lord of the heavens surrounded himself, though quite unbecoming to his dignity, with all sorts of filthy things so that nobody would dare approach him; for, how-

¹³ This lotus-flower is not mentioned anywhere in the *kalpas* in connection with the worship of this god.

¹⁴ Mystical verse.

ever proficient one may be in magic arts, filth is supposed to be the most efficient means of disenchantment. Achala was not to be



SYMBOLICAL REPRESENTATION OF FUDO.

From a figure in the Musée Guimet.

disheartened. All the filth was immediately devoured and disposed of. Seven times the lord refused to listen to the protest of

Achala, saying that he was the supreme master of the heavens and had no cause to yield to any one's request. But the divine messenger proved to be more than a match for the haughty lord; for he firmly set his left foot upon the half-moon on the forehead of the lord himself, while his right foot was placed on that of the noble consort. Both expired under the pressure, but in the meantime they realized the significance of the holy doctrine as disclosed by the Buddha, and were promised their future attainment of Buddhahood. This explains the meaning of certain pictures of Fudō in which he is depicted as stamping on two figures, male and female.

Fudō is commonly found attended by two figures and less frequently by eight; but his attendants are said sometimes to be as many as thirty-six or forty-eight. When there are two attendants, the one standing on his left, a young boy, is called Kinkara, and the other to the right who looks like a malicious demon is Chetaka. According to the "Mystic Rites concerning the Eight Boy-Attendants to the Holy Lord of the Immovable," Kinkara is a boy of about fifteen years and wears a lotus crown. His body is white. His hands are folded together and between the forefingers and the thumbs he holds a *vajra*¹⁵ crosswise. He wears a celestial garment as well as a Buddhist robe. The other boy, Chetaka, is of a red lotus color, and his hair is tied in five knots. In his left hand there is a *vajra* and in his right a *vajra* staff. As he cherishes anger and evil thoughts, he does not wear a Buddhist robe but a celestial garment only which hangs about his neck and shoulders. But in most of the popular pictures Kinkara holds a lotus-flower. He embodies wisdom whereas Chetaka means bliss.

Fudō sometimes is represented in the form of a sword around which is entwined a dragon or serpent holding the triangular point of the sword in its mouth. This is known as Kurikara Fudō and is supposed to be the symbolical representation of the god. But there is apparently a confusion here, for Kurikara, who is a king of the Nāgas or dragons and who seems to be identical with the Sanskrit Kālīka, is one of the eight attendants and is probably to be identified with Anavadapta.

There are many variations of Fudō partly because various legends are connected with his life, and partly because the artist or worshiper is free to have a figure of the god as he has conceived him in vision or otherwise. Still another cause of variation, and a strong one, is his extreme popularity.

¹⁵ This thunderbolt becomes the magic wand of Tibetan Buddhism.

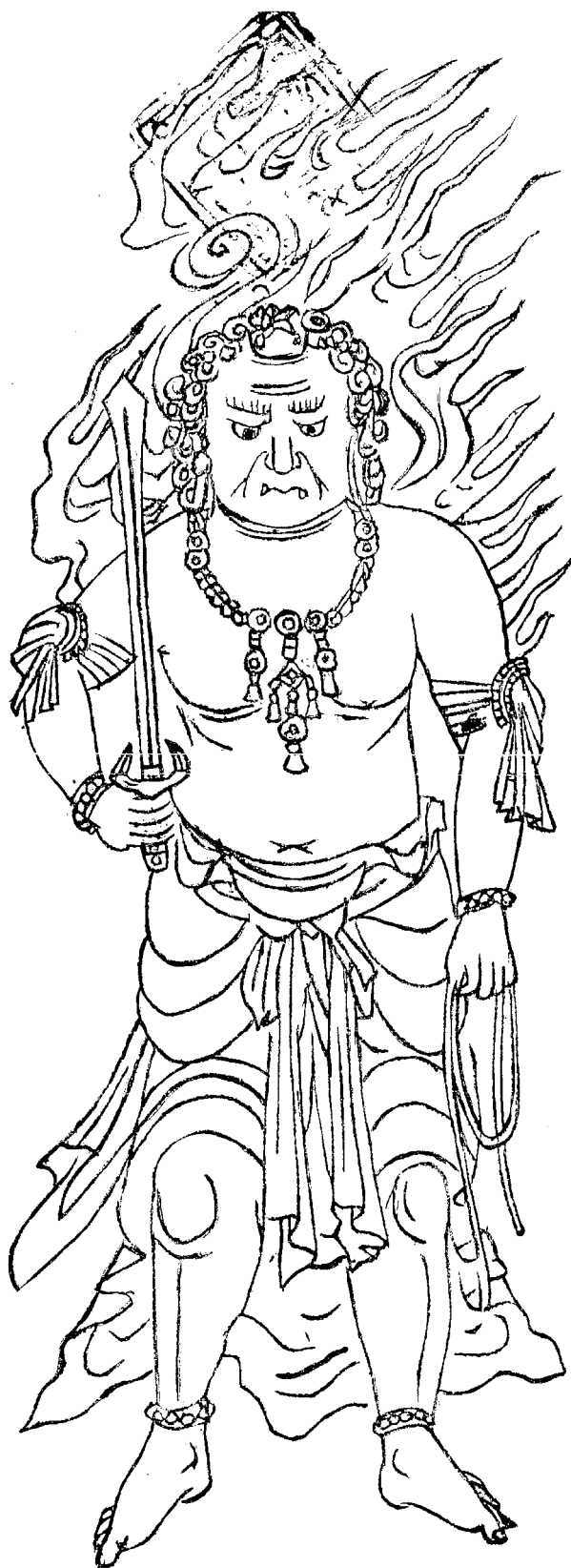


TRADITIONAL TYPES OF FUDO.

This god is associated with the waterfall, and his image is generally carved in a rock near one. The devotee bathes himself in the flowing water as a token of purification, while devoutly offering his prayers to the flame-enveloped deity. In Tokyo there are many Buddhist temples dedicated to Fudō, and one of the most famous is that at Fukagawa on the south side of the river Sumida. In the midst of the cold season, many earnest followers of the god, men and women, can be seen bathing in the waterfalls which have been artificially constructed there for the purpose. Prayers thus offered during the cold season are considered to be especially efficacious. In former days, all these bathers were naked, but the authorities do not permit this now.

Almost all the temples in Japan issue what is known as an *ofuda*, "an honorable tablet" or slip, or *omamori*, "an honorable guard," of various kinds. This is generally a piece of paper (or sometimes a wooden board), oblong and varying in size, ordinarily from about 1×3 to about 7×15 inches, on which is printed the image of a Buddha, a Bodhisattva or one of the gods, but frequently merely a Sanskrit character or phrase, or some words of prayer which have been offered on behalf of the devotee. This *omamori* is supposed to have the power to ward off evil spirits if a man carries it about him or pastes it up on the entrance door of his residence or on the wall. Some *omamoris* or *ofudas* will even keep burglars away from one's house; some will protect the silkworm from an epidemic, while others may insure the safe delivery of a child. These are only a few of the things promised by the Buddhist gods or rather by the priest. Some sample *Ofudas* are reproduced here, they have come from the Fudō temples.

The general masses of people nowadays do not understand the full significance of Fudō worship. They go to his temple merely because he is a Buddhist god and as such is naively supposed to grant them anything they may be in need of. For instance, they may pray to him for success in races and games, or good fortune in their commercial enterprises (especially when much risk is involved, or to be free from accidents in travel. But, judging from the general tendency of his character, he seems to be especially efficient in removing all kinds of obstacles which lie in the way of one's undertaking, religious or otherwise. His qualification is more negative than positive. This is natural, for the very fact that a supreme, perfect being had to incarnate himself in this fierce, abnormal, disquieting form proves the extraordinary character of the god. His other title is "the great destroyer of hindrances."



A FUDO OMAMORI.

The original was issued by a Fudō temple in Tokyo. The stamp on the top of the picture shows that it has been properly consecrated by the priest.

When the worshiper has thoroughly succeeded in identifying himself with the god, we are told, his fire will consume all the worlds and make them one mass of flame shining like seven suns; his mouth will devour like that of the great horse the multiplicity of things; and not the least chance will be left for any evil spirit to work mischief. Thus, he is to be invoked particularly when there are difficulties or obstructions to overcome; for instance, when an epidemic is to be checked, or a drought to be broken, or a personal enemy to be destroyed, or an opposing army to be annihilated, or



御
守

AN OMAMORI ISSUED BY THE SHINSHO-JI, NARITA.

The original is a small piece of wood. The character reads *hām*, one of the symbolical letters for Fudō. The separate Chinese characters were on the paper cover and signify *omamori*.

a building to be insured against fire, storm, earthquake, etc. For the latter case, however, there is a specific ritual to be performed in which Fudō appears in a somewhat different form from the popular one.

In conclusion I will give here three mantrams used in the invocation of Fudō, the Immovable: the short, medium, and unabridged. The short one is: "*Namah samantavajrānām*"; the medium one: "*Namah samantavajrānām chanda-mahāroshana-svātaya*

日護摩供札鏡照院
 身代山

OFUDA FROM THE KYOSHIN-IN, A FUDO TEMPLE IN TOKYO.

日護摩供札鏡照院
 身代山

INSCRIPTION ON COVER.
(Reduced.)

hum trat hām mām"; and the longest one: "*Namah sarva-tathā-gatebhyo vishvamuphebhyaḥ sarvatā trat chanda-mahāroshana kam khadi khadi sarvavighnam hum trat hām mām.*" They have no special meaning.

The one we reproduce is the "medium" form written in the *siddham* style (Japanese, *sittan*). The Japanese way of reading it is: *Nōmaku samanda bazara dan senda makaroshada sabataya un tarata kan mam*. The cover reads, "The daily-burning-ceremony tablet, Kyoshin-in, Migawari-san." Fudō is sometimes represented by the characters *hām-mām* or *hām* alone. His *ofuda* is often found to be nothing but this character written in the style known as *siddham*.

CARLYLE AND THE WAR.

BY MARSHALL KELLY.

PROEM.

IT is loudly asseverated that the British Empire is of one mind in regard to this war against Germany; and by the arithmetical count of heads, it probably is so to an overwhelming extent, as it has long been in other matters. But one wonders how many, or how few, there may be who reflect, with a depth of stable conviction altogether diverse from the popular unanimities, that the British are in this war, as in so very much else, acting in an express defiance of the teaching of the validest Sage and Hero-soul that has lately lived among them. Yea, in a witting defiance of the clearest revelation of indubitable facts, made by the Best of themselves in their midst, vitally connected with this very matter; which it preeminently behoved the British to have learned and laid to heart, as basis and guide for their whole relation to Germany. Few indeed, I fear, are those who know thus, if compared to the millions neglectful; yet possibly more numerous than those denying millions dream of, and certainly, were it unit against the rest of the race, of more weight in the final count. These in their musings on the war, its Causes and its Issues, will have their rock-based Certainties; also their profound Dubieties; their confidence in Eternal's justice, and joy in iniquity's overthrow; their submission to His decree, however terrible the desolation, however complete and hideous-seeming the triumph of Ill. Silent for the most part, and waiting the Event unforeseeable. For the nation does not ask their counsel; spurns it if offered; and follows, as most chosen of the Lord, the Demagogues which at each moment best mouth its own impious will. Moreover, so long as anything like a flaming success shall crown its effort, no contrary word will be listened to. Should adversity befall, it might prove otherwise; and in either, or in any,

case we have and shall have our thoughts and our duties both during and after: Thoughts and duties which might perhaps gain a little in clearness if earnestly imparted, deliberated of.

To start with a small Certainty, surely sharable by many complexions: This attempt, of the Newspapers and Parliamentary Leaders, which has been and is all too successful, to work the whole nation up into a state of foam-lipped furor against the Germans, cannot conduce to wisdom in the council or valor in the field. This is not just indignation, and no profit can lie in it for Man. Neither strength to us, nor danger to the German,—save as the human may be sore bested by numberless pack.

Brutal barbarian and modern Hun, ruthless in savage atrocity; Military Autocracy, domineering of temper, bent on self-aggrandisement, destructive of freedom and seeking the tyrannous; most to be dreaded embodiment of Satanic power, whose threatened encroachments all the nations of earth should gather together to stem, fairest of the justice-loving unite with darkest minister to cut down and destroy:—Surely there are men in number, true British indeed, who have an assurance, not to be shaken by any amount of rabid clamor, that such current imagination of the German bears no manner of resemblance to German of fact; men who could fight to some purpose in a cause that was just, unmoved by campaigns of persuasion far removed from all spirit of justice; who, demanded to draw in this quarrel, thrust the blade further home in its sheath with some uttered or mute *Videat Altissimus*, shamed of their country's deed, appealing to their captain's Captain. Yea, mindful of and worthily obeying their earthly captain also, he, the greatest, noblest, justest of all modern men, Carlyle: Who bore witness of mightily different tenor to the German, his history, military and other organization, and whose witness they know to have been true. Wide and stable testimony by constant brother man, lucent with true heaven's inspiration; somewhat more sufficing than the Devil's Head in phosphorus—drawn, alas, upon no dungeon's walls, but gleaming hideous in souls mendacious walking freely in the daylight, profane in insolent denial of the Seer whom the Almighty sent to *them*. To us at least, not to them unless penitent; and may we be worthy to say to us.

CONCERT OF EUROPE.

It is very lamentable and terribly significant how widespread and genuine a persuasion has got abroad, even among the good people, that this Concert of the Powers was a sort of a sacred thing.

Colors of the vulpine do often succeed in deceiving as they wittingly propose; and a righteous indignation at the vulpine, when their true motives are disclosed, may be justified. But the concurrent belauding as holy a base policy whereof the motives have been correctly announced augurs a pravity which, if it come to know truth, can have no title to be indignant, must rather confess its own guilt. Yet even here, however stern a man's recognition of the sin, he knows the too commonly irresistible influence of a general consensus in perverting those of a bias truly virtuous. Some sixteen years, or so, ago, one time when reports of Turkish atrocities in Armenia were causing such emotion in England that many were crying for armed intervention, I remember being urged to read a speech of Lord Roseberry's. A judicious wet cloth, of course, but equally *of course*, since by British Liberal Statesman of this epoch, not a speech astutely contrived to simply dissuade from enterprise inconvenient for Ministry occupied in concerns privately more profitable for its members; on the contrary, the sincere utterance of a man self-sympathizing with the emotion, wishful for the Turks' correction, yet arguing: Husht! Dread sequel if we stir alone; in the Concert solely is there safety and salvation. And, with such unction did he perorate, the Public, in awakened sense, holily restrained its rage for its salvation's sake,—and possibly the Turk's, not quite the Armenian's. I refused at the moment to look at the thing, pained with emotions of another kind; so far as the urger knew, never looked at it; yet did, as you see, afterwards read, in resolute suppression, and for more exact knowledge of its guessed tenor, "You should read that, my son; that is a speech everybody ought to read." About the same time the same woman said to me, upon laying down a book entitled *Fire and Sword in the Soudan*, "I suppose he could not help himself, but I cannot feel any respect or sympathy for that man," the author, one Slaten, to wit. Very gently said, but she couldn't; yet thought the Roseberry address delivered in right spirit for the pulpit. How many have met the like! How many have thought the like! Too many that have innocently drunk in a belief this Concert was a sacred thing.

Yet the case of that Turkish instance was, if possible, even grosser than the subsequent Balkan ones. A dark, brutal, wretch, whatever ill he do, let no man hinder, lest his coveted den breed contention. The devil to be kept afoot in some measure; prudently maintained in possession of Eden, because the godly might fall out with one another were so lovely a spot left free to their entry.

If a murderous thief have money in his pocket, or in the bank, let every constable be wary; never dare to run him in, unless secure the Judges are agreed on how to share the spoil. In Decorum's name, what is a little outrage in the streets compared to quarrel on the Bench? The results of that are too frightful to contemplate. Hasty zeal would defeat its own end, destroy the very means of bringing offender to judgment; for without a judicious unanimity no lawful verdict were obtainable. Lawful verdicts are frequently unobtainable, sometimes too obtainable; and justice never reached *so*, yet capable of being done and left for verdict. Methinks, if man might seriously question, Have I real errand to correct this particular and so distant abuse? the question, Shall I wait on Concert with the covetous to do it? would be out of his debate. And yet I honor policy, and know the multiple involute of practical fact. There, however, it is clear, had the dubitating (and dubious) Knight Errant stood wholly out, the covetous neighbors, with or without some brush of comparatively trifling battle, would long since have contrived to share in some tolerable manner; the Balkans in whole have settled themselves the better without the meddling of such a disinterested umpire.

Truly, Prince von Kaunitz Reitberg's text, that Great Courts should understand one another, then the Small would be less troublesome, has found fat mother to breed in, and grown enormously since his day; ever the more pronounced virtuously assured of morality, up to the very moment of catastrophe from the start inevitable for it. For it? Perhaps not. The text may be meet enough for unscrupulous voracious fellow; have a real truthfulness to nature there, be well allowed by heaven, and run on to happy fulfillment so far. Voracity may be perfectly veracious; and I never blame a shark for swallowing small fry with his utmost gusto. The sight of half a dozen sharks gracefully maneuvering in Concert, for the more dexterous satisfaction of several appetites, may also have its own seemliness, the gastric desires of highest mortal confess a certain sympathy. But for creatures that have once guessed themselves made in their Maker's image, to whom a sense of the infinite of right and wrong has announced that the gaining of the whole world could not profit if achieved in treason to that image;—for them to take such text as maxim for International Policy! Why I do not know that they ever did it; only the sharks having heard tell of them, then find it expedient to deliberately cloak greed in show of holiness, and imagine they can work injustice the more

securely by professing care of equity ; whilst a huge medley of others add their votes, variously persuaded that this is the solution : For whom catastrophe is inevitable ; because they build on no truth, neither on appetite or intelligence, but on a lying compound, beast man and god alike disown, which nothing in nature will support.

May not a Small nation have just or unjust cause of quarrel, reasonable or unreasonable claim or pretension, as much as a Great ? And what valid title can the Great ever have to step in and say : We will decide your disputes and your claims and in all things you shall do as we bid ? O damned canaille, jealous of classes superior, yelping distracted at each hint or suspicion of one law for Rich and another for Poor, sworn all as one man that *that* shall be the rule in law International ! Your skins are precious to you and your corpora stink. In the ideal possibilities, where the Great loved the truth and sought to do justice alone, court of their convening might be a godly tribunal, very blessed to see upon earth ; and, whatever security their power gave to its meetings, lent to enforce its judgments, most sure it is that the consideration Great or Little ? would weigh pure zero in determining right to a seat on the bench. Is this the thing we have seen ? No ; nor so much as endeavored toward. But, in clear sight of utterly diverse fact, the beneficence that would attach to this has been pretended for that diverse,—which, also, as shall shortly be referred to, could have had an honest place. Conclave of the Powerful assembled to find how their own mutual jealousies set on edge by debates 'mong the less,—glowering one at another, Take that side, if you dare ; by God I'll take this if you do—may reach compromise without wager of battle, the Small be compesced into accepting the awards so arrived at ; and is one of the most unblessed things very certainly seen upon earth. Yes, this is the thing we have seen these last thirty years and longer, growing ever the more confident to its inevitable result. Parties there have been in England and elsewhere, very vehement for the justice, or what they thought it, yet even these have all subscribed to the prime need of Concert ; admitted it were better that wrong should be done than peace 'tween the Mighty put in danger of rupture. Here, at any rate, no shadow of a plea can be found that these things were done by closeted few, the nations not witting. What the articles agreed upon each time were, what dexterous management was exercised to reach them, may be an esoteric mystery ; but what spirit wrought has been broadly visible and universally sanctioned. In England most eminently. Speeches upon speeches in Parliament and out, without respect of party ; all the newspapers in

leading articles ; and table talk in each private household ;—the argument has been everywhere the same. I know no instance of National Policy so overwhelmingly endorsed, in full sight of its true essence ; up to that last speech at the outbreak, when Sir Edward Grey,—he would not have had the Peace of Europe jeopardized for *Servia*. Aye, Sir Edward has been very consistent in this, and outspoken ; long since and constantly made it evident as could be 'twas fundamentally accepted in his Policy the weak must go to the wall rather than important persons suffer ; merely Quixotic to hope otherwise. Of course ! And God forbid he'd mammer scrupulous on such a point. Then, if the case of *Belgium* touch you nearer, step forth pure champion of the Small, in righteous zeal. The soul of man is sick at the sodden hypocrisy ; could find the deeds smell sweeter if done in conscious perfidy of the cunning. And the newspapers hope that, when the war is over, the Concert may be reestablished in such firmness any little nation attempting to draw free breath shall instantly be throttled impotent : They must never be allowed to provoke such disasters again. It does not strike you that they have just as good a right to bustle in the world as any of the Big ? That, if the Big fall a-quarrelling in sequel, the crime is their own wholly ; the true peril in their disposition so to do, and unremovable while that remains ?

None worth the name of man but must know beyond all question that the sole thing which can give a nation right to set up for Judge in another's quarrel is the resolution to do justice in it. Court convened to arbitrate on matters in dispute and primarily devoted to the maintenance of peace among the Arbiters ! Could there be a thing more impious than this ? What amazed execration would greet it, if proposed for settlement of the least sixpenny matter between private litigants ! Yet seen International applauded with unction by every man, woman and youth ; anathema only for any not zealous for such first aim, the very need for which invalidates for umpire's seat and of necessity turns the Court into one for iniquity's sanction.

Such has too terribly been the fact, and damnable. Yet we said that a fact very diverse from the professed Beneficent Arbitration could have honestly been. It is obvious that parties extraneous to an original dispute may have interests of every degree of gravity affected by that dispute ; may confer together for peaceable solution of those interests ; if unable to reach it, may each choose mediators ; and, if still at a deadlock, an umpire. Likewise that parties ex-

traneous to the original dispute and to the cross interests of the secondaries directly affected may have interests of every degree of gravity affected by division among the secondaries, and so *ad infinitum*, till there be in reality no party without interest; and conference for peaceable solution the more desirable than ever: In which reckoning, it may be worth remarking that the jumping of a flea is, in logical sequence, at all times competent to set the whole world by the ears; and wisdom, accordingly, somewhat chary how it claims interest affected. Clearly enough, the sole valid basis for those conferences among the Great Powers upon Balkan affairs was adjustment of their own differences arising through interests affected. Every man knows that nothing else ever called them into existence; that they were always in reality convened to, if possible, prevent quarrel among the Great, not for unbiassed decision in equity by them of disputes among the Small; that the pretence of a God's vice-regency by Major in Concert over Minor inclined to division was a pretence palpable, which fear alone ever led any to accredit holy. If those Conferences had been informed wholly by a spirit of greedy cunning, each party diligent for private end, they might have had their dog's day; and noble statesman kept rigorously out. For that is the law: you are not bound to have a finger in every pie; and, if you cannot interfere for good, shall not interfere at all, but leave the coil to its strugglings and such issue as the high o'er-ruling Providence may have for it.

If honest (and thereby alone truly valid), the Conference must have Justice for its first aim every whit as much as Court of arbitration; and steady refusal to force that on the less which nothing save the jealousies of the Great demands. Noble Briton, entering such Conference, might indeed have prayed heaven to grant him a tactful sagacity, fine delicacy of manipulation and a solid understanding of the doable, much more and primarily to grant him insight into the veritable right and wrong of the matters, well knowing that nothing built on miss of this could have a chance to stand, that completest Concert attained in defiance of this would infallibly prove exceedingly disconcerting. He would have utterly abhorred the accursed doctrine of the Great's right to interfere because Great, and rejected all plans based on such a supposition. Would have known, too, that, if the strong hand can sometimes parcel States, it is forever impotent to create one: That can never be done at external dictation; what nation is to be a nation must spring by nature's generation, spontaneous in a self-vitality, self-fending, self-coherent, being and expanding by its own innate powers. Ah

me! This manufacturing of States, autonomous Albanias, what not, Belgium itself for that matter, with their frontiers marked, constitutions supplied, and kings (God save the mark!) all ready chosen for them, according to model pleasing to the grandiose disposers:—it awakens thoughts we must not go into; and, any time, I would rather leave the blindest rages free to their havoc than be one in framing such a mock settlement, fraught with far deadlier havoc.

Yea, noble Briton, unable to do or to obtain justice for the Small, had sooner left them to try their own strengths than been a party to unjust compulsions. If he could not defend them from wrongful aggressions, restrictions, had sorrowfully stood aside, sooner than lent these his sanction. And if he could not have found acceptance as mediator between the Big concerning their interests affected, had similarly left them to fight it out, rather than won the crown as Peacemaker by Concert in sacrifice of the Lesser's rights. In all ways, he had stood for Justice, wrought for it, and, in such resolution, had seen the justice in some measure, as without it never; whether active or passive, had found a manful course. But, with Peace the first aim, all was naturally very different, and honorable action never possible. Man authentically actuated by that aim only is in practical deed a powerless entity. Peace! Peace! For God's sake, Peace! Lest *I* get involved, might seem contemptible too;—but not to most, when cried by a man very able to fight and adding—at any cost to those little nuisances. Had Sir Edward Grey wished peace for peace's sake he had been a nullity and thing helpless to further the least agreement; had he cared particularly for justice he might have found himself an alien spirit, still more futile to preserve peace this day; but, being heartily desirous to prevent war for reasons highly intelligible to the rest, he often did patch up matters by expedients of the moment, each time worsening the fact and rendering ultimate rupture the more certain. My fleets and armies are in readiness and I can be truculent enow, but, Gentlemen, War for *such* a *casus*! Come, hit on some reasonable apportionment of shares, or all forego. And then to some the *casus* was not so distant, insignificant, as to him. And when did a heaven-blessed Amity result from the like of this?

Concert of Europe, how these latter decades has this been impressed on us! The just of every nation eyeing in silence, with reflections too awful for utterance. Platform and pulpit, every shade of opinion, zealous in sacred insistence, breath bated in fear:

O ye nations called Small! God damn you, be quiet, lest the Peace of the Great be disturbed. Was there ever a doubt that the Lord of Eternity, so besought to preserve them from quarrel, would answer the Great by letting loose all their furies to ravin the worse for every stave till the morrow?

OSTENSIBLE CAUSES.

It is naturally the custom of a nation's Leaders, when they announce war on its behalf, to make some sort of public statement of the Causes which have determined them to take so grave a step; and the rarer case that the true causes are so much as touched upon in such Ostensible account of them. Very often the reasons given are so totally inadequate (to say naught else) you might marvel how any one could put them forth as explanation to be credited; why the Peoples so addressed do not instantly reply: We will not hazard life or limb for these hiccups. Yet it is not the People's custom to answer so: They usually accept the reasons given as affording convincing grounds for deeds and sacrifices so glaringly disproportioned it looks an inconceivable credulity; by many of the more philosophic, regarded perennially as a sort of bedlam possession. And no doubt it considerably is so; yet far from wholly. Blind stampede and wild unreason of mob, with brute love of war, fascination and glamor of exploit, ever is in it; yet also greatly more. Even the enthusiastic chorus, reiterating the helpless reasons offered as beyond gainsaying, springs not altogether from simplicity, nor readiness to seize excuse, but from an instinct of a vast unspoken behind, at least belief there must be this. Yea, without conviction, persuasion, or imagination of a true *infinite* at stake, which in the name of manhood commands no cost be weighed, the nations never fall a-battling. Idea of a supreme Duty, whether radiant in clear intelligence, turbid, confused, or diabolically opposite, is always there; and even the cunning who seek to provoke wars for their own ends, cannot do so unless this be in some way excited: Its presence is a necessity; but, if not intelligent, it can be traded on. The very day before war was declared between Great Britain and Germany, newspapers were declaiming it an unthinkable absurdity, monstrous to suggest; and next day were for it in whole heart and so much of soul as they may be supposed to possess. Nor is that phenomenon purely one of the weathercock, the essence of whose utility is well known to be instant amenability to wind however changeful; a better ingredient in the recognition that division, the least word of debate, is perilous in such circum-

stances, and a loyal trust in the Leaders requisite for nations' being. Would that men knew it equally in peace, for it is equally true then; and reflect on the really awful responsibility they owe for their choice of Leaders. Exceedingly foolish, superficial is the notion too, that wars are ever caused by trifles; the wiser know that the causes are always fully adequate, perfectly proportioned in fact, could mortal trace them. No mortal can trace *them*, and the proclamation of Ostensible is never blameworthy because *that way* "inadequate"!

Granting that the Ostensible rarely touch upon the Real, they remain noteworthy, were it only as indications of the degree of intelligence. They may be subterfuges wittingly concocted by wile, or stolidities of inarticulate honesty that cannot speak its meaning. Neither is it to be forgotten that the highest true could as little really name his cause. Cause fully declarable were by the hypothesis, shallow and trivial. For, never is it the thing predicated, but the enormous sequels which hang by it; and comprehension of these intuitive tacit in faith. Nevertheless the Leaders ought to know to some extent, and who has the intuitive perception does; never will the reasons rendered by these be contrary to the fact, however limited in account of it. Well, the British Ostensible Causes are set forth in a certain White Paper familiar to all men, and to which the leaders refer as authorized statement of their "Case." While Sir E. T. Cook has volunteered an elucidated abbreviation fearlessly entitled *Why Britain is at War*. No man's breath appears to have been taken away; but, for my part, my audacity would not reach to this. How we picked quarrel; or how we closed with the offer of it; or how we were forced into it; these are Madams (if you know your Kingsley) you may hope to scrape some acquaintance with in those pages of My Lords Ambassadors' despatches; but, as to bosoming with My Lady Why, 'tis to be doubted she is not quite so free a wench. Happily there is no question that the paper, so far as it does go, is authentic; and as we say, interesting chiefly as showing degree of veracity. For absence of wile will not make a thing honest; deliberate wile can be truer than a systemic mendaciousness, which, never expressly uttering falsehood, yet speaks and acts habitually from assumptions that are baseless. It is not true, for instance, that you sought peace with your neighbor, if determined on war unless he behaved himself according to a prescription drawn up as suitable to your needs and conveniences merely; no industrial zeal, most passionate pleading to persuade to keep within the bounds set, will prevent your being, in that case, most essentially the

Aggressor. And the knave who made the prescriptions purposely to provoke war might readily stand in closer contact with truth than the wight who expected to preserve order by publicly announcing a law of conduct for those wholly without his jurisdiction. If he have only privately registered the rule, too, and, half conscious of its presumptuous absurdity, shrink from declaring it till the last moment compel, his pleading may easily be the more passionate, so that he sit down in tears to cry Pity! God witness I did all I could; but his workings are pitiful, can only prove the more disastrous through "good" intentions less subtle *perfidie* than simply disjoined from fact's realm.

Of the Austro-Servian matter with which this White Paper, so confidently referred to as exhibiting Britain's "Case," commences, we have not much to say; The Justice of the dispute was confessedly no cause of Britain's action; and I, personally, could not hold myself competent to speak a word on *it*: do not know that at all. This, however, I do know; namely, that, whether the launching of her Ultimatum by Austria was wise or unwise, its wording prudent or imprudent, if the charges made in it were true, then, certainly Austria had valid ground for most drastic action; and nothing save the complete submission of Servia could have given her security against a continuance of the alleged offences. Alleged offences which if true were wholly intolerable, inexcusable, and very great forbearance—godly insufferance or fractious compelled—shown in enduring them so long. And, if one own to something more than scepticism of Austrian political integrity generally, that would only make one the more insist on no hindrance if she had right in a particular instance. Every fair-minded man must have felt that if these charges were true, not necessarily in each detail specified but generically in whole spirit imputed, then Austria had full title to chastise with the armed hand; and would rather have guarded her from interference than been a party to it. Therefore, whosoever in any way challenged her action could only in probity do so if justified in calling the truth of the charges in question. Peculiarly futile was it to run up crying Delay! for God's sake, delay, and moderate your tone, when it was obvious that if the charges were true the time for delay or moderation was long past. If Britain, idle knight-errant with no business of her own to look after, wished to act on that score she should have acted years before. Alas! we all know she had; and added vexation enough, not so Quixotically neither, for the wound, as expediently for far other subjects.

Sancho's stomach made one sufficing trial of his master's Balsam, wambled at the mere snuff ever after: Can you wonder then, if Austria at length grew squeamish of Grey Powder for every ill she had a mind to mend?

When Servia, after shuffle and enquiry round, replied to the Ultimatum, our Sir Edward swore he'd never seen a nation make a more prostrate salaam to truculent Bashaw. To which I fear the answer is: It had much of that character, and was a thing of paper; very fit to rank among Ostensibles: And, showing more suppleness in performing a required kowtow than sincerity in penitence, gave properly no assurance of a better loyalty in future deed. Nothing in that nominal submission offered hope of stable working; and, of course it is one way evident that, once things had reached this pass, nothing short of the almost miraculous could. Since, if the charges were untrue the party who made them was bent on mischief and would take no answer; whilst, if true, the party of whom they were true would have needed to do a considerable conversion before becoming able to make reply of such radically different tenor as could have seemed to Man a ground to try anew upon. I think these are facts, and in Sir Edward Grey's despatches there is not the slightest recognition of them: Which, whether he believed the first alternative or the second or the more probable compound of both, there assuredly should have been. Intense pleading these is in those despatches. But it is all prompted by absolutely self-interested motives; flows not from care of Austria's welfare or of Servia's, but of our own skin's solely; owes its fervency to the heart text: Mercy on us! Hold your hand you, bow down t'other, both accept shadow for substance, lest your differences breed a brawl of wider compass wherein *we* should not 'scape. It was Sir E. Grey's duty to look after our interests; and, if he meddled in this foreign matter, the first law for *that* was to see the facts of *it* and conform to them; there could be no hope in resource which flew in the teeth of them. But the dread of cataclysm misled, as fear even makes men traitors to themselves and all mankind. Moreover, it was no case of a normal integrity erring in one instance, but of a quite habitual attempt to build on the untenable, to safeguard by methods essentially mendacious, howsoever, persuaded of needful expediency or claiming regard of common welfare.

For, for Great Britain, on her own initiative, uninvited, to write *any* despatch to Austria on her Servian affair was in reality an indefensible proceeding; and every man knows that Britain herself would be the last to suffer the like from another. Had any nation

presumed to offer us advice in any of our numerous disputes with little states or big what sort of answer should we have made? You all know it; A peremptory injunction never to repeat the like insolence under penalty. It is, indeed, a flatly impossible position this, that self-fending independent states shall be perpetually prevented from managing their own disputes without consult of neighbors. A thing justly intolerable to the states so checked. (And, on the other side, however prone the big may be to bully; to enchant the arm of power from its natural exercise is sure to prove a cherishing of license.) When done, as here on the plea of You mustn't, lest we others get to loggerheads, reduced to the extremity of impious absurdity. Doubtless the far-seeing, equitable, sagacious Ruler would recognize the existence of such mad notions in his neighbors' heads, and weigh them; but he above all others would know the notions to be baseless delusions, vicious in origin, pernicious in act; would proceed on his own business none the less, whether in wary evasion or open contempt. The more ordinary, so beshouted to stop, would, if he deigned to look over his shoulder at all, merely rejoin: "you will fight with each other, say you? That is surely your affair. I wish you good luck, and may God salve your wits, for they need it more than your wounds will."—Most clearly, to continually prevent the settlement of disputes is to create a danger immeasurably greater than any their fiercest let could have brought about; and if others get to quarrel in sequel the responsibility thereof rests on their own heads. Austria has to answer to God for the justice of her war upon Servia; but not *therefore* for the European War.

According to the White Paper, Germany's Ostensible attitude toward this Austro-Servian matter was that Austria had the right to manage in it as she herself thought fit, and no other a title to interfere: This was, in fact, the only right attitude, unless you were constituted Judge of the dispute, or had good grounds and duty to challenge the justice of Austria's action; and if, as one hopes and believes, the Ostensible was so far the Real, there is not a word can be said against it. The one straight forward manful cause there was for third parties not directly concerned. Britain, whatever her thought or resolution for subsequent developments, possible, probable, or certain, ought thus far to have taken the same; and had she done so, there would have been a different tale to tell in the subsequent developments. Simple refusal to be a Busy-body. Nor need such passive role, in case liable to grow com-

plicated, be a whit the less simply this because he who takes it is, as he should be, alive to the complexities also, ready for action in them, if they do result. Sir E. T. Cook, seeking the sinister, full of a preconceived belief of it, repeats with exclamation mark, her minister's statement that Germany very well knew what she was about in so "Backing up Austria," said "backing" consisting in what the English call a traitorous refusal to unite with them in forbidding Austria to manage her own concerns. Has it really, then, become a sin to a Briton that a man should know what he is doing? It often almost seems so. *The* most dangerous crime, at least, and surest mark of nefarious proclivity to say one thing and not mean another; safety and virtue alone in those transparent mendacities—Which, since all men see through them, cannot surely be hypocrisies?—whereby our Faith and Policy are kept secure from ravin and inspiration alike. For my part, I devoutly hope that Germany did know what she was doing, though the sequel have proved beyond mortal forecast. Let her have courage; for, if so, the ultimate issue may likewise prove beyond mortal's hope. But Germany was the only one that took this course; and took it, we will hope, in a courageous simplicity. Quarrel not with the word; or do so to your heart's content. Took it, we will hope, in faithfulness to the fact; and the more awake to and prepared for the probable consequences the greater credit to her. Boundless clamor there at once was and continues to be that she took it in duplicity; clamor originating in presupposition to that effect, and up to the present not, that I know of, supported by a shred of evidence. For the notable thing to me in these despatches is that those of the German bear the impress of veracity; they alone are not condemnable on *self*-evidence, but cohere together consistently throughout as the words of men that, in spite of limitations, did essentially mean one thing before God and the same thing before men; which is not true of those of any of the others. Of these others so far as we may meetly speak:

The Russian ground was different; had nothing to do with the damned plea of Peace! Lest *we* quarrel; based itself on claim of weighty interests directly affected, in short, of being a party to the dispute and not an outsider at all. Even without this, and in a total disregard of the justice of the dispute, it could have a certain validity: Two fall ajar; a third says Let them fight it out; a fourth, No, I'll join in: All these might have solid foothold in the wide realms of nature's truth, intelligent or lustful; but he who cries,

and in the name of an intelligent humanity cries, Stop! Stop! you over there, lest I and others, leagues distant from you and unconcerned in your debate, should fall out with one another. What ground has he to stand on? Vacuity. A very meddling fellow, you would say, and one seeking a currying with a diligence not easily matched. But for the Russian: If his intervention was primarily directed against Austria only, which of us is there can say he had no right to appear on the field and try what he could do there? One does not know. Moreover one allows to the half-barbarous, inarticulate, a sort of brute right to *try* propensities—no curtailment of another's right to drub him well for trying them and so teach the animal becoming manners—such as, to those who have ever known higher law, one could by no means allow.

But, as far as this Austro-Servian matter went, there it should have stopped. Nothing in it was cause of the spread of the war beyond. That Balkan troubles would issue in war between Austria and Russia was probable, or as good as certain; but, if other nations made alliances which would bring them into conflict in that event, they have themselves alone to thank for it.

The question, therefore, here arises Did Germany's Alliance with Austria necessarily bring her in if Russia came in? If the answer to that be affirmative, Germany smarts for having made such alliance. The answer has been universally concluded affirmative; yet only in those mad assumptions of international compacts whereby, in infallible sequel, every flea's jump was to set the world on fire. Concluded affirmative? Yes, and with equal readiness *negative*; according to which assumption suited the righteous British arguer's mood at the moment. If the terms of the Triple Alliance made the answer affirmative, how stands Italy out, and *unheaped* with opprobrium by a Britain so virtuously indignant at treaty breakers? You know very well that the use you make of this is based on the assumption the answer *is* negative. Sir E. Grey's pleadings, reported in despatch forty-six (see later, page 545), also presuppose the negative, though the Briton there arguing that, by the International Compacts, Germany was not bound to support Austria if attacked by Russia was simultaneously allowing that France was bound to support Russia if attacked by Germany! So far as this question, of Germany's alliance with Austria compelling her support against Russia, *is* shrouded in doubt, the uncertainty is due to the inextricable interlacements and difficulty of separating one thing from so many others simultaneous. What slender testi-

mony the White Paper offers is against an affirmative: Germany would not mobilize if Russia only mobilized in South, i. e., against Austria alone. And, in truth, there is again no evidence that Germany would have entered if a reasonable assurance existed that the war could lie between Russia and Austria merely; on the contrary, the evidence is that she would not, but knew this too hypothetical a case to dwell on.

Assuming the negative, namely no treaty bond, as the British did when it suited them, Germany were only condemnable for her armed intervention if: (1) She had no title by the complexion of the present case. On which Britain argued: Please don't have any; *because* France, with confessedly none, must be allowed to have full (See pp. 546-547). (2) If Russia was verily not meditating hostility to her also. And the proverty of these White Paper despatches for throwing any certain light on *that* point is too palpable; they are here too exclusively Ostensible! We do not however require any despatches to tell us that many and weighty matters existed between Germany and her huge Eastern neighbor, nor that she would in any event be very closely touched by a war between that country and Austria. That her sympathies, apart from all her Alliances, would in general be with Austria rather than Russia, and that her interest would similarly cause her to lean the same way, are likewise foregone conclusions. It may be added also, that such bias was in the main accordant with justice and the true everliving interests of man, though of this we have more to say under *Alliances*. In the particular instance, by the evidence before us, such as it is, there is no ground to doubt that Germany sincerely wished peace between Russia and Austria, much more sincerely than we wished peace with her; nor that her action was in essence defensive against Russian Aggressive; some momentary gleam of a possibility of standing out, if properly guaranteed, swiftly swallowed in the certainty that no guarantee would be given. A passing thought of guarantee from Russia saving spread of war, standing in strong contrast with France's eager prestatement she would *take* none from Germany! A request for self-security vastly different from the demands which Britain subsequently made of the Germans! Who never said to Russia: You, offering not even the color of violence to me, seeking my friendship rather, shall only engage with your foe on terms of my dictating; whether vanquished or victor shall, in conclusion, go home again with nothing save your labor for your trouble: He has not yet reached these depths of sanctimonious effrontery. Then,

leaving the assumption of no bond or predetermination and granting that Germany had made express treaty to support Austria, or from the start of the Servian dispute, was resolved to support Austria if interfered with in that, who is there can say she was wrong? Britain, of all nations on earth, by her own conduct in the further developments here, has the least title to breathe a whisper in criticism of such determination to support a neighbor.

With Germany involved the war could still have remained in the East; nothing save France's action brought it into the West. But, before proceeding to that, look at these despatches pleading for peace between Austria and Russia, for Germany not to support the former.

For the first: They are all identical in spirit with those pleading for peace between Austria and Servia. The one argument submits *that* dispute to the Powers' decision. And we have already said enough of that; need not express our pious thankfulness that, whatever followed, this was *not* again done. Russia would have been willing for it, and it is made guilt in the two Teutonic nations that they were not. The four to whom the decision was to be left were Britain, France, Italy and Germany; Three of those four had already pronounced adversely to the Austrian: Much fairness did the Slav show! Leave it to the Powers again, who have so often happily damped it down before and ever to spring in renewed vigor to-morrow. The Chairman Power glorying in utter contempt of the justice of the quarrel; the minority of one alone having ever expressed the least care for this. It is Germany's steady refusal to be again a party to such godless futility that is the one thing the human mind can dwell on without loathing. Help me to save the peace, said the Briton. With all my heart; and earnestly did her endeavor to further reason among the parties, ownful of unreason in her ally too, yet aware of the iron limits. Britain wished peace by patching up the matter anyhow, lest fire kindled scorch her own pretty complexion: Germany wrought for peace on solid basis, prepared to take the issues if it proved unattainably solid: Which is really the criminal?

For the second: If there be any truly *British*, in the grand old sense when the word was synonymous with soul of fair play, straightness in dealing, generous frankness to foe as to friend, and, however completely now shut out from smallest voice in their nation's deeds, one cannot but believe there still are such men,

these, in their study of our White Paper, must early have been struck with a certain thing, which, as they realized its proportions and significance, might have filled them with amazed horror and indignation, had their knowledge otherwise gained of modern British Statesmanship left room for amazement or special indignation at any trick it played in slippery cunning or course it pursued openly in persuasion of magnanimity devoid of integrity. What I refer to is the proposals made by Russia, France, and Italy that Britain should declare her solidarity with the two former, unite with them three, or two, in *menace* of Germany; and the way those proposals were listened and replied to by Britain. The proposal is first made strongly in despatch number six and *repeatedly* after. Pray announce your determination to fight along with us if Germany persist in countenancing Austria; and, in the face of such a threat, she will at once cower out: It will be in the interests of peace that you should do so. Sterling Briton, thus addressed, had, in tone of sleeping thunder half awakened, answered: Silence! sirrahs. And immediately informed the German of the Proposal: There, sir, friend or foe, know by this your neighbors' tempers, what sort of impartial hearing they are prepared to give your Ally's case. And do you suppose the German did not know the proposals had been made; what sort of answer they actually got; find himself enlightened, if further enlightenment he needed, as to British sincerity in sequent suggestions made to him? Pinchbeck Briton, all gold to the eye, did not fall in with the proposals, much less answer as above. He received them in very friendly manner; courteously explained his discreet opinion that the interests of peace would be better served if he continued to enact the role of disinterested party; and—well, continued to enact in such fashion now fully transparent to all eyes friendly or hostile. A behavior thoroughly accordant with *decadent* English character and solely possible to men steeped to the bone in mendacity, swallowed in the blackest of terrestrial curses, the Apotheosis of Attorneyism; gaining for itself also the unanimous endorsement of the masses (similarly saturate) as *perfection* in any role does. It is second nature to an attorney to plead with passion, 'real' for the moment by his brief, even in full knowledge of facts contrary; and the Prime Minister, later, for his objects, named some German proposals infamous; yet have I met no Briton who knew these to be so.

And, in fact they were not. In the circumstances, it was nothing perfidious for France and Russia to beg: Unmistakably announce your determination to fight along with us—since you are so

determined. No, gentle Allies—Beg pardon!—No, loving members of an *Entente* uncommitted, we must maintain the fiction,—Alas! I stumble again. For of course it was no fiction. Of course not, said they. And Husht! Messieurs. Who said I was determined to fight along with you? We see, said they. Who doubts they saw? It were a dolt indeed that did not. Yet naturally persisted, in the firmer confidence accrued, to urge their view; it being merely a difference in opinion as to Ostensibles, the reality understood to mutual satisfaction. So Russia “deplored” the effect upon Germany of a notion that Britain would stand aside; and Grey soothed with a Pooh! Is there not dumb show enough in our fleet? Plenty of dumb show and very easy to read. While France, no wise abashed by the comforting answer, contentedly toed the line set by susceptibilities of British Conscience; and passed on to discuss preparations in common for war—of course only in the hypothetic possibility of your deciding to join us: We will not again press you for any more definite assurance on that head. Most unnecessary that you should, Messieurs. No, the proposals were not infamous. Yet I know of few things better meriting the description than the answers they got.

Among other things that might provoke amazement, but too sorrowfully cannot, is despatch 46 where Sir E. Grey reports his having had the impudence to “Observe” to the German Ambassador “that if Germany assisted Austria against Russia it would be because *without any reference to the merits of the dispute* (italics ours) Germany could not afford to see Austria crushed.” This in face of the clear fact that Germany alone had ever expressed care for the justice of the dispute, and had at the very start plainly stated her belief that Austria had good grounds for her proceedings against Servia, and ought not to be interfered with in them. Sir Edward Grey himself, meanwhile, having ever unblushingly expressed a total indifference to the justice of the dispute; and in another despatch of the same date, Number forty-eight, reiterates that if Austria could satisfy Russia she might do what she liked with Servia. Merit of the dispute! Sop Russia and damn the merit; it is the want of that sop alone that affects me.—I said before, page 541, that this observation of Grey’s presupposed belief in no treaty bond of Germany to Austria: It obviously ought, but I would not take oath it did: and if it was that Germany “could not afford to see Austria crushed” how heinous must such a *casus belli* seem to every Briton now fighting lest France should be!

Britain, enacting the impartial role and rejecting the comparatively straightforward course proposed by France and Russia, that of a united menace, had her own ideas as to how to persuade Germany not to support Austria; of which the last paragraph affords one sample. And, in our inquiry of veracity shown, the results continue shameful to this land of our nativity, forbidden veneration. For it argues that Germany should not support Austria without ever arguing, or, as I should more strictly put it, without ever *having* argued, that France should not support Russia. This could only pass at all if the treaty between France and Russia was much more definite than that between Germany and Austria: I have met nothing worth regard that builds on this assumption. Allow that Germany acted more by the present case, will Britain call this *less* reputable than act by pledge to fight regardless of present cases? That Britain which professed free hand and gloried in the right to decide by instant merits in each conjuncture. But the truth is that this has passed with the hasty mob through a fact of sequence which a moment's reflection shows you did not affect the matter in the slightest degree, could never by deliberate statesman have been imagined to do so. France would not enter the field unless Germany did. No, nor Germany unless Russia did. This fact, that France was to be the third stepper, Germany the second does not *touch* the matter here at issue, namely the integrity or wisdom of either in entering. Britain deliberately besought Germany to leave her Ally undefended if attacked and never the while so much as whispered suggestion to France that she should similarly leave her Ally in the lurch; yet whatsoever applied to the one case applied with equal force to the other. Nay, with much greater force! For Germany was necessarily closely touched by war between Austria and Russia, France not by war between Russia and Germany, far removed from her borders. Moreover there is very strong *prima facie* evidence that except for her confident assurance of France's support, Russia would never have done aught provocative to Germany, that, had there been no such assurance, the war might have remained between Russia and Austria. Still Britain kept arguing with Germany Don't you, convinced of justice in your Ally's quarrel, support her, yet never said a word of similar import to France; knew fully from the start, as all the world did, for this was public property and known to be without an if, that France was definite to strike in: nothing save that knowledge produced the pleading: As I said before (p. 542) the plea was Forego your title *because* France must be allowed full tether for hers. A

long *tether*? Ay, and a strong, could haul the whole British Empire in. One sees not what business Britain had to suggest either that Germany should not support Austria or France Russia, but to urge the first without the second was totally indefensible. If we had right to plead so with either, then overwhelmingly the greater right to plead with France; because of the mighty obligations which our statesmen well knew, though the country at large did not, she was under to us; in reality, only daring to act as she did from confidence of British cover. Finally, of this, be it clear that I am not suggesting it was really possible for Britain, in those late hours, to demand of France, to hint to France, that she should not support Russia; but the fact that it was impossible made it perfidy in her to ask the passivity she did from the German.

Proceeding now to the question of French intervention; also of Britain's sincerity of wish that the war should remain in the East: With Germany involved, of which question we have already spoken, it is, of course, palpably undeniable that nothing except a declaration of neutrality by France could have prevented war in the West; and equally undeniable that such declaration would. Here, in the case of war in the Western theatre, it is perfectly certain that the French and the English were the aggressors, that Germany acted as compelled for self-defence. By the circumstances, absolutely no manner of call lay upon France to join in: Word pledged to Russia is the utmost she can plead. I say not that the word pledged should not be sacred, but bid you note that there was absolutely no other ground. If any mortal believe that the word was either given or kept for God's sake, why afflict his innocence? And therewith we will leave France's share to her own conscience.

But, on the no-question of France or Germany the aggressor, add: France, toeing the line to suit susceptibilities of British conscience and bettering instruction, kept ten kilometers from her frontiers after mobilization; and, anticipating demand of neutrality from Germany, as known not aggressive upon her, had many times stated she would never give it. Yet, by these delicacies of manœuvre has persuaded *you* of her lamblike intentions, Germany's wanton inroad, in character of devouring wolf?—And of the eleventh hour treble Peace still! Both Russia and Austria have consented, so exquisitely set off to an admiring audience by these French trippings on the light fantastic toe, what other word than simply Too late! Germany could not possibly pause then on any plea of *further dis-*

cussion. Delay would have been extremely advantageous to every other, her Ally included; to herself perilous. What sort of sincerity there was in the Austrian consent you have but to read despatch one hundred and forty-one to know; one hundred and thirty-nine for Russia's humor to Germany in her consent, aforesaid very cheap. With such odors regaling her nostrils, Germany would have been a nose of wax indeed to pause. The plea was the old accursed futility of submit the Austro-Servian matter to the Powers for settlement, with certainly no *increase* of likelihood that a peaceable patch up till to-morrow would be once more arrived at. A ground for suspension which none honorable could then have made to the German; which no German who knew what's what could at that hour do other than totally disregard. That, in a straight courteous manfulness, compliance was explained impossible is creditable, for the suggestion might justly have been altogether ignored.

For England's sincerity of wish that the war should remain in the East:

Alas! it is a sort of mockery to speak of sincerity in her doings here. Yet I grant that, when the inevitable sequel of his acts comes upon a man, he may often wish intensely enough that they could be avoided, and exhibit a spectacle of very strenuous zeal in that direction. England, in a full knowledge that France had engaged herself to Russia, entered into what you call an *Entente*, with her. Not an Alliance? Oh no! Count Bruhl, a famishing dog in sight of a too dangerous leg of mutton, long comforted himself he had never signed anything; but this did not help him out of Pirna, if considerably *into*. Maria Theresa, too, with troops ready massed on the border and Allies on march, when demanded Would she attack him (Friedrich) this year or next? Replied vaguely in limbo, swore the Partition Treaty against him non-extant, a thing of his own imagination merely. Whereon, Carlyle comments: Since she would have shuddered at the lie direct, I suppose it was not on paper; but truer in fact no treaty could be. Had England ever honestly wrought that war in the East of Europe should not cause war in the West, she would have used her endeavors to induce France to terminate her Alliance with Russia; for this Alliance was the standing menace, and sole cause why war in the East should provoke war in the West. Had England ever wrought that she herself should not be involved in war through war in the East, she would have absolutely refused to enter into any arrangement with France so long as her alliance with Russia existed; would have made the termination of that alliance an inexorable *sine qua*

non before she put herself under any species of obligation to assist France. These are certain facts, wholly indisputable. But England was possessed with a dread of German Aggression, to the blinding of her eyes and the corruption of her heart: equally by them. And she wrought persistently in favor of mighty Combination which should effectually checkmate German evil intentions. Not *wishful* of war, If you please so to describe it, passionately desirous to preserve peace. And hoping to do so by raising such a formidable looking barrier all round the Bad Teuton that he would never dare to try breaking it, but die in sight of victuals like goose surrounded by a circle drawn with chalk. For never yet were the counsels of men with such an aim informed by wisdom but always have their plans been shady, and their workings brought upon them the thing they chiefly sought to avoid.

Last, in these Ostensibles, is Britain's Intervention.

Let us look first, though it does not come first in time, at that peculiar offer made by Sir Edward Grey which has been applauded, by Sir. E. T. Cook among others, as a sort of acme in magnanimous generosity, and sealing proof of intents charitable. It is in despatch number one hundred and one where Grey offers thus: "If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies, by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it, as far as I could, through the last Balkan Crisis, and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too Utopian, Etc." Of the value of such an offer, in International Politics, from the point of view of its being that of a single individual in the insecure tenure of a British State Secretaryship, it is superfluous to speak. Granting the promise binding on the nation, on the three nations, it would remain sufficiently peculiar. In the first place it admits—Shall we say frankly admits? Helplessly and in spite of itself admits were nearer the mark—that the attitude of the three so promising nations had been and was of a nature to somewhat strongly call for assurance from them that their intents were not hostile or aggressive; and may surely at once pass muster as so far veridical. Whether the German would find it an item of much weight in assuring him of the fact so acknowledged? Hardly, I should think. Might better find it

a sealing proof of the quality of our magnanimity and charitable purpose. But the message did not intend to convey recriminations on the past, nor shed light on it; it was for security in the future. Dear friend, not foe I hope this instant, submit to-day, at our ardent intercession let Austria go to pot, and *I* for reward, will promise to do my private utmost in the to-morrow to obtain for you an Agreement whereby each of these three now in threatened league against you shall enter into bond that they will never more, either singly or collectively pursue a policy aggressive or hostile to you. Such fact, to drunk sense too Utopian, was all you ever sought, bond for it you never asked. But never again! never again! I swear it on my knees beseeching grace: this shall be a lesson to me all my days remaining. If we can read it quite so without stretch, some breath of personal sympathy for Grey may well be in us. O Sir Edward! this turn dropped from my pen as I wrote, without premeditation, and has banished all harsh feeling toward you. For I can believe it may have been thus with you. Yet the leopard does not change his spots. And as for any species of security to Germany in the future having been hereby offered, there is not the shadow of such a thing. Did the remorseful one, really or hypothetically remorseful, himself even contemplate a removal of the fences, not a strengthening of them, if given further time to do it in? Checkmate to be abandoned? Perhaps I should not have gone so far in these ambiguous realms. Perpetual check, check, without a mate,—or for your mate's sake—and your own—is also a known thing; if often pleasing to the checker somewhat liable to grow irritating to the checkee. Then stalemate is surely the fairest draw of all, long reckoned even, and leaving honor to the staled. Chalk line itself can be charitably circumscribed, the confined one grow fat enough; all circumscribers consent they'll not disturb the circle, and the Goose clearly a party to the compact. Happy stay within instead of discontented, and our Policy triumph at last. See! child, we will teach you to build your own ring wall, at least you shall have a hand in building it, then shall you sit blessed in freedom from check, whilst we sweep wide o'er the earth in unburdened cheer.—The offer was peculiar; if you can read a gleam of private grace in it, 'tis happy so far; but to speak of it as magnanimous, to refer to it in any way as of the smallest weight in the issues, betokens strange latitudes.

These things are a little pregnant, reader! Choice of sequence not unadvised would you grapple with the Whole. Turn back, then, to what is called The Infamous German Bid for British Neutrality.

I will say foremost that this British description of Germany's conduct is "amazing," even to me. I have nowhere met the like of it; in sheer sodden mendacity of soul, it surpasses everything of its kind I have heard of, and deserves to be held in permanent record as a *non plus ultra* in that line. Here is no knave's shuffle, no hypocrite's deliberate suppression of the truth, but an open publicly declared and printed statement of the facts as they were; and then an interpretation instantly concluded of them, for campaign of unctuous eloquence and selfrighteous indignation, excuse and cover of most fateful deed, utterly and glaringly in total incompatibility with those facts, for which those facts offered no momentary possibility of a conceivable color to any honest-minded mortal. Such emphatic stricture may not apply to many members of the general public who only heard of the facts through the interpretation, or along with it; but I could not reduce a syllable of this stricture for the men who gave out the interpretation at the same time that they made the facts known. Germany, looking into now almost certain war with Russia and knowing, as you and all the world did, that France would not remain neutral but side with Russia, aware also of certain vain pretensions tenanted in British lodgings too sadly furnished with them, had the candor and forbearance, suppressing all comment on those pretensions, to say thus, through her Chancellor:

"That it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed in any conflict there might be.¹ That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisition at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.

"I (Sir E. Goschen) questioned his Excellency about the French Colonies, and he (the German Chancellor) said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect. As regards Holland, however, his Excellency said that, so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, Germany was ready to give His Majesty's Government an assurance that she would do likewise. It depended on the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter

¹That same Britain that a little before had called it unwarranted for Germany to refuse to stand by and see Austria crushed.

upon in Belgium, but when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany." (Despatch number eighty-five.)

What is there either of "bid" or "infamy" in this? What did you expect of Germany? That when engaged in war eastward, she should just shoulder arms along her western border; stand patiently waiting there till the French were ready to attack her; and then, in height of fantastic heroism merely defend the border, resolutely brush back, if she could, (you will allow her that right I suppose?) any French attempt to cross. Yet never under any provocation herself set foot beyond; and, when the war was over, retire with sage bow and lifted hat, remarking Our deepest thanks to you, Messieurs, for this spiritual exercise, and all good hopes the amusement has proved beneficial to you? It verily seems that little short of this would have contented you. And I know that your rage arose through finding your baseless prescriptions not obeyed and diplomacy turned to water. What shadow of a title had Britain to settle the terms on which Germany should fight France, that Britain which had never done aught to keep France from seizing opportunity to satisfy grudge? Is Britain the God of this lower world? and what just God would lend cover to one side against another, then forbid that other to exact the least penalty if victorious? You call it an infamous bid by Germany, and the fact was an infamous dictation of terms by Britain. Infamous dictation wisely recognized extant, and dealt with in an admirable restraint.

The German, wisely perceiving the existence of certain pretensions in some heads, where, however baseless in fact, their existence can in verity become momentous enough, saw that it could profit nothing to give the least expression to his thought of those pretensions, though we need not doubt he had his thoughts, but in a manful prudence mildly enquired How far do these Olympian ideas extend? Beyond *this*? And Britain in immovable majesty, disdaining affront, replied from aloft: Of course, far beyond. Not outgone in forbearance at the first blush, merely with the eye suggested Darest propose a limit to our sovereign jurisdiction? Who could treat with you, Gentlemen? Germany may defend her countries, quite large enough for her in our supreme decision, our Almightyness graciously concedes so much; but, by our omnipotence, and world-shaking nod, let her expend what blood and treasure she may, she shall go home again with nothing save her labor for her trouble; no hair of France's head shall be harmed, and she, meanwhile, under our

sheltering wing, have free allowance if victorious to keep whatever she can wrench. O soul of Equity! must not the whole just of the earth rise in sternest wrath to crush the thievish miscreant would not before entering conflict take oath on demand at once and humbly to observe these righteous terms? Truly, I have never met their match, and grow in respect for the German could still restrain and try yet further: Will you, if we promise not to infringe Belgian neutrality—and even, it would seem by speech in Parliament, though it is not in White Paper, forego our right to attack the northern coasts of France—Shall you even on these extreme compliances with your Lordship's *arbitrium*—and, bravely, without a hint they were compliances and the *arbitrium* most exsufflicate,—refuse to promise neutrality? Imperious Yes, we will and do refuse. We may perhaps, on those conditions, permit you to enter the war without us for terrible opposite, but will give you no manner of assurance that, once in, we will not fall upon you in time and circumstance convenient for us. 'Tis easy now to see that the second offer was useless; for he who named the first a “bid” and “infamous” could only be confirmed in exalted spurn by an amendment conceding more to folly's vain impious challengings. O British Jove offended! ominously grasping the lightening, I can tell you one way in which Germany's “bid,” if *then* ever made, might have been *infamous*. The way of own course honorable, when the bare suggestion of your dreaming to lay down a rule whereby she should fight, might well have shocked you with its atrocity.

Along with this claim to dictate the conditions of Germany's combat with France, simultaneous throughout runs the figment of British Free Hand, no binding obligation to bestir on France's behalf but liberty to take any side according to judgment of merits of each particular case that might arise. You pledge yourself to maintain Belgian neutrality (whereon a word further shortly), you stand resolved that you will permit to Germany no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France or her Colonies, in other words, that, if she have war with France, she shall on its conclusion go home again with nothing but her labor for her trouble; what more one knows not; but finally and above all you undertake to protect the northern coasts of France and prevent by force any attack upon them by Germany: And then you say you were not under treaty obligations to fight on France's behalf! Never was more hideous mockery of faith; vilest conspiracy plotting for attack and partition were clean in comparison. Those despatches

of Sir Edward Grey's wherein he expounded to France and Russia the delicate and fine distinctions which left Britain no treaty ally but a member of *Entente* with hand free, were not purposely *cunning* at all yet did simply *point the way*. The Russ was thick of comprehension at first but the nimble Celt perceived in a twinkling, and with eyes privately twinkling, though listening to Sir Edwards dissection with all sobriety of countenance. Just so, your Excellency. The British lion owns no harness and the Island Ape which rides him cannot intervene *except* under certain contingencies. Adieu; till tomorrow; we will not importune you till wanted, and when wanted you have told us. We proceed then alone yet secure of your aid the moment we act thus and thus. Incredible as it may seem to a German, only credible as it is to Man when sadly conversant with the phosphorescences which once noble moralities gone putrid sometimes exhibit, Sir E. Grey did *not* mean. Act you in such and such a fashion in order that our hands may appear clean to the world; he wrote in *sincerity*, what is called sincerity, yet no whit the less simply pointed the way.

Instead of open declaration of common cause with France, conclusion of definite alliance offensive and defensive, you gave France secretly the utmost cover it was in your power to give short of such definite bond, and properly it was not for France's sake but for your own. And then, if the German would have conformed to the outrageous conditions imposed on him by that cover, you might perhaps have been content to stand neutral. Great was your magnanimity! noble your rage that the Teuton rejected your conditions. The Prime Minister made a great point in his speech, and inflamed the country with "infamous" German, by exclaiming: Were we to stand by with folded arms and see the northern coast of France bombarded! that coast left undefended through our agreements with France! Most true, *by your agreements!* How came those coasts to be defenceless? Why was the French fleet concentrated in the Mediterranean? You secretly made compact to defend those coasts so that the French fleet could leave them; and then exclaim as if their defenceless state were one of helpless innocence, calling to humanity for protection, came by no subtilty of yours; and say you had free hand to decide every case on its merits! It is the fearfulest exhibition of shameless sodden mendacity I have come across; no "perfidy" could be worse if this be not perfidious. You wished *peace*, you say? And, to preserve it, privately made arrangement with one neighbor which gave him the fullest cover you could contrive; for the other had thereby laid down conditions

of combat utterly outrageous, devoid of any sort of basis outside your own convenience: Then proclaim yourself Champion of Right unwillingly forced into war by considerations of highest duty because the one made that use of the cover afforded him he was sure to make and the other refused your delirious prescriptions of conduct for him!

On the question of Belgian Neutrality it is not necessary to say more than a word further. One could have well wished it respected by all, but knows not how it could have been so by Germany. One thing is quite certain, it was not Britain that should have been foremost in demanding it, but Belgium herself, in direct friendly interchange with Germany, not through appeal to Britain in pre-conclusion of hostility and palpable leaning to one side; or, next, by France, equally in the way of direct mutual agreement with Germany; and Britain only if at all, as honestly impartial third. But it is folly to speak of the probities which might have been. Alas! no, which never had a chance of being. For Britain to demand as she did, especially in conjunction with other items in the same despatch, was at once a threat of Beware! or I come in unless you conform to my rules as self-constituted Marshal of these Lists. And thus, to the German, the thing was from the first suspicious and to be rejected as obviously not demanded for equity but in the interests of his adversaries. For Germany to grant it, too, was a much heavier demand than for France. The German said that he had unimpeachable evidence that France meant to attack him in that quarter; and personally, I have little doubt the French assurance was given in the certainty it would never be required of them to fulfil it; that the swifter moving German would be the first to cross the border, and so they could throw the opprobrium upon him without risk to themselves. For the Belgians, it is sure that, however they may have desired to escape damage, they were not neutral of spirit but exceedingly adverse to Germany. It has been said since the war began that, if France had violated Belgian Neutrality, Britain would equally have gone to war: It is sufficiently probable she would—on just the same side she now has. Britain would not have sided with Germany against France for Belgium's sake: All men know that completely, and the saying she would is a deliberate Lie, straightforward enough for once. A thing just safely *said* after, known without any foundation. A most godless farce is all this pretence of British championship of Belgium. On every ground, care of Belgium's welfare would have

counselled: Yield. On that compulsion, yield; grant the Germans the free passage they demand. This alone had been the magnanimous course, and most earnest persuasion of any champion for Belgium. I am not quite saying you were called to do this; but you are emphatically called to admit that, in urging Belgium to resist to the utmost on promises of help you knew could never reach her in time, you were deliberately throwing her under the harrow of war, with possible loss of national independence, for no other object than to gain time for yourselves. Had Belgium then been Ally the urgency to resist had been fair; to a neutral, it had nothing in it "magnanimous," can only pass as natural to selfseekers diligent to use all means within reach to gain their own ends. Neither is there any manner of doubt that Britain solely ever undertook to support Belgian Neutrality by force for her own interests in fear of Germany's power.

In summary of these Ostensible Causes: Except, it is a big exception, Britain's possession by dread of German Aggression, involuntarily made all too apparent, no Real Cause comes to light. And, when you speak of Real Causes, you have to ask, even of that Dread, whence came it? What ground, if any, had it to stand on? Hence no answer whatever is given here to the question—Why are we at war? but only is how we have come to be at war a little told. And the true value of these White Paper Despatches is as documents testifying of the integrity of the several writers, as representing their nations, or at least Governments. In this view, the Servian is cunning, shifty, and wittingly never shows true face. The Austrian and Russian keep their motives hidden, reveal to impertinent curiosity no more than their proud heights to deem suitable. The French are clear, incisive, declare a singleness of purpose, whatever wiliness of method; namely to make the most of the opportunity if it came now, with readiness to wait for a better if need be. In the German a grand resolvedness, weight of meaning, sagacious instead of alert; very determined indeed, yet restrained, forbearant, rising to fateful enterprise unescapable in meditations cloudy profound: their words have everywhere a right sterling ring. In the British, an utter hollowness, most zealous pleading far removed from all contact with the facts. No secrecy of the conscious hypocrite, but that *bottomless* mendacity which, self-contemplating its own false face truly rendered back in the mirror, cries on the world to witness Saw ye ever a fairer or more blameless!

HYPHENATION JUSTIFIED.

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE is much talk to-day about "hyphenated Americans" and the objection to hyphenation is common if not almost universal. The objection is justified, but is there not a side to the question in which hyphenation is quite legitimate?

We all agree that our nation should be one in love of country and unanimous in its ideal of building up a new nation on the western continent, cherishing the ideals of humanity in independence and with strength; but we do not, nor can we, deny that the new nation is the result of many factors and a coalescence of all the nations of the world. The union of all becomes possible only through the faithfulness of all to the common ideal, but the elements of which the whole is wrought hail from different countries of Europe. First there are the Yankees, the Puritans, who came here from England for conscience's sake because they sought liberty for the free exercise of their religion which they could not find in the old country. A different type are the Virginians and further still the Marylanders under Lord Baltimore, many of whom were adherents of the Roman Catholic faith. Quite different again were the Friends, called Quakers, who acquired Pennsylvania, and it was in their territory that the first Germans settled, coming from the Palatinate on the Rhine.

On the basis of these first colonizations the development of the country began, and after a successful war with England the colonies changed into a federation of states inviting immigrants from all quarters of the world. A period of immigration set in and the thirteen states became the refuge of innumerable men and families who for some reason or other sought a new home in the great land of the west because they were dissatisfied with the conditions of their former homes, or because they strongly sympathized with the ideals of liberty and hoped to help in building up a nation

of the future where mankind would find happier and nobler and better prospects than in the past.

It is not expected, and has never been deemed necessary, that these immigrants should blot out their past, that they should forget their old homes or acquire a contempt for their forefathers or become hostile to their brothers whom they left behind in Europe. On the contrary, they were welcome here on account of their intellectual inheritance. They were invited to bring along all the treasures of their civilization so as to enrich their new home with the best they had to offer. Only one thing was expected of them, to cut off and forswear all former political allegiance to their princes or governments, for that is indispensable if they would be free citizens of this country and serve its interests faithfully.

It is in this sense that the objection to hyphenated Americans is justified. All those who settle in this country and become naturalized do so by their own free will in becoming Americans. The United States of America owns their allegiance fully and wholly. The governments of their original homes lose every claim, for these new citizens promise solemnly no longer to recognize any other obligations than toward the country of their adoption.

In this sense the objection to the use of hyphenated designations is rigidly justified and there is no question about it. But there is another sense in which the use of a hyphen is perfectly legitimate, and it is entirely suitable to speak of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, French-Americans, Anglo-Americans, Afro-Americans, Greco-Americans, Italo-Americans, Polish-Americans, and of the very small contingent of Indians as the original true Americans. We are different in blood and in tradition. Our mental constitution is not the same although we are all Americans, and I know more about a man if I hear him spoken of as an Afro-American or an Anglo-American or a German-American. In this latter sense the hyphenated designation is perfectly justified and it would be positively foolish to forbid distinctions of this kind.

In the narrow sense of the word there are very few Anglo-Americans in this country. Englishmen who settle in this country as a rule remain British. They would consider that they were surrendering a privilege if they were to give up their connection with Great Britain. The first Englishman I met in this country, when asked whether he was an American, answered with indignation, "I never foreswore my allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen!" And the same spirit of allegiance to their old country is noticeable in most Englishmen living in this country. The patriotism of the English

is a commendable trait, but at the same time I must confess that it prevents the subjects of the British empire from making desirable citizens for the United States.

The old Anglo-Americans were very different; they possessed, and many of their descendents still possess, a spirit of independence. They are also broad enough to recognize the good in other nations. They are proud of being able to trace their ancestry back to colonial days and few of them have forgotten that we owe our liberty to a struggle with Old England. They are friendly to England but not submissive. They know very well that the English people look down upon the Americans at best as third-class English. The colonials, the British subjects in the colonies, are second-class English, and when a native Englishman is kindly disposed he ranges Americans directly after these second-class English subjects, as third-class Englishmen.

There is another kind of Anglo-Americans who object to being third-class Englishmen. They are Anglomaniacs. Convinced of many shortcomings—especially in manners—traceable in their countrymen, they become what Professor Patten calls Britonets.¹ They ape the English and succumb to a typical disease, Anglo-mania. These people are a dangerous element in this country because they exhibit an ill-concealed tendency of submission to Great Britain and are somewhat ashamed that the thirteen colonies ever broke away from England and asserted their independence again and again. They would not have joined Washington's army and regret that there should have been the war of 1812.

I do not hesitate to regard the German-Americans, by the side of the old Americans of colonial descent and with revolutionary traditions, as the most valuable portion of American citizenship. Their merits in building up the United States have been fully recognized by historians and if they now show a discontent with our administration on account of its Britonet tendencies, exhibiting an unworthy submissiveness to the dictates of Great Britain and a positively unfair treatment of Germany, we are inclined to say that their complaints ought to be heeded. From the start the Germans have made the best and most faithful and enthusiastic citizens, but we cannot expect that they have become Americans for the purpose of assisting the American nation to serve as a catspaw for England. They came here to become citizens of an independent nation and wanted to help in building up the great humanita-

¹ See "Becoming American" by S. N. Patten in *The Open Court* of July, 1915.

rian republic of untold future possibilities, but decidedly they did not mean to become either third-class English or Britonets.

We Americans are at present subject to the latter danger and are likely to lose our chances of becoming the great republic of the future, in which the ideals of mankind shall be actualized in a higher degree than ever before.

With very rare exceptions German-Americans are good Americans, inspired by the proper spirit of American ideals, but considering their intellectual inheritance of high-minded ideals, their love of solid education, their respect for law, their insistence on liberty and regard for the rights of others, we deem it wrong to do away with the proper designation of their origin.

The objection to the hyphenated expression is justified only when the double name does not so much refer to the descent of American citizens as to a state of mind in which a man is supposed to serve two masters. Since this is the case only in the rarest possible exceptions, we see in the opposition to hyphenation a sly attempt to weaken the just criticism that at present comes from our German-American fellow citizens.

The German-Americans are right when they denounce the "neutrality" of the United States in furnishing ammunition to the Allies so as to help them kill the German soldiers in their defense of the fatherland. We have no business to support either British supremacy on the seas or the plans of the Czar in extending the muscovite dominion over Europe.

There is no need of leveling all Americans, those of colonial descent, the German-Americans, the Irish-Americans, the Latin-Americans, the Slav-Americans, and the Afro-Americans, to the indiscriminate mass of "Americans," and the suggestion to do so indicates a bad conscience. It is mainly directed against the German-Americans because they have a complaint against our administration which is Britonnet (as Professor Patten would say). But the Britonets do not dare to discuss the situation openly with proper arguments, and so, with a sly trick worthy of a British diplomat like Sir Edward Grey, they transfer the issue to a field where they claim the right to silence the warning which comes from German-American quarters. They would mark it as treason if the German-American did not approve of this country's policy of helping the English in reducing Germany to defeat for a proper remuneration in dollars and cents.

Therefore we feel it advisable to declare in all honesty that we are all hyphenated Americans and shall remain so, and we hope

that in later centuries America will be proud of being the product of several different elements of European blood mixture. We do not mean to become Anglomaniacs but will build up a new nation in which, though the foundations have been laid by the Anglo-Americans, the German-American element has given to this nation the most important and most valuable addition.

The Germans of the old world have proved to mankind in the present world war that in spite of being more than six times outnumbered by their enemies they hold their own, and there is no chance that they will be crushed or defeated by the allied powers. Their admirable efficiency in their peaceful pursuits is fully equalled by an efficiency in battle, and the time will come when we Americans will deem it advisable, yea indispensable, to imitate their institutions, their methods of civil service, their methods of education, their inventions in industrial spheres, their progress in science, in music and other arts. The proof of German efficiency, of their superiority in almost every respect, is manifest and our fellow citizens of German descent will take pride in calling themselves German-Americans.

In concluding these comments, I will sum up the result of my consideration thus: The existence of hyphenated Americans is an undeniable fact, and the condemnation of the use of hyphenated names takes its origin from a desire to make an important part of our population connive in violating our duties, in submitting to the policy of our country in shirking the duties of neutrality, in legalizing the enslavement of the United States under British rule and in serving British interests—in a word, in changing our republic into a British dependency.

A CHRONICLE OF UNPARALLELED INFAMIES.

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. PAUL CARUS.

SIR,—Various articles from your pen have appeared in *The Open Court* defending the action of Germany and the German armies in regard to the inception and conduct of the present war. You have alleged that this terrible conflict was brought about by Great Britain, upon whom lies the guilt; and that the excesses imputed to German troops either were not committed by them, or were grossly exaggerated, or were only such as usually accompany the armed struggles of nations. You have asserted that it was the Belgians who first committed atrocities upon the Germans, and that the severities exercised by the latter were justifiable retaliations for wanton outrages against the gentle and humane invaders of a little country whose integrity they were pledged to maintain.

You have, I presume, by this time received and read the Report of the commission formed by the British Government, and presided over by Lord Bryce, for the purpose of investigating the excesses alleged to have been committed by the troops of your Fatherland. I would particularly call your attention to the Appendix to this Report, in which the carefully sifted evidence of over five hundred witnesses appears in detail.

It is almost inconceivable that any one after reading this Report should continue to believe that on the outbreak of the war an orgy of purposeless crime was begun by the Belgian people. Consider the improbability of such a thing. Before the entry of the Germans into Belgium orders had been given in every town, village and district of that country that all arms were to be delivered up to the authorities. The evidence shows that these orders were faithfully complied with. Even had the civilian population been armed, what could they have done to stem the advance of the great and highly disciplined German forces? Do you suppose the Belgian civilians were not aware of their helplessness, and of the folly of committing outrages

which were certain to be promptly avenged? Or do you believe that in the frenzy of despair they actually did commit shocking cruelties? Had they done so, a generous foe would have dealt leniently with them; certainly he would not have avenged himself upon innocent children. In any case the fact of the official order to deliver up arms and the compliance therewith show that no forcible resistance by non-combatants was sanctioned or contemplated. The evidence proves that none took place.

The Report contains many statements that the reckless—or, shall we say, accidental?—firing of shots by drunken German soldiers was sometimes believed to mean that they were being attacked. Had this been the case, the attacks must have been made by Belgian troops, not by civilians, whose assertions that they were unarmed bear every mark of veracity. You consider that these civilian attacks—which do not appear to have taken place—justify the ferocious cruelties committed by the German soldiery upon the non-combatant population. I do not think any one who can weigh evidence will agree with you.

More than this: it is stated in several of the depositions that German soldiers themselves on some occasions fired shots with the obvious and deliberate intention of having an excuse for the massacre of civilians. They are alleged to have gone into empty houses, fired shots, and raised the cry that non-combatants had begun an attack. The accusation of shooting became a stock phrase, repeated on numberless occasions, without a moment's inquiry into its truth, and resulting in the violent death of many persons who were absolutely innocent of the charge.

German soldiers were very frequently seen to throw small discs or other substances into houses which at once burst into flames. Into these burning houses soldiers and civilians, some dead, some still living, were cast; in one instance a man was held in the flames till his head and arms were roasted. I beg you to notice that, as these acts were committed during the first few weeks of the war, such inflammable materials must have been prepared beforehand. *The German troops left their own country provided with the means for the deliberate commission of cruel outrages.*

Have you formed an opinion of the incident of the child of two years who, while standing in the street at Malines, was transfixed by a brave German soldier with his bayonet and carried off on the weapon, a song on the lips of its murderer? What can you say of the public violation of fifteen women in the square of Liège in the presence of and begun by officers? You will, I trust, dis-

approve of the appalling savagery deposed to by witnesses *a33*, *d118*, *d133*, and, above all, *d86*. These incidents are so horrible that it must have needed some resolution to print the accounts; but there are hundreds of others nearly as bad.

As your culture is not exclusively German, you may find it difficult to believe that these horrors actually took place. The evidence goes to show that they give but a faint and blurred impression of the reality.

You will, perhaps, agree with me that cruelty—deliberate, cold-blooded cruelty, unprovoked by the individuals against whom it is manifested—is one of the foulest of all human vices. The alleged cruelty of the Belgians revolts you. Does not the infinitely greater cruelty of your countrymen revolt you? Are you not ashamed of the base and cowardly lies by which they have sought to excuse it? You cannot, I think, approve the implication that massacre by Germans is quite legitimate, but that every retaliation is a monstrous outrage upon them. Throughout the war it has been evident that Germany wants to have things entirely her own way. According to the investigations which have been made the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true. Although a German you will probably be able to appreciate the distinction. You cannot be so little-minded as to think that crimes committed by your friends are for that reason less reprehensible than crimes committed against them.

Apart from the ethical standpoint from which I have tried to consider these outrages, one is deeply impressed by their astounding folly. For the moment they, no doubt, succeeded in terrorizing the civil population of Belgium—that is, they broke the spirit of helpless people who never even tried to resist—but they inspired the Belgian army to fight on with the courage of despair. That army has lost everything but honor. Germany has not lost her honor, because it is doubtful whether she ever had any honor to lose.

The German atrocities have produced the same stiffening effect on France, Great Britain, and the other nations which are painfully rolling back the tide of barbarism. They feel that, if civilization is to go on, this arrogant, bloodthirsty race—a race essentially savage, though with a thick smear of mechanical culture—must be effectually subdued. Should the Germans be victorious, they will have earned the undying scorn of the civilized world. In the event of their being defeated, they will have reason to regret the outrages in which they have so fatuously indulged. They will have rendered themselves liable to the most terrible punishment, the most ghastly

reprisals. Their foes may be little inclined to be merciful, and it will be simply a question for the Allies to say how far their magnanimity shall extend.

The German army is a very brave army—when it knows that it is the stronger. Allow me to recall to you one or two instances of German heroism. One section of the Appendix to the Bryce Report is devoted to evidence which proves that the Germans made a practice of using civilians, frequently women and children, as screens to intercept or avert the fire of the enemy. Thirty-six eye-witnesses, nearly half of them British, testify to the facts, and in several cases it is stated that the British or Belgian force retreated for fear of killing the unhappy civilians, thus leaving the Germans with a military advantage which was probably not unnoticed in their official reports. On one occasion the British rapidly swung their guns round and attacked the German flank. "The Germans then bolted, leaving the civilians behind." If you consider that your compatriots have kept within the usages of war, you will, no doubt, be able to produce some authority in military law or practice in justification of this characteristic maneuver: as a former German officer, you must be in a position to appreciate its prudence and ingenuity.

The Appendix contains a score of testimonies (fifteen of them British) to the abuse by German troops of the white flag. This abuse usually took the form of a pretended surrender, followed by a murderous fire, in which many British and Belgians were slain. So frequently was the trick repeated that the touching faith of the British in German "honor" impresses me rather as culpable credulity. That faith has doubtless become weaker by this time. But I would again call your attention to the unmanly cowardice and the unaccountable stupidity of the German proceeding. Having been a Saxon officer yourself (and we deem the Saxons to be honorable foes), you will admit that nothing revolts a soldier more than base and contemptible trickery, nor is anything more calculated to arouse an unholy thirst for vengeance.

I trust you will carefully read the sections of the Appendix relating to massacres by the Germans of wounded enemies, firing on hospitals and stretcher-bearers, and abuses of the Red Cross. Of these eighty-five examples are given, and after reading them it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the charges are fairly proved. That conclusion is greatly strengthened by the evidence of the Germans themselves. Copies or extracts of half-a-dozen military proclamations, and extracts from thirty-five diaries found

on dead or captured German soldiers, show clearly that the treatment of the Belgians by the invaders was excessively and unreasonably severe. In this connection I may add, on the authority of an article by Professor J. H. Morgan in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, that in the diary of a German non-commissioned officer the writer states his belief that the German officers invented the stories of Belgian and French atrocities in order to prevent their men from surrendering.

You will now, I venture to hope, follow the example of Dr. F. C. Conybeare, on whose mistaken admissions you have relied. For your own sake you should publicly withdraw your charges against the innocent, and transfer them to the guilty. You owe an apology to the Belgian people whom you have slandered. You did not originate the slanders; you have merely shown a strange gullibility in giving them currency. Examine the evidence with care; do not ferret out minor defects in the testimony and ignore its real weight; be man enough to rise above national bias and petty evasions; speak the truth without fear or favor. Yet a sentence in your magazine for May last is not calculated to make one hopeful. One despairs of the mentality of a man who can write so choice an absurdity as this: "God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her."

CHARLES T. GORHAM.

IN REPLY TO MR. CHARLES T. GORHAM.

The present war, so terrible, so sanguinary, so useless and unnecessary, has caused much discussion and disrupted many international friendships. I fully appreciate, therefore, the regret which you express at the difference in our opinions, and I wish sincerely that we might come to an agreement on the war, its causes and the facts of its history. I have honestly and impartially tried to understand its origin and to obtain the most reliable information, and although I have my doubts in many important details, I have arrived at definite convictions in all main points; and considering the tremendous importance of the issues I have deemed it my duty to express my views openly and submit them to public criticism, irrespective of approval or condemnation. And I promise to retract publicly any statement of mine the erroneousness of which can now or in the future be proved.

You are so firmly convinced of the truth of your position regarding the war that you do not understand how I can support such a "chronicle of unparalleled infamies"; but I assure you it is after

a careful investigation made in an impartial spirit that I say that this terrible conflict was brought about by Great Britain.

Germany in the past has repeatedly kept peace when bitterly provoked, and once again did she endeavor to do so. She could have no motive for going to war with the formidable combination that is ranged against her. The German government and also the German Emperor personally did their utmost to avoid the war, both with Russia and with England; and it was above all England that cut off every chance of peace and forced Germany to break Belgian neutrality.

You must be very unfair not to concede that the mere possibility of a hostile invasion through Belgium imposed upon Germany the imperative duty of anticipating the attack. The equivocal attitude of Sir Edward Grey would have made the preservation of Belgian neutrality a criminal neglect of self-defense at the most dangerous point and in a most dangerous moment. Germany knew that Belgium was prepared as an ally of France and England, not otherwise; and later events have proved that Germany's suspicion was but too well justified.

Further, I still assert that "the Belgians first committed atrocities upon the Germans and that the severities exercised by the latter were justifiable measures against wanton outrages."

I never spoke of the invaders as "gentle" or "humane"; war is always terrible, and I feel sorry for the people in whose country it has to be waged. War always brings suffering and sorrow in its train. That is the reason why Germany tried to avert a conflict. But once war was inevitable I do not blame the German government for having endeavored to keep invaders out of Germany and not waiting patiently until an Anglo-French army broke into the Rhenish provinces in the rear of the German troops as the latter marched into France through Lorraine.

I felt very sorry for the Belgians, but I cannot help thinking that they had only themselves to blame, provoking, as they did, a German attack. Their government had adopted a mistaken policy, and they reaped what they sowed. If there is any other nation they can reasonably blame, it is Great Britain alone. Sir Edward Grey could have saved Belgium from the fate she met if he had honestly tried to keep peace with Germany. But he did not mean to. All his acts are inexplicable and stupid except on the principle, which seems to be his one actuating motive, *Germania est delenda*.

I have read the report of the commission formed by the British government for the purpose of investigating the excesses alleged

to have been committed by the Germans, but I deem it a partisan statement cleverly composed to give the impression that the Germans are barbarians who delight in the most atrocious cruelties. The evidence of the witnesses in Lord Bryce's report does not seem to me to have been carefully sifted, and if the alleged atrocities are true how is it possible that a group of American reporters traveled all across Belgium in vain in search of witnesses and failed to discover one iota of proof?—Nothing but the just punishment meted out, after due trial by court martial, for criminal acts committed by the populace! No, I cannot discover a trace of these unparalleled infamies in spite of Lord Bryce's and other reports.

I am impressed with the fact that you rely on fictitious statements. You do not seem to know that, for instance, in Louvaine the armed resistance of the populace had been carefully prepared and instigated, of which fact the German authorities are in possession of unequivocal proof in the form of written orders as to the distribution of arms, and lists of names. The story that the struggle in the streets began through "reckless or accidental firing of shots by drunken German soldiers" is a fairy tale which flatly contradicts even the Belgian descriptions of the fight and has been invented for the benefit of those friends of the Allies in France and England who have no clear conception of the situation, for the purpose of prejudicing them against Germany. Any one who can weigh evidence will not agree with you.

I hope you will excuse me for not having "formed an opinion on the incident of the child of two years who, while standing in the street at Malines, was transfixed by a brave German soldier with his bayonet and carried off on the weapon, a song on the lips of its murderer." I have formed no opinion on the story except that I regard it as fiction.

Your logic is simple. You come to the conclusion that "the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true." But what do you say of the murder and persecution of Germans in the streets of Paris, Antwerp, Milan, also in London and other British cities, and in Canada? What do you say about the price set upon the heads of Germans in South Africa, to be paid to natives? What do you say about the atrocities of English soldiers? There is a rough element everywhere, but I know that the German army is made up of more humane elements than any other body of soldiers.

I hope that Great Britain will adopt the German military system, for I would expect from it a great improvement in the British

military forces and also the spread of a peaceful spirit in English policy. Germany is the best prepared for war, and at the same time the most peaceful in spirit, for the Germans must fight their wars themselves. Every mother must send her own sons into the field.

I would have done anything in my power to prevent the war, and I read with hearty approval the Kaiser's letters to his cousins on the Russian and English thrones. The Kaiser was especially loath to begin a war with the English people to whom he felt so closely bound not only by ties of friendship but also of blood; and I can understand his feeling in the matter. I love the English language, the English literature, the English people; and I hate the thought that the English people have done a grievous wrong. My only comfort consists in the sad consolation that the English people have been betrayed into this stupid attitude toward Germany by a small clique whose leader is Sir Edward Grey.

My sympathy goes out for the English commoners, for the Saxon element of the people, not for the aristocracy nor the men of Norman blood, for I blame the latter for all the misunderstandings and misrepresentations. In the interest of the latter Great Britain is governed, and the latter continue to contrive falsehoods to perpetuate their power and influence. I have always taken offense at Tennyson's wrongly admired estimate of "Norman blood" in the lines

"Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

I am convinced that Saxon blood is better than Norman blood, and that the Saxon element of the English people is their better portion and nobler inheritance. I have an antipathy against the crimes, in English history, of those ruling classes who have always, as a matter of course, followed the policy of keeping the great masses of the people in subjection and poverty while they themselves kept the land and appropriated all the power and the sources of wealth.

I fear this war will have to be fought out to the bitter end, and it becomes more and more evident that the English aristocracy will be the losers in the long run. Germany, in her progress in the arts of peace, became a danger to the English ruling classes, and a war seemed to be the only means of getting rid of the inconvenient rival. But I venture to predict that this war will bring about precisely what the English aristocracy, headed by Sir Edward Grey, expected to prevent.

Sir Edward Grey is smart, very smart, and in this war Great Britain has all the odds in her favor. The Triple Entente was a

cunning contrivance, and it furnished her with most powerful allies. Yet I predict a final defeat for the allied arms. For too much smartness defeats itself. The British world power is a colossus on clay feet, and these clay feet will crumble when the testing time comes. But out of the misfortunes and chaos of war I look for a regeneration of England, through the noble old Saxondom of her people, the commoners, the true Englishmen. The time will come when this truth will be understood, but at present the outlook is gloomy. Sir Edward Grey has led the people in a course of action which will prove their undoing.

There are a few men in England who take the same view as I, but they are few, very few, and they have no opportunity to make themselves heard. To force them into submission or compel them to retract their statements may prevent reform under present circumstances, but the truth will finally prevail.

We stand before a great crisis in history. England has forced the issue, for she wants to prevent Germany from sharing in the blessings of world power. England would not give up her monopoly of the seas. She wants to preserve the balance of power on the continent so that she may continue her dominion. That is why she misrepresents Germans and calls them Huns and barbarians. She wants to break Germany's power, but it becomes more and more apparent that not Germany's but England's fate lies in the balance, and indications are many that history is pronouncing on England her *mene tekel*. You do not believe me, but the future will judge between us; the future will reveal the truth.

I love the Germanic peoples. I admire Germany, England and the United States. My ideal has been and still is the establishment of a friendship between these three great nations, and in their alliance I see the hope of mankind, the realization of universal peace among men. But this hope has been well-nigh shattered because of the machinations of a few English diplomats whose policy it is to perpetuate the aristocratic spirit of the British government to the detriment of both Germany and the United States. We want leadership of the most powerful, but freedom for all, and the *sine qua non* of freedom for all is the freedom of the seas. Misrepresentation plays a considerable role in diplomacy, and the British diplomats have succeeded in making a powerful use of it, above all in misguiding the English people and leading them into this most disastrous war. But misrepresentations will be cleared away like fog in the morning sun, and in the end truth will prevail.

The time will come when the English people will long for

truth; I hope they will have enough moral strength left to search for it with honest endeavor, and that they will find it.

Is William the Second to be the liberator of England from the Norman yoke, the one whose task it is to undo the sorry work of William the Conqueror?

War is terrible, and it is the English diplomats that are responsible for the present one. They felt so certain of the outcome but they have made most careless and inexcusable miscalculations. They thought it would be easy to crush Germany, and they still build great hopes upon their misstatements and misrepresentations.

Misrepresentations, if believed in, are often very efficient and do great harm to the misrepresented party, but only for a time. In the long run they are found out and recoil on their inventors. The English people are patient and long-suffering and believe misstatements easily, but they will at last discover that their diplomats have relied on falsehood and have done a grievous wrong in misrepresenting the German cause. The members of the British cabinet, a clique of noblemen, are an incapable and narrowminded lot, and had not the slightest idea of the terrible task with which they were confronting the English people.

The war is being carried on in a most bungling way by the Allies, especially by the Russians and the English. The best and most worthy among the Allies are, it appears, the French; but even they would be incapable of withstanding the German attack alone.

One thing becomes plainer and plainer: that England will lose her leadership in commerce and world politics, and it is characteristic that in the present war England has once again forced the issue. But it is England herself that is going to be the sufferer; she will lose her place among the nations, and world-leadership will fall to Germany and the United States.

It will take some time before the English people realize this, for they still believe all the reports of German viciousness, of which the alleged atrocities in Belgium are only a minor portion. It will take some time for the English people to wake up, and it seems as if only a serious and terrible defeat in war would open their eyes.

Let us hope that the worst evils carry in them the seeds of some good, of some great good, and that the evils are fraught with blessings beyond what even the most sanguine dreamer expects. The misfortune that brings about the much needed reform and a thorough regeneration of England would be a blessing: it would accomplish more good than evil.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MISS FARMER AND GREENACRE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

May I be pardoned if I seek to supplement the article of Mr. Richardson on Bahaism with a few words on Miss Farmer and her life-work, her beloved Greenacre?

No more thrilling chapter in the lives of leaders of thought has ever been written than the facts concerning Miss Farmer and her Greenacre. Her ideal was "a universal platform" upon which with malice toward none, with charity toward all, each might be permitted to voice his own particular creed, to the end that the various religions might learn to compare sympathetically their points of agreement and forget somewhat their points of difference. She believed that if this could be done, religious hatreds and wars would cease.

With a marvelous magnetism, a winning personality and supreme love for all humanity, which drew men and women alike to her side, all eager to assist in the great work for the uplift of the world, Miss Farmer, while health and money lasted, worked with the unfailing ardor of the idealist, giving unstintingly of herself and her means to promote the cause of universality.

Now, her health broken, her little remaining fortune in Maine tied up by distant relatives so that she has to depend absolutely upon the generosity of devoted friends; not daring for fear of personal violence to cross the boundary lines of New Hampshire whose courts having pronounced her sane, she knows that there her last remaining possession, personal liberty, is secure, —she has been compelled to submit to being swept contemptuously aside while her universal platform at Greenacre was seized by a sect known as "Bahaism" and converted into a "Bahai Center."

When the *true* history of Miss Farmer's work at Greenacre is written, as it must be some day, the history of the untold good to the untold numbers that it has accomplished and still might be accomplishing if that fatal, mentally unbalancing disease, Bahaism, had not crept in, the world will wonder with regret at the magnitude and beauty of that which it permitted to be destroyed.

Yours truly,

A friend of Miss Farmer and Greenacre.

JIKOKUTEN, GUARDIAN OF THE EAST.

The fierce type of features expressing will power which appears in the god Fudo is not limited to this special deity but can be traced in other Japanese gods, especially in the guardians of the four quarters of the world. One of



these is illustrated in our frontispiece which is a reproduction of a Japanese painting of Jikokuten, the guardian of the east. The god of the north is called Tamonten, of the south Zochoten and of the west Komokuten.

Some time ago we published the reproduction of a Japanese painting of Fudo (Sanskrit, Achala) which we repeat in this connection. The artist, Seiso Hashimoto, has endowed this deity with all the traditional features of his character. With a sword in one hand, a chain in the other, and his figure enveloped in fiery flames, he is the artistic embodiment of that indomitable will which in spite of all hindrances and obstacles, in the face of danger and death, leads finally to victory.

THE LOTUS GOSPEL.

[In an article bearing the above title in *The Open Court* of September, 1914, the Editor reviewed at some length a book by Mrs. A. E. Gordon, of Tokyo, entitled *World Healers, or The Lotus Gospel and its Bodhisattvas Compared with Early Christianity*, and published by Eugene L. Morice of London. We here publish a letter received from Mrs. Gordon in comment on this review.—ED.]

May I criticize your review of my *World Healers*? You don't seem to have got at the kernel of it! In the first place, you will, on reference to the Royal Asiatic Society's (Seoul Branch) *Transactions* for 1914, see my lecture on discoveries in Korea which are wonderfully confirmatory of my theories in the book. In the same number of *The Open Court* there is a most interesting article on a subject new to me, viz., "Martyrs' Milk," and I would ask you to refer to page 68 of my *World Healers* for a similar instance in the case of the negro monk Kokuho-shi in Korea.

In your review you say: "The gospel it preaches is a kind of combination of Christianity with Buddhism." Now my book does not "preach a gospel." It simply brings into more light what Dr. Timothy Richard already set forth in his translation of *Saddharma Pundarika* (known in Japan as the Lotus Gospel); and which several scholars have long since concluded may be an *apocryphal* Christian Gospel, such as the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Gospel of the Hebrews, etc. To my mind, this is far more worthy of God than the selfish orthodox Christian idea that he only illuminated Europe, and later America, with the light of his glorious gospel. You doubtless know Dr. T. Richard's *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* in which the above translation appears. Dr. Tyan Takakusu, the highest Sanskrit authority out here and a pupil of Max Müller, pronounced that translation "not only to be most accurate literally, but also to give the *very essence* of the original." Higher praise could hardly be given.

In the third paragraph of your review you very justly criticize my imperfect methods; so please allow me to explain that Prof. A. H. Sayce, when he was in Japan, kindly went through all my manuscripts *most* carefully, and on my telling him exactly the points you have criticized, he said: "Never mind that, just put down everything you have found up to date, and then let others from that mass of material weed out and arrange all in proper order." You see that being very delicate, and with eyes troubling me, I must do either one thing or the other. If I stop to sift and criticize accurately, I cannot write down the facts that keep crowding in and which, alas! other people out here (now that Dr. A. Lloyd is dead) take no interest in.

I believe the historical data are as nearly accurate as possible, for, having studied with my dear friend, Max Müller, I am possessed with the idea of historical data being essential, I have been at infinite pains to take out all I have put down. In many cases such contradictory dates are given that it has been an immense labor to verify them. This is an explanation, not an excuse!

As for the Chinese "ship of salvation" I have found far more wonderful frescoes of it in Korea, at Isudoji and on Diamond Mount.

You have omitted *the* point about Asukáhimé (p. 553) which is that the dear children *recognized* their beloved empress and showed it by offering her two chrysanthemums—the imperial crest! This seems to me a peculiarly touching and delicate offering in proof of the recognition after death which so distracts worthy bereaved Christians in the West, and about which so much is written there! "Shall we know one another again?" Yes! these "heathen" Buddhist-Japanese tell us, without a doubt.

Lastly your (p. 556) paragraph on the Nestorian Stone again misses the point.

a. The picture shows the monks pointing out Buddhist terms on the Nestorian Stone and in particular the title used of Kwannon in heaven "The Ship of Great Mercy," Ts'i-hang. May I refer you to Edkins's *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 266, 353, as to this? The scene took place at the dedication of the stone on Koya san.

b. What you say in your last paragraph seems to infer that the photograph was taken of the original stone (of which your pamphlet¹ speaks) at Sianfu.

That pamphlet describes the copy of the stone which was taken to the United States from Sienfu. The only other replica is the one I had the privilege of erecting on Koyasan which for 1100 years was the great shrine of Kobo Daishi and Shingon—the "True Word" Buddhism.

The stone is erected in the holiest place on Koyasan, the Okunoin, where myriads of Japanese have laid their ashes beside the sleeping Kobo who there awaits the coming of Miroku, the Buddhist Messiah. (See Eitel's *Handbook on Maitreya*). So there are only three in the whole world of this priceless monument of the similarity between Mahayana Buddhism and early Christianity, viz., that at Sianfu, and these two replicas in the United States and Japan.

As I write, the 1100th anniversary of Kobo Daishi is being celebrated and one half a million of pilgrims are to be at Koya gathered from all parts of Japan this month and in May. Two hundred and fifty thousand Japanese tracts containing pictures of the Nestorian stone and descriptive matter are being distributed among these pilgrims.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

TO-MORROW'S ROAD. A Booklet of Verses by G. M. H. London: Old Bourne Press, 15 Holborn, E. C. Pp. 40.

G. M. Hort, who may be remembered by our readers as the author of a poem which appeared some time ago in *The Open Court* under the title "The Tenant," has collected some of his poems into this little paper-bound volume. Most of them have appeared in various well-known publications, such as *The Academy*, *The Outlook*, *The Nation*, etc.

¹*The Nestorian Monument, an Ancient Record of Christianity in China.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1909.

As an interesting sample we quote the following lines from "The Song of a Fool":

"I had a comrade in the days of morning,
High through his youth a fatal wisdom shone.
Still to each task he'd turn with easy scorning,
Know all too soon, and weary to be gone!
But I, who dream from truth could scarcely sever,
Slow at a fact and lagged at a rule
Drank new delight from some old book for ever—
Thanks be to God, who made me such a fool!"

"And now, while life is on itself returning,
While from each window slowly shifts the light,
Loud from the dais, speak the men of learning
Who know the nature of the coming night.
But I who watch the door where daylight narrows,
And irk to find myself so late in school,
Seek truant Hope among the Churchyard barrows!
Thanks be to God, who never cured the fool!"

On another page of this issue we are printing in article form as prepared by the author for us the opening chapters of a book entitled *Carlyle and the War*, which we understand is shortly to be published in New York, and all inquiries concerning which should be addressed to Jean Wick, Aeolian Hall, 42d Street, in that city.

This book has been written by an Englishman of Scotch descent, who believes his country to be in the wrong in this war and whose motives for writing as he has done must be sought in the book itself. He has written primarily to and for his own countrymen in strong appeal to them to realize the terrible mistake their and his country has made, but though we hope this book may reach England we believe there is much in it to interest Americans also.

The author has made his appeal largely in the name of Thomas Carlyle whom he regards as a truly inspired writer and whose *History of Frederick the Great* especially he considers that every Briton and American ought to study in this crisis. He feels that the significance of the title he has given to his work ought to be instantly felt by those more earnest and thoughtful men of his own country whom he eminently wishes to reach. To us Americans it may perhaps not be so immediately apparent, but it should soon become evident to readers of Mr. Kelly who writes in no academic spirit or for the mere scholar, but for the present hour and for all who are awake to the momentous issues of the present crisis.

Our readers will notice that Mr. Kelly's article is imbued with the style of his master, Carlyle, after whom (as he has said of himself) he takes "as a son takes after his father," among other ways in his use of vigorous expressions where vigorous thoughts are to be expressed.

Readers not acquainted with certain idiosyncrasies will probably find some difficulty in interpreting the sense. In accordance with our author's request we have refrained from making alterations and have rigorously followed his manuscript in all details, including capitalization and punctuation.



THE VENUS OF PRAXITELES.
In the Vatican Museum at Rome.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX. (NO. 10)

OCTOBER, 1915

NO. 713

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VICTOR HUGO'S ESTIMATE OF GERMANY.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

VICTOR HUGO once wrote a remarkable poem in which he made his choice between the two nations that were nearest to his heart. They are Germany and France, and of these he gives the preference to France, but it is noteworthy what a high estimate he makes of Germany. The poet dwells long on the greatness of the people with the blue eyes, and the reader feels that he respects them highly. Considering the hatred that now prevails between the two nations, the admiration here exhibited by a great Frenchman for France's enemy is astonishing. Victor Hugo's praise is unstinted. He extols her justice, compares her blond maidens to angels, and forgets his own country in his eulogy of Germany as the greatest of all nations. He admires her heroes, her poets, her religious leaders, and declares "there is nothing on earth that excels her"; even Charlemagne, the founder of France, in some degree is one of her sons and owes his soldierly valor to her.

Victor Hugo exhorts the Teutons to be proud of their ancestors, their laurels and their country. Nevertheless, he turns to France. France is his choice even before the nation which he praises as the greatest, and his choice is made without reason or explanation beyond the one touching address, "Oh, my mother!"

Just now, while a bitter war rages all over Europe, it seems appropriate to call to mind this poetic description of the Teutonic nationality. The hatred between France and Germany is perhaps not too deep to be obliterated in time. Certainly the Germans do not hate the French. In former centuries they have suffered much from them, especially under Louis XIV and Napoleon I, but, with the squaring of accounts in 1870-71, they have been willing to forget old quarrels and live on good terms with their western neighbors.

Indeed it seemed probable that France would find it advantageous to leave Alsace-Lorraine in the hands of Germany, of which it had originally been a part, and seek a continental alliance against Great Britain which has done France such wrong at Suez and Fashoda. The interests of Germany and France lie together; but French politicians of to-day are short-sighted and they were easily duped by English diplomacy. Against their own interests they have become the allies of Great Britain in the present war; and Great Britain is determined to wage the war to the bitter end, or, as has been aptly said, she will fight to the last Frenchman,—incidentally, also, the last Russian and the last Italian.

This beautiful poem of Victor Hugo on Germany and France has been a puzzle in many respects. The great poet was an enthusiastic French patriot, and yet he has gone far in his praise of Germany, so frequently considered the arch-enemy of France. In fact the many mythological names, Velleda, Ganna, Galgacus, Spillyra, have been regarded as an indication that the poem is not to be taken seriously. To my mind they go to show that when Victor Hugo was traveling through Germany he read some books on the ancient history of the country and utilized them in his poetic description.

Victor Hugo's poem proves to me that the French are capable of appreciating Germany, and the Germans will be glad to recognize French appreciation. Indeed my attention has been called to it by some extracts from this grand hymn in a German translation published on a fly-leaf by the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Nationalbund, under the title, *Ein ernstes Wort in ernster Zeit*; and the French original in its complete form is contained in Victor Hugo's works under the title *L'année terrible*.

The conclusion of the poem where Victor Hugo gives the palm to France in preference to Germany and in spite of his full recognition of Germany's greatness, is unparalleled in sweetness and devotion. Germany is stern and grand, but to France his love belongs. France is his mother.

The poetic spirit in this poem is peculiar and inimitable. It seems impossible to translate these lines into English verse. So we ask our readers to study the French original and we shrink from the difficult task of rendering it into poetry. We subjoin in all modesty a prose version in which we forego the attempt to reproduce the poetic grandeur of the French poet's lines.

CHOIX ENTRE LES DEUX NATIONS.

PAR VICTOR HUGO.

A l'Allemagne.

Aucune nation n'est plus grande que toi ;
Jadis, toute la terre étant un lieu d'effroi,
Parmi les peuples forts tu fus le peuple juste.
Une tiare d'ombre est sur ton front auguste ;
Et pourtant, comme l'Inde aux aspects fabuleux,
Tu brilles ; ô pays des hommes aux yeux bleus,
Clarté hautaine au fond ténébreux de l'Europe,
Une gloire âpre, informe, immense, t'enveloppe ;
Ton phare est allumé sur le mont des Géants !
Comme l'aigle de mer qui change d'océans,
Tu passas tour à tour d'une grandeur à l'autre ;
Huss le sage a suivi Crescentius l'apôtre ;
Barberousse chez toi n'empêche pas Schiller ;
L'empereur, ce sommet, craint l'esprit, cet éclair.
Non, rien ici-bas, rien ne t'éclipse, Allemagne.

Ton Vitikind tient tête à notre Charlemagne,
Et Charlemagne même est un peu ton soldat.
Il semblait par moments qu'un astre te guidât ;
Et les peuples t'ont vue, ô guerrière féconde,
Rebelle au double joug qui pèse sur le monde,
Dresser, portant l'aurore entre tes poings de fer,
Contre César Hermann, contre Pierre Luther.
Longtemps, comme le chêne offrant ses bras au lierre,
Du vieux droit des vaincus tu fus la chevalière ;
Comme on mêle l'argent et le plomb dans l'airain,
Tu sus fondre en un peuple unique et souverain
Vingt peuplades, le Hun, le Dace, le Sicambre.
Le Rhin te donne l'or et la Baltique l'ambre ;
La musique est ton souffle ; âme, harmonie, encens,
Elle fait alterner dans tes hymnes puissants
Le cri de l'aigle avec le chant de l'alouette ;
On croit voir sur tes burgs croulants la silhouette
De l'hydre et du guerrier vaguement aperçus
Dans la montagne, avec le tonnerre au-dessus ;
Rien n'est frais et charmant comme tes plaines vertes ;

Les brèches de la brume aux rayons sont ouvertes,
 Le hameau dort, groupé sous l'aile du manoir,
 Et la vierge, accoudée aux citernes le soir,
 Blonde, a la ressemblance adorable des anges.
 Comme un temple exhaussé sur des piliers étranges
 L'Allemagne est debout sur vingt siècles hideux,
 Et sa splendeur qui sort de leurs ombres, vient d'eux.
 Elle a plus de héros que l'Athos n'a de cimes.
 La Teutonie, au seuil des nuages sublimes
 Où l'étoile est mêlée à la foudre, apparaît;
 Ses piques dans la nuit sont comme une forêt;
 Au-dessus de sa tête un clairon de victoire
 S'allonge, et sa légende égale son histoire.
 Dans la Thuringe, où Thor tient sa lance en arrêt,
 Ganna, la druidesse échevelée, errait;
 Sous les fleuves, dont l'eau roulait de vagues flammes,
 Les sirènes chantaient, monstres aux seins de femmes,
 Et le Hartz que hantait Velléda, le Taunus
 Où Spillyre essayait dans l'herbe ses pieds nus,
 Ont encore toute l'âpre et divine tristesse
 Que laisse dans les bois profonds la prophétesse;
 La nuit, la Forêt-Noire est un sinistre éden;
 Le clair de lune, aux bords du Neckar, fait soudain
 Sonores et vivants les arbres pleins de fées.
 O Teutons, vos tombeaux ont des airs de trophées;
 Vos aïeux n'ont semé que de grands ossements;
 Vos lauriers sont partout; soyez fiers, Allemands.
 Le seul pied des titans chausse votre sandale.
 Tatouage éclatant, la gloire féodale
 Dore vos morions, blasonne vos écus;
 Comme Rome Coclès vous avez Galgacus,
 Vous avez Beethoven comme la Grèce Homère;
 L'Allemagne est puissante et superbe.

A la France.

O ma mère!

CHOICE BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

BY VICTOR HUGO.

To Germany.

No nation is so great as thou!
 When of old the earth was still a place of terror,

Thou among strong peoples wast the just.
A tiara of shadow rests upon thy noble brow ;
And yet, like India, with fabulous visions
Thou art radiant ; O land of blue-eyed people,
O lofty light upon the dark depths of Europe,
A glory rugged, vague, immense, envelops thee ;
Thy beacon-light shines forth from the mount of giants ;
As the sea-eagle passes from ocean to ocean,
Thou mountest from grandeur to grandeur.
Huss, the sage, has followed Crescentius, the apostle ;
With thee rulers like Barbarossa do not prevent poets like
Schiller from arising.
The Emperor, that towering summit, fears the lightning-flash of
the spirit.
Naught here below, naught eclipses thee, Germania.
Thy Wittekind braves our Charlemagne,
And Charlemagne himself is in a sense thy soldier.
It seemed at times as if a star guided thee,
And the peoples have beheld thee. O fruitful mother warrior,
Rebel against the double yoke that weighs upon the world,
Take up arms, bearing the dawn of day in thy mailed fists,
Against Cæsar a Hermann, against the pope a Luther.
Long, as the oak offers its boughs to the ivy,
Hast thou been the protectress of the ancient rights of the van-
quished.
As silver and lead are mixed in the brazen vessel,
So hast thou fused into one united and sovereign people
Twenty tribes, the Hun, the Dacian and the Sigambrian.
The Rhine gives thee gold, and the Baltic amber ;
Music is thy breath—soul, harmony, incense ;
In thy powerful hymns is heard
Now the eagle's cry and now the song of the lark.
Methinks I see in thy crumbling castles silhouettes
Of the dragon and warrior dimly discernible
In the thunder-capped mountains.
Naught is so fresh and charming as thy green fields ;
The fog breaks beneath the rays of the sun ;
Huddled under the wing of the manor, the hamlet sleeps,
And the maiden, leaning upon the cistern at evening,
With flaxen hair, is adorable and like unto the angels.
Like a temple built on strange pillars
Germany stands upon twenty dreary centuries,

And her splendor that proceeds from their shadows comes from them.

She has more heroes than Mount Athos has peaks.
On the threshold of the lofty clouds,
Where star and thunder meet, there Teutonia appears;
Her lances in the night are like a forest;
Above her head a clarion of victory
Resounds, and its message, ever the same, is her history.

In Thuringia, where Thor holds his lance ever ready,
Ganna, the druidess with disheveled hair, was wont to wander;
In the rivers whose waters roll in gleaming waves
The sirens sing, beings of half-womanly form;
And the Hartz haunted by Velleda, and the Taunus
Where Spillyra dried her bare feet in the grass,
Possess still the spell of austere and divine sadness
Which the prophetess cast in the deep woods.
By night, the Black Forest is a sinister Eden;
By moonlight, on the banks of the Neckar, the woods
Become, of a sudden, sonorous and alive with fairies.

O Teutons, your tombs are like unto trophies;
Your forefathers have sown but the bones of heroes;
Your laurels are everywhere; be proud, O Germans.
'Tis only the foot of Titans your sandal fits.
A striking tattoo, feudal glory
Gilds your helmets, emblazons your escutcheons.
As Rome has Cocles so you have Galgacus;
You have Beethoven as Greece has Homer.
Mighty is Germany and superb!

To France

Oh, my mother!

OPEN LETTERS FROM M. PAUL HYACINTHE LOYSON.*

I REGARD you, my dear Dr. Carus, as the very image of an honest man, than whom no one could have a broader mind—pantheist born of the Gospel, extending your benisons beyond every created thing, to every particle of the universe—in fine, a man of the most benignant and the least bellicose nature in the world. You were a very dear friend of my parents; you have continued bountifully to be the dear friend of my own family, even to the point of offering—you, a German-American, German by birth and environment—your eager mite to the hospital for military convalescents, for all soldiers returned from the front, which my wife has established in her home. This trait, like many others, does you credit, and I owe you my testimony of cordial esteem.

But I owe you also my reflections on the extraordinary campaign you have been waging with your pen in the United States ever since the outbreak of hostilities.

Many years ago, if I remember correctly, you once followed the soldier's calling in the land of your birth, then left the country as early as possible for a land where the air was freer, to escape the suffocation of autocracy. Years passed, the great war broke out, and you who, as we think and as you yourself doubtless believe, had attained the culture of the world not merely of one race—forthwith, instinctively, mechanically, you assume the position of a soldier in arms, clicking your heels and, at a blast from the bugle, commanding the assembly of all your forces, of all the arguments, of all the sharpest theses of Kaiserism let loose, to lead them forth in parade in serried ranks in your American magazine, which only yesterday was the organ of the most transcendent humanism, of the most rigorous criticism.

The case is typical and possesses historical value. As far as

* Translated for *The Open Court* by Lydia G. Robinson.

you are concerned I have just indicated my reasons; and it only remains for me to comment with regard to *The Open Court* whose title, it seems to me, ought to signify impartial judgment.

I have under my eyes one of your first war numbers, and I am compelled to admit that German propaganda organized in the United States—I mean only that which is most sincere, which owes nothing to Herr Dernburg—has produced nothing better nor more complete. On the cover, bearing the idyllic legend “Peace,” stands an old abandoned cannon garlanded with brambles and leaves in a Sleeping Beauty’s park, the obvious symbol of the pacific dream of Germany and of her state of unpreparedness for war which had been mechanically imposed upon her. Within the magazine there is a display of superb illustrations, and how eloquent in their contrasts! old Nuremberg drowsing in her calm, like Hans Sachs over his empty glass, and facing it some ugly sparrows from France, those aeroplanes you know, by which that city, so sacred to art, was bombarded before the declaration of war—in the German communications; then, impressive, menacing, the photograph of the pyramidal monument of the battle of Leipsic, all the massive weight of Teuton pride, yesterday’s victory, and to-morrow’s triumph; then, a Peter the Great, sullen, savage, insolent, slave-driver—recalling the repartee of Bernhardi; then, a delicious morsel, the ruins of Heidelberg castle destroyed by French atrocity, so revealed for the first time by your care—justification in advance for the vandalism at Louvain and Rheims; finally (the sting is in the tail), the reproduction of two of Verestschagin’s pictures—a Russian, gentlemen, let us bow before him!—one showing some moujiks shot by Napoleon’s troops, and the other some venerable Parsis bound to the mouth of English cannons. After all this, refuse, if you can, to believe in the fragile nature of the Triple Entente, of a separate peace with Russia and in the revolt of the Hindus.

As to the contents of the number it would be cruel to dig them up after seven months have passed. Since that time you have, I must confess, offered my wife the opportunity to reply, but she preferred to pass the pen on to me; you have accorded the same privilege to others who have exercised it in *The Open Court*. It is only just to you to take account of all this.

With due reserve and confidently I have set myself to guarantee a refutation from the course events have taken. Dare you claim that I am wrong?

Let us summarize:

Premeditation of the war since 1913 by Austria-Germany, proved (declarations in the Italian parliament of the unsuspecting Signor Giolitti, a personal friend of Herr von Bülow).

Absence of any effort on Germany's part to counsel moderation to Austria, proved (not one single piece in the German White Book convincing in this respect).

Persistent and sincere efforts of the Czar toward the Kaiser to avoid the catastrophe, including the offer of referring the litigation to the Hague tribunal, an offer rejected by Germany, proved (2d English White Book, in press).

Acceptance by Austria herself, the only interested party (July 30), thoroughly to discuss the Servian question directly with Russia, proved (Yellow Book, 104).

After that, the proposal by Russia to maintain an expectant attitude (July 31) provided that Austria should stop the advance of her troops in Servia while continuing to occupy the country, and the acceptance of this proposal by Austria who informed her German ally of it, followed by the intervention of Germany who, seeing war about to escape her, hurled her crushing ultimatum at Russia in order to make war inevitable, proved (Orange Book, 67; Blue Book, 135).

Immediately thereafter, the violation by Germany of Belgian neutrality by scorning the "scrap of paper" as well as the law of nations, proved (cynical admission of Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg at the meeting of the Reichstag on August 4, considerably *prior* to the alleged discovery at Brussels of pseudo-documents relating to an Anglo-Belgian military convention).

Thereafter, disloyalties, atrocities, vandalisms of every kind—the whole lyre of Nero vibrating in full chord: the whole country set on fire and put to the sword, civilians pushed before soldiers, massacres of populations who would have been perfectly justified in defending themselves by improvising resistance (Convention of The Hague, article 3); amplification of the method, war taxes, ransom of slaughtered victims, burning of the library of Louvain, bombardment of the cathedral of Rheims, bombardment of Notre Dame de Paris, bombardment of English watering places, every sort of raids by Zeppelins and aeroplanes, torpedoing of neutral cargoes, of fishing smacks, even of passenger boats as in the case of the *Falaba* and *Lusitania*, without warning, without safety for the passengers; besides various interludes of incendiary shells, of villages destroyed, of the destruction of all the churches, of the

removal of furniture to Germany,¹ of populations transported bodily, of false accounts of murders, of disguises in the uniforms of our armies, of the bombardment of ambulances, etc. . . . ; then in distant lands the secret accompaniment of *Deutschland über Alles* by the allies of your "intellectuals," massacres of Servian women by Austrians, hecatombs of Armenians under the cutlasses of the Turks³ etc., etc., and finally, to crown all these splendors, an artificial fire of German chemicals, burning tar, flaming petroleum in the open European battle-field, apotheosis of *Kultur* carried to the throne of the "old German god" on a cloud of asphyxiating gas!

Result:

The loss to Germany of the little sympathy that she could still count on among the neutrals: a sudden change on the part of Scandinavia, shuddering on the part of Holland, the awakening of Germanic Switzerland to the voice of the poet Spittelter, the impatience of Greece and the Balkan states, the emancipation of the United States from your tutillage by the humiliating defeat of your Germanizing candidate for the mayoralty in Chicago—head-quarters of the Kaiser—then a clamor of indignation, of stupor and of rage against your marine assassins; the expulsion of Dernburg, threatening war; the expulsion of Bülow, strengthening war; Italy disdaining to be bought off and deciding for all nations on which side is Justice, entering the fray against the enemy of the human race with head held high; in short, literally the entire world, the whole of the thinking element of the planet, aroused with disgust and anger against your Germany, a moral blockade for a hundred years established around her by her own actions, a circle of fire of her own devastations, a circle of ice of our contempt. There you have it!

Dear Paul Carus, the article you devoted to the war immediately following upon its outbreak closes with these words: "I am open to conviction. . . . and in case I shall have to change my views I promise to confess my errors openly and without reluctance."

May your reason tell you if this hour has come for you. Your conscience is noble enough to keep your word to-day.

In this expectation and while greeting you with the pen on the other shore of the ocean of blood with which Prussia has in-

¹ The excess sold in neutral countries, as announced in the journal of Georg Brandes, the *Politiken* of Copenhagen.

² Inquiry on the spot by M. Reiss, professor at the University of Lausanne, Armand Colin, publisher.

³ Dispatches from Greece.

undated the world, I beg of you to forward my postscript to one of your fellow workers.

* * *

To His Excellence Ernst Haeckel,

Professor at the University of Jena.

Dear Master:—

Before conferring immortality on the “Manifesto of the Ninety-three” by affixing to it your signature, eminent above all the others—a sun eclipsing the stars—you deigned to publish in October 1914 in *The Open Court* of Dr. Carus an article entitled “England’s Blood-Guilt in the World War.” By an inconceivable mischance these pages, dropped from the august pen of the most genial of Germany’s scholars, did not compel the attention of Europe. Permit the most humble of your admirers to put a tardy end to this scandal and to bear the echo of your illustrious words to the ears of the allied nations for their confusion and their profit—I mean for their initiation into the critical methods of that *Kultur* of which you yourself are the Zeus.

Page 581, line 3. “The parliament and the press of the hostile Triple Entente, the English, French and Russian newspapers, are endeavoring at present, but in vain, to throw the whole blame [of the war] upon Germany. The falsity of this accusation is so patent to every one who knows the facts that it needs no refutation.”

What a pity, O Master, that you who are acquainted with the facts have not refuted the error for us who are the dupes of ignorance! But the oracle of Olympus is enough. The *Kultur* dispenses with any discussion, and it is also well that you do not discuss it.

Page 582, line 32. You recognize that the invasion of neutral Belgium by German troops *preceded* the declaration of war from England to Germany.

Page 583, line 30 you write: “On the 4th of August the fate of the entire world hung in the balance. It was in England’s power and in that of her government and parliament, in their epoch making decision, to cast the die for peace, justice and right, or to cast it for war, crime and evil.” Permit me to elucidate the meaning of the oracle as it appeared to the obtuse eyes of civilized men: “Justice and right” would approve the violation of Belgium by your troops; “crime and evil” would oppose it. Let us prostrate ourselves in silence before the mystery of German reasoning.

I shall continue our initiation.

Page 584, line 10: "Yet serious as this war would have been [against Russia and France], we should still have had every hope of victory....By England's declaration of war against us, however, on August 4, the political and strategic situation was entirely changed. Now we are compelled to carry on a death struggle on three frontiers....For this reason—through England's fault alone—the dreaded European war has grown to a universal world war of unprecedented extent."

Gloss for the allied barbarians: A war which, without the intervention of England, deals with but a paltry twenty millions of men—Germans, Russians, Austrians, French, Belgians, Serbs and Montenegrins—but with the advantage considerably on the side of Germany, was nothing more than "small beer" as long as it was Germany who guzzled the stein. The abomination first commenced with the unseemly jest of John Bull being about to take the stein from Germany's lips.

Master, our initiation is progressing. That all may see the marvel of Germanic science doubled by a prescience truly divine, I shall simply note what you announce on page 586, line 16; namely, that Germany can count for her victory on "powerful allies" from "Canada and Ireland, India and Australia, Egypt and South Africa." Indeed we are informed, as you have prophesied, that all these colonies have levied on us. It is Wilhelmstrasse that tells you that they are levied against their cruel mother Albion.

And I finally come, O Master, to the finest gem of your casket, to the sacred jewel of your treasures, which I have extracted with trembling hands from the tabernacle of *Kultur*, to present it to the crowd with eyes closed from dizziness and mystical communion.

Nations, prostrate yourselves and give heed:

Page 581, line 38: *Russia* having in the beginning of August opened the attack on the mid-European Triple Alliance and, in fact, having been the *first to declare war*...."

and page 584, line 8 (for it is necessary that you engrave the fact by a second incision in the granite of eternal history): "when Russia in the beginning of August *declared war on Germany*."⁴

O speaker of truth! O redeemer! O victor! Under your liberating impulse—new Samson with blinded eyes—falls the temple

⁴This thesis of the eminent Professor Haeckel was taken up and proclaimed officially by his majesty the King of Bavaria in June, 1915, after ten months of war. Wonderful discipline in executing the word of command! Truth will always find a way.

of lies erected by the multi-colored books, including the German White Book, in which may be read the fraudulent statement that it was his majesty the Kaiser who declared war on the Czar (White Book 26).

Master, let us not sound the depths of this mystery. Are you unaware of the circumstances which precipitated the war? Did your suspicious Kaiser conceal them from you at the time you wrote before the appearance of the White Book? Do you indeed still hope to impose by your word on the wandering American tribes? What is the use! What is the use!

You, the father of the ninety-three, the forefather of German science, Method made Man, Criticism made God, Exactness of infinite detail in the magnificence of the All, you the dethroner of Spinoza, the vanquisher of Hegel, the restorer of the Valhalla of the great Pan-Teuton, "your Excellency Ernst Haeckel, professor of zoology at the University of Jena," you have erected in this article to the supreme glory of *Kultur* an imperishable monument, more massive and more overwhelming than that of the battle of Leipsic!

PAUL HYACINTHE LOYSON.

[The writer of these letters, M. Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, is well known in France as a poet and writer, and is active in several reform movements of the day, being an advocate of international peace, republican ideals and the humanizing of the state. His parents, the late Father Hyacinthe Loyson, an eminent orator and theologian, and his gifted wife, Mme. Loyson, were familiar to readers of *The Open Court*, and were prominent because of their stand for Catholic reform. The story of the unique journey which they made through Northern Africa and Asia Minor for the purpose of studying Mohammedanism and bringing about a better understanding between monotheistic faiths, is interestingly told in their book, *To Jerusalem, Through the Lands of Islam*.

We also publish on the following pages another criticism of the editorial position by C. Marsh Beadnell, Fleet Surgeon, an officer of the British Royal Navy. We reserve our answer to both of our critics for a subsequent number of *The Open Court*.—ED.]

THE "OPEN MIND" IN "THE OPEN COURT."

BY C. MARSH BEADNELL.

The only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity and to create examples which by their frightfulness would be a warning to the whole country. (The Kaiser.)

During the last ten months the Editor of *The Open Court* has vehemently protested that his attitude is not anti-British but, "in a sense, pro-British," in fact, that he "loves the English nation"; he has stated that he has investigated the conditions and motives which led to the war with sincere impartiality, that if refuted by good sound arguments or by real facts he will confess his errors openly and without reluctance. It will be interesting to place on record the manner in which Mr. Paul Carus gives expression to his pro-British sympathies, exhibits impartiality of judgment and fulfils his promises. In the very first number of *The Open Court* devoted to the war we find, out of some seventy odd pages, sixty-six avowedly anti-British, fifty of which are contributed by Mr. Carus himself. This fair-minded editor is also at great pains to reproduce, by means of two full-page illustrations, paintings by Verestchagin, one depicting Indians lashed to cannon and entitled by the artist "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth," the other, French grenadiers shooting Russian peasants inside a church. The connection between these bygone events and the present war is best known to the just and judicious mind of Mr. Carus. Let us assume, however, that his object in doing so was—of course I may be wronging him here—to put France and England in a bad light, and that his disinterment of these long defunct and now somewhat putrid corpses has been for the purpose of distracting attention from certain incidents much more pertinent and nearer home, then his argument amounts to this: In the past "A" and "B" did wrong to "C" and "D," therefore "G" is justified in now wronging "A"

and "B." Being so strictly impartial Mr. Carus will certainly require, for some future number of *The Open Court*, two more pictures to counterbalance those in the October one, let me therefore submit for his favorable consideration two of topical and current interest—there are others in stock should these not prove acceptable. To avoid any misunderstanding I purposely pass by the sinking of the *Lusitania* with her freight of passengers including women and children, for it is possible Mr. Carus may, like other Germans, regard that "incident" as one of the most glorious of the war. I therefore select, as my first scene, a burning farm at Weerde; close by a mother, writhing in mental agony, her two little children, three and four years old, have been murdered before her eyes and are being flung from the bayonets into the flames. Scene two discloses a cosy little farmstead at Haecht; to the door of the house is nailed by its tiny hands and feet, a two or three year old infant, and in the garden lies the body of a little girl shot through the forehead. These are two of hundreds of such scenes, some so shocking that they will not bear mention on paper; they are fully established by evidence taken by Lord Bryce's Committee. No doubt Mr. Carus will endeavor to extenuate such "incidents" by saying they merely prove the eruption of a certain amount of indiscipline among the troops which is inseparable from all warfare. Then listen to the words of the Bryce Committee: "Murder, lust and pillage prevailed. . . . on a scale unparalleled in any war between civilized nations during the last three centuries. It was to the discipline rather than to the want of discipline that these outrages were due. . . ."

The war must be conducted as ruthlessly as possible, since only then, in addition to the material danger, is the necessary terror spread.—General von Bernhardt.

We pass on to the November issue; in this Mr. Carus lifts wholesale a pro-German letter contributed to the *Vossische Zeitung* by an Englishman. This gentleman's Englishry may be gauged from the following remarks: "There are English, to be sure, who prefer to go home, but nearly all those whom I know, prefer to remain here (Berlin) because they know they are living in a truly civilised country. . . . Every Britisher who knows Germany, her love of peace and her desire for justice, is indignant at England's quixotic policy." Two articles by Paul Carus also figure in this number; in "War on War" he deftly drags in more comments on "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth." In "Poor Belgium" he excuses Germany's burglarious onslaught by the totally unwarrantable and oft-refuted

statement that, prior to the burglary, Belgium had herself already committed a breach of neutrality. Then, as though fearing the transparency of such equivocation, he asks this silly riddle: "Why did the Belgian people show hostility to Germany when the Luxemburg people behaved like peaceful citizens?" And this from one who has written extensively on "the nature of thought" and "the mind of man"!

We proceed to the December number in which we find over 13 pages (excluding a full-page illustration) devoted to the inventor of those great gas bags whose principal role up to the present has been the slaughtering of women and babies in unfortified towns. Out of 62 pages, despite the repeated protest of "I am not anti-British," 52 contain attacks on the British. The remaining ten pages consist of an English view of Anglo-German relationship copied from a *Saturday Review* of nearly 20 years ago and a pro-English article to which latter the Editor, lest it should unduly impress any readers, is careful to add his own comments thereon together with a reproach addressed to its author. Of the 52 pro-German pages, 37 are contributed by the Editor and in these he makes the wildest accusations against the Serbs of officially practising assassination, insinuates that the Crown Prince of Servia was implicated in the assassination of the Arch Duke, accuses Russia of encouraging Servia to fight her enemies by means of assassinations, and states that he *knows* Germany had positive information that the French intended to advance into Germany through Belgium. Even were these accusations true, which they are not, they strike one as extremely pharisaical coming from an ex-officer of a Saxon artillery regiment who, it may be presumed, was and is conversant with the following frank expression of opinion in the German War Book: "International Law is by no means opposed to the exploitation of the crimes of third parties (assassination, incendiarism, robbery and the like) to the prejudice of the enemy."

In the January number for this year are two articles, embracing eight and a half pages pleading the cause of the allies, but a frantic effort is made in nine and a half pages of editorial anti-British comments to swamp any effect these articles might have on readers. In this number we have the sorry spectacle of the editor of a magazine devoted to the purification of religion making use of an argument like the following: "The famous German chant of hatred proves that whereas the German fight against France and Russia is a sportsmanlike affair—a shot for a shot and a blow for a blow—England is blamed as giving a shot in the back" (*sic*). Once

again he trots out the refuted statement that England did not intend to respect Belgian neutrality, and flings a conjoint accusation at these two countries of having desired to expunge Germany. An American sympathizer with Germany who, however, declines to allow his name to appear, contributes an article, and at the end of the magazine a Mr. Kampmeier—note the name—proves to his own, and doubtless the Editor's, satisfaction, the "Preconcerted Arrangements of the Allies." The very illustrations in this number display the bitterness of spirit with which Mr. Carus is obsessed and whereby he is blinded to all sense of fairness. There is a full-page illustration of General von Hindenburg followed by two half-page ones of German soldiers distributing food to the poor of Belgium, each, of course, accompanied by laudatory remarks. Then comes a half-page photograph of Lord Roberts inspecting recruits in Langley Park. Now our strictly impartial Editor might have made a few remarks in harmony with those pertaining to the German general and soldiers or he might have held his peace, but he did neither; instead he tells us that the appearance of the troops is not very favorable, they seem undersized and underfed, merely "food for powder." In the same number is the parrot-cry, "I am not anti-British.... I am in a sense pro-British."

The more unmerciful the conduct of war, the more merciful it is in reality, for the war is thereby sooner ended.—General von Hindenburg.

In the February issue Mr. Carus appears to be trying to adjust the disproportionate space hitherto accorded the philo-Germans, for he actually gives 30 pages of pro-British views to eleven of the opposite. In this number we see the same old statement concerning the state burglary and the same old excuses—they are getting as inevitable as the Derby dog; but harken to the manner of argument, he says, "I have maintained that, in view of the fact that she was threatened with an invasion through Belgium, Germany was justified in attempting a passage through this no longer neutral territory.... Since we know that England herself had intended to break into Germany through Belgium, Germany's action is perfectly justified." What superfine logic! A little further on Mr. Carus hugs himself with delight over the vaporings of a couple of anonymous German professors and selects some choice tit-bits for our delectation; these are so appropriate (!) to a magazine edited by a German, founded by a German, and devoted to the "establishment of religion and ethics on a scientific basis," that I will reproduce them. "We pity

the French and are sorry that the Belgians were so misguided; we regret that our men have to pit their lives against the Cossacks, but we feel a positive hostility towards the English." Presumably the Belgians so far have been experiencing what the Prussians—who never did have any sense of humor—would call "negative hostility." The other professor in this strain: "There is but one enemy, and that is England. She is not only our enemy, but the enemy of mankind. You have not the slightest idea of the hatred which moves all Germany. England is the instigator of the whole war and of all the unspeakable misery which has been brought not only upon innocent Germany but also upon the Belgians and French.... Every peasant knows this.... so that for centuries the deadliest hatred against England will remain the most sacred inheritance in every German family to be handed down from father to son.... All the ambition (of our armies) burns for a humiliation of England.... Nothing, is more apparent than the degeneration of that ruthless nation...." and so on *ad nauseam*.

Inexorability and seemingly hideous callousness are among the attributes necessary to him who would achieve great things in war.—General von der Goltz.

Concerning the March and April numbers there is little to say. An anti-British letter of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's to the *Continental Times* is reproduced in the latter and eulogized by the editor as being written by "one who knows whereof he speaks." An English view of the war by G. Sarton, capped, of course, by an editorial putting forth the German view, appears in the May number. The editor here complains that his opponents treat him as though his views were biased; "I am not anti-British" he indignantly protests. Unfortunately the July number has not yet arrived in this country, it will be interesting to see, when it does, whether Mr. Carus will be open-minded enough to acknowledge that the information he culled of Dr. Conybeare was mistaken, seeing that that gentleman has now made in the *Times* a public recantation of, and apology for, his attack on England's ministers.

With each succeeding number of *The Open Court* Mr. Carus falls more deeply under the spell of self-hypnotism. By the constant repetition of statements he would like to be true, he has come to believe they are true. And the futility of his mode of reasoning! Listen! "If the Germans had been assured that Belgium's neutrality would have been respected by the other powers they would have had the great advantage of having to protect only their short and

well-defended frontier. The neutrality of Belgium....would actually have been of great advantage to Germany. Why then did she not keep it, but instead break it deliberately and ruthlessly?" This baffles all comment. One can only say, "Oh! Belgium! Belgium! How could you do such a thing?"

Above all you must inflict on the inhabitants of invaded towns the maximum of suffering....You must leave the people through whom you march nothing but their eyes to weep with.—Bismarck.

I think I have said enough to show that Mr. Carus has not exhibited impartiality nor fought his opponents with fairness. Indeed, he has not fought them at all; with infinite care and patience he has gone the round of the dustbins and collected together bits of rag and straw from which he has constructed effigies. Having stuck these about the stage he has worked himself into an orgy of fury, hurled himself at his dummies and knocked the stuffing out of them, and then, turning round to his audience has cried, "There! Look what I've done!" The whole of Mr. Carus's arguments can be boiled down to:

1. I, Paul Carus, am of the opinion that England intended to commit a dastardly act.
2. Therefore it is proved England intended to commit a dastardly act.
3. Therefore Germany is quite justified in having committed an act which it has been fully proved England had determined to perform.
4. Therefore this act which Germany was forced by England to commit becomes, in view of the serious disadvantage under which it has placed Germany, a righteous and self-denying one.

One of the original objects of *The Open Court* was to prove the existence of an all-just God and to purify religion, yet its very editor sullies its pages by commending to his readers German eulogies of hate. Personally I have no interest either in the Editor's intimacy with, or his patronization of, the Deity, but I should like to quote two of his arguments merely to show their invalidity. He says, "The men of England who have advocated the war....have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, that sin which can never be forgiven." In another place he argues thus: God is not neutral as a rule but is on the side of the stronger battalions, nevertheless

he sometimes sides with the weaker against the stronger....“God favors the weaker side if it is led by intelligence and, as it were, promises to promote by its victory the cause of mankind....God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her.” When an editor who poses as a philosopher and thinker can descend to a mode of reasoning such as the above, we cease to wonder that in *The Open Court* he upholds a German code of ethics which makes black white, twists a wrong into a right, heaps contempt on a principle which insists that written pledges and obligations should be kept inviolate until formally and openly disavowed, and lauds a principle that regards promises of any kind as so much piecrust.

The Germans have robbed the profession of arms of every vestige of humanity. They murdered peace, now they are murdering war. They have made out of it a monstrosity too evil to survive.—M. Anatole France.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM.

BY FRANK MACDONALD.

AMERICAN socialists have added greatly to the volume of talk on the war without adding appreciably to the sum of real knowledge. Some blandly assume that the socialists themselves are responsible, that a moral breakdown occurred, that the International failed the first time it was put to a worthy test, or that terrified and trembling capitalism, appalled by the onswEEPing whirlwind of socialism, steered half a score of ships of state upon the rocks rather than permit them to fall into the hands of a new crew.

This is claiming for the socialists a strength and resourcefulness they never had. The other accepted causes, the Kaiser, the Czar, the mailed fist of Germany, the now armored wooden walls of England, the impending breakup of the Dual Monarchy, the hot water habits of Russia, Pan-Slavism, expansion, colonies, territorial acquisition by force or through diplomacy, served as subject matter for long, exciting, acrimonious debates, which went far and at high speed toward nowhere. They also gave the ever welcome excuse to neglect affairs at home.

Our first task when we were certain the Kaiser was not bluffing in order to get increased military appropriations, or that it was not a ruse on the part of the Czar to cover up some particularly murderous act by the Black Hundreds, was to fix the blame on some party, some class, or some fraction of a party or class. Financial capital, our devil of devils, could not alone be held responsible for precipitating the war to wring increased dividends. The ruin was too wide and inclusive for that. Monarchs could not easily be shown guilty of seeking mere military glory. But we were articulate before we were thoroughly enlightened, and many instantly decided that one or another or all of the great European socialist parties had sorely blundered. We differ in fixing the blame, thus showing in our own case, though we are a single nation, that lack of harmony

we believe should have existed among the national units of the European socialist movement. In the face of this state of affairs it seems almost a certainty that we shall once more come through the crisis with all our delusions intact.

We deal in futures. Consequently the first action of our national executive committee was to extend to our warring comrades an invitation to attend an international peace and unity congress in Washington as soon as previous engagements (on the battlefield) would permit. With all the tasks before us, with plenty of work to be done at home, we concluded that it would be well for socialists to come together and talk things over. The period fixed for that gathering is the one in which the nations, victors and vanquished alike, will be prostrate and bleeding. Every man, and above all every socialist, will be sorely needed to bring order out of chaos, bind up the wounds of war and set the social machine once more running. Delegates to congresses are supposed to be picked individuals. Thus the folly of asking them to abandon their pressing obligations at home and come to this country to talk over affairs in general is apparent.

Socialists desperately opposed the war and were unsuccessful. They are now fighting in the war as citizens of their respective countries. The hardest test will come when the war is over and reconstruction begins. What it is to be, how it is to be done and whether on a higher or lower plane than existed before the war rests in a large degree on that force which the socialists are able to exert and on the practicability of our measures. We have not yet been weighed, but we are going to be. The European comrades understood this and politely declined our invitation to a congress.

We should profit by their example. Each national group has so far acted a wise and honorable part. Though we opposed war we were only a feeble voice crying in the wilderness of bayonets. Our strongest unit, the German Social Democrats, voted in the Reichstag for the war budget, though in conference there was a strong minority opposed to going on record for or against. It was courageous and it was as truly facing the facts as the action of the Belgians in hurling themselves on the invaders and the French in rallying to the tricolor. The German Social Democracy is as much the product and expression of German industrialism and social organization as the German army. Antipodal and antagonistic as these two bodies are, nevertheless they show different phases of the national life. Their strength and thoroughness come from the same sources. The rest of the world paid the Social Democracy the

greatest possible tribute in looking to it as a check to the army. It was inevitable, however, in the hour of national peril that the German army and the German Social Democracy should be united in one solid body, the German people.

Competing nations have faced one another in the battle for markets. Side by side with the industrial army and the industrial army's political manifestation, the socialists, have been the soldiers, the modern armed salesmen of the manufacturers. We have been accustomed to look in awe and reverence to the German Social Democracy because of its greatness, solid organization and tremendous equipment in newspapers, expounders, organizers, parliamentarians and industrial leaders. It is an army similarly organized that was thrown into the battlefield. The purpose of an army is no longer the aggrandizement of princes but the protection and fostering of those interests which control the productive forces of a nation. When these interests are threatened or choked the armies must fight. Our conception of right or wrong, justice or injustice, does not influence the fact. The hideous murderous conflict, with all the millions of agonized human beings involved, will be settled by economic might.

In practice the rights of the weak have never been regarded. It is only a recent theory that the weak have rights, but that theory cannot be effective until economic conditions square with it. Naturally they cannot square without a revolution in the control of social productive machinery.

It must be remembered that, essentially, this "right of might" so savagely proclaimed by the German militarists is a rephrasing of our own socialist economic determinism. It is no more hideous and repulsive than the facts from which it springs, and our reluctance to admit it is balanced by our reluctance to admit its origin.

What makes us aghast and numb at the spectacle of the present war is that it is fratricidal instead of merely homicidal. We are by race descended from the nations involved. They have lived side by side, and in late years have freely traveled from land to land, and there has been much intermarriage. But each nation was an armed camp and each frontier a rampart. The move by the Germans was staggering. It was not unexpected, for it was due to the same causes that have driven them beyond their borders before, that led them to exterminate the Britons and beget the English, to amalgamate with the inhabitants of France and become the French people, that has sent the English to the ends of the earth in search of ever more territory and power, and that has now started

the glacier of Russian humanity toward the southern seas. When a million people invade our country we advise them to take out their first papers. Western Europe cannot do it. On the contrary they must find new lands or new markets. Such is their destiny under capitalism. The righteousness in every event is decided by the outcome, and not all the misery inflicted, outrages committed and hopes shattered can change it. We feel and suffer. Hundreds of thousands blindly die, and there is no individual justice. It is little consolation, by their ruined homes, to know—

“.....in the end the lie shall rot;
The truth is great and shall prevail—
When none cares whether it prevail or not.”

It is for a complete overthrow of such conditions that the socialist movement is organized. We hold that productive science is advanced to the point where ample means of livelihood should be accessible, and that the only thing standing in the way of complete and lasting peace is the private ownership of socially operated machinery.

Hitherto we have based much of our propaganda and most of our expectations on internationalism. National hatreds might exist; the socialists the world over were in accord. In August, when the war started, we were to have held our congress in Vienna. To-day our anti-monarchists, whether socialists, syndicalists or anarchists, are in the armies of the Allies fighting their brothers in the armies of Germany and Austria. Peter Kropotkin, greatest of the anarchist-communists, is at last in agreement with George Plechanoff, whose *Anarchism and Socialism* is one of our standard volumes against anarchy. Jules Guesde, who in the Paris congress of 1900 led the denunciation of Millerand's acceptance of a portfolio from Waldeck-Rousseau, is now in the cabinet with Millerand and with Briand, whose earlier advocacy of direct action and the general strike he strenuously fought. The anti-militarist Gustav Herve fights as enthusiastically with his pen as do Robert Blatchford and Henry M. Hyndman, who these many months have proclaimed that England must prepare for the onslaught of Germany.

Yes, European socialists are united on the side of their own countries. As far as we have unity here it is as partisans, and in our absorption in events on the other side of the ocean many of us are neglecting our own affairs at home.

It is plain that what has unified the national groups in this hour of combat is the rediscovery of patriotism, the reawakened love of

native land and home and the unconquerable impulse to defend them.

Again it is the right of might, economic determinism, that impels them. They could no more keep out of this awful deluge of blood than they could keep out of the hideous grind of industrialism. The world has no onlookers, neutrals or calm and impartial critics, when such a test comes. The socialist Reichstag members might have refused to vote the budget, Emil Vandervelde might have kept out of the Belgian and Jules Guesde out of the French cabinet, and still have gone to war. To do so would have been as hypocritical as it would have been suicidal for the French syndicalists to have precipitated a general strike, or for the followers of Pouget and Sorel to have advocated sabotage on the French implements of war. Theories spike no guns in a crisis like this.

The greatest of industrial machines, those of England and Germany, were breaking down long before the war came. There have been plenty of indications that they would. The recent strikes, the nature of proposed social legislation, the rush to organize armies and build up navies and to form new diplomatic alliances, show the coming trouble. We had looked for a peaceful readjustment and the arbitration of various points. We should have known that national antagonisms to-day take the form of strife for trade outlets, and no nation willingly arbitrates such things, for there is always the fear of conceding something. Our socialist movement seeks a new basis of operation. We were opposed by the dominant classes of England and France as bitterly as we were in Germany. Our opposition to militarism in each land was derided for the same reasons. We had the fatalistic feeling that war must be the arbiter under existing conditions, and in striving to end war we began by striving to end these conditions. We failed completely to do so, and this only intensifies real socialist activity for we now face the greatest task, that of settlement.

Our country is not aside from the path of trouble. We spend only a quarter of a billion dollars a year on army and navy. This represents the amount our government feels called upon to pay for our "place in the sun." By the grace of nature we have one of the happiest on earth. But we are convinced, to the extent of a quarter of a billion dollars, that we may be called upon to defend it from those who would push us from it.

Nietzsche, who possessed such a fiendish faculty of pointing out the obvious that to some he is forever accursed, says: "And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the peacemakers; but I say

unto you, Blessed are the warmakers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Jehovah, the children of Odin, who is greater than Jehovah."

It is self-evident. We have more generals, colonels, majors, admirals and captains in the world than priests, and we spend more money for war than for religion. Giving is the test of sincerity in worship, and willingness to submit to taxation is the measure of faith in the objects for which the tax is levied. To the gods whom we would propitiate or from whom we expect benefactions, we make the greater sacrifices. As we give much, even in times of peace, to the God of War, we must believe in his power. We spend one-half as much for war as we spend for schools, and that we do not spend more is because our militarists are not strong enough to exact it. If we kept to European standards we would spend it and send our children from their schools and their churches, where they heard the message of peace and brotherhood, to the armies where they would learn scientifically to kill.

We cannot organize armies to exterminate the armies of those who believe in war. Our method is to restore to all the people control over the things that now constitute the spoils of war. To do this we must begin at home, and there must be sound, intelligent and just nationalism before internationalism will be anything more than a dream. A belief in socialism does not put us outside the psychology of our nation, as is strikingly seen in the case of our Jewish comrades in America. Though even in Russia they were outsiders, were persecuted and saw thousands of their race murdered and were finally whipped forth from the land, many still turn now in hope for success in Russia, because they believe such success means a lightening of the burden carried by their people. While such hopes may be illusory they have never been extinguished in the hearts of men.

American socialists must, for their part, discover or rediscover patriotism before they can make a beginning. In sound nationalism lies unity of action and that conviction of righteousness which is the supreme element in religion. We are not and never have been spiritually dead. The materialistic philosophy of socialism is a splendid foundation for true religion, though sometimes it leads to the acceptance of fantastic creeds instead of sound beliefs. We have been leaders in spiritual hopes and aspirations, and our faith has been boundless; still we have been mole-blind to material things in spite of our philosophy. We have fed fat on windy abstractions and have earnestly spun the clouds of our dreams. But this big

socialist movement is now in the position of the crowd in Hans Andersen's little story of the deceitful tailors. We see our King Abstractions has not as many clothes on as the law and the state of the social weather require.

The first great requisite for progress and improvement is that of learning to mind our own business. We have attended beautifully to many things that did not concern us. Now we might as well pause in the settlement of affairs in Europe and look at things here at home.

As an organized body what is our influence on the growth of the socialist sentiment in this country? We had over 900,000 votes in the last presidential election and we have 82,000 party members, many of them women without votes, or non-citizens. We lost one-third of that vote in 1914. All our socialist papers, including the largest, have not for their daily, weekly and monthly circulation much over 700,000 copies regularly. Making all allowance for duplications, wasted copies and those read by non-socialists, we must conclude that an amazing number of socialist voters are not in touch with the socialist press. They may read a pamphlet, a book or a magazine article now and then or listen to a socialist talk, but this is scarcely sufficient to establish a common basis of understanding or bring about uniformity of action.

We are far from uniformity. On the Pacific coast socialists are as much under the spell of the "yellow peril" as other people are. On the Mexican border affairs on the other side are the supreme question. In the South is the fear of the negro. Socialists in the industrial centers have no comprehension at all of what is needed in rural communities. We presented a revolutionary program and nearly a million people were sufficiently drawn to it to cast their vote for it. Such a vote involves the most solemn responsibility, and to meet it we must begin by knowing America first.

I have met some of our nominees who did not know for what office they were running, the district they were supposed to represent, the simple geography of their district or the names of their opponents. Democrats and Republicans were rhetorical figures of speech or impersonations of evils to be remedied. While this may have been satisfactory to us it carried no conviction to many of those who listen to us. They were incredulous of our ability to improve conditions because they often sensed the fact that we took no pains to find out what were the actual conditions to be remedied. Still socialist sentiment grew and spread so rapidly that we must

awaken to the fact that there are forces outside ourselves making for it and that it is we who must catch up.

We have especially failed to make any real impression on the trade unions. Neither the conservative nor the radical bodies look with much favor on us. Our members are of varying degrees of wealth and training, and socialism has had an especially strong attraction for professional men and women. The comedy battle between "proletarians" and "intellectuals" has had one strange aspect. The "intellectuals" have generally swung to the side of the radical or revolutionary trade unions and worked for the organization of the unskilled or the unorganized. This action, which may be the outcome of keener insight than is possessed by most, is not so considered by the conservative members of skilled trades.

These workers believe that such advocacy of the cause of the unskilled, or "playing their game," is not born of real sympathy but of an inherent antagonism between the "intellectual" and the organized skilled worker. The pose of condescending can be maintained toward the unskilled and criminally underpaid, whereas the skilled worker often meets the "intellectual" as his economic equal. He considers, further, that his equipment as a worker is of as high an order as that which is obtained in college, and he refuses to be "uplifted" unless the uplifting is done by himself. Furthermore he distrusts the "intellectual" who fights the conservative unions as one who is in revolt as a pastime or who is looking for adventure or copy, while he, the skilled worker, is in a grim fight to defend his economic position and advance it where he can. Consequently he resents what he believes to be an attempt, not to raise the standard of the unskilled workers, but to pull himself down. It is undoubtedly a mistaken belief, but we have not convinced the unionists that it does not exist.

We, more than most people, have groaned under the tyranny of words and the absolutism of print. The war offers an excellent chance to scrap our old vocabulary and send much of our literature to that supreme editor, the old-paper handler. Our failure in some instances is explained by ourselves on the ground that our ultimate object is so great that we cannot do anything now. It is similar to the explanation of the complete lack of success of one of our speakers that his inability to make any impression on his audiences was because he knew so much they could not understand him.

Whether or not we trust our European comrades to settle their own affairs, and settle them in their own lauds, makes no difference. They are going to do it in any event and without help or hindrance

from us. At the same time we might take a lesson from them and begin a study of our own problems. Two years ago one person in each one hundred of our population was a Socialist voter. One out of each sixteen persons who voted in the presidential election cast his ballot for the Socialist candidates. This surely should give us enough work to do, for socialist sentiment has increased and socialist claims are being more and more closely studied. In order to make good we must have an American movement. Membership in the International is not enough and generalities no longer suffice.

Whatever may be the effect otherwise of the war on the socialist movement, of one thing we may be assured. The nihilism inherent in all Russian philosophy will in a large measure oppose the highly organized and many-officered German Social Democracy. Long before the war there was a revolt in Germany itself against the machinery of the socialist organization. Paid party secretaries were usually the delegates to national conventions and international congresses. The great body of editors, organizers, lecturers and writers constituted the officialdom of a party state within the German nation. It is not probable that success could have been won on any other lines. It is likewise inevitable that the success of such a body should create a movement for its disruption and destruction. The philosophy underlying such a form of organization is in all ways Germanic. The contrary philosophy of social revolution is of the Russian nihilistic school. It centers largely in Switzerland, and the booming of the opening guns of battle had scarcely died into an echo when the exiles in Switzerland began pointing out the defects in the German form.

National extremity has for the time being merged all the socialist groups with the other people. When the pressure is removed they will again become distinct political factors. They cannot be what they were before and it is certain there will be a fight of a nature similar to the memorable battle between the Marxists and the Bakuninists in the reorganization of the parties.

We may stand aside from this if we wish. Probably we shall not. Our American Socialist party is a gathering of fragments, some of them discordant, and has within it tendencies that are the product of European, not American, conditions. The Socialist party in order to claim the right to existence must meet the needs of this country. It must be patriotic.

True patriotism is not jingoistic, nor does it declare for "my country right or wrong." It is no longer an argument in denun-

ciation to shout that "this is worse than Russia," for evidently the people of Russia have found the country one for which they can valiantly fight. Her exiled children, Jews, Finns, Poles, and Letts turn in hope to her. Outrage and exile have not killed their nationalism, and persecution could not stifle the identity of their real interests with the interests of the vast body of people in their country. It is still their country even when they are driven from it and they can no more help thinking in terms of its interests than they can help talking in the accents of its speech even to the end. It is a patriotism they denied and they believed did not exist. Here it is in them as in all others when the great crisis comes.

To say that our socialists must be American means that socialists here, like all other people in this country, are affected by American conditions and those conditions are the great concern. We hope to make a better world. The place to begin is in our own street, and from there we can extend our influence to Washington and thence to the rest of the world.

Sound nationalism is the only safe foundation for internationalism. The work of a Socialist party in this period of transformation and readjustment of necessity can be nothing other than a juster use of existing social and governmental machinery. The few victories we have so far won have been because of the belief by the voters that Socialism would be more efficient.

Few of the persons who voted the Socialist ticket had revolution as their object, though the Socialist program contemplates a sweeping social revolution. The voters desired better social service and believed the Socialists were best qualified to give it.

When the desire for better material conditions for yourself is coupled with the knowledge that you can gain nothing lasting that is not likewise to the benefit of your fellow men, you have reached the highest patriotism. Internationalism is the brotherhood of the world, the world as our country, the world as our fatherland. But to win it we must begin at home.

Many of the poets of England and some of her statesmen refer touchingly to the "mother" and her many "daughters" throughout the world, and her most wonderful "daughter," the United States, who left the mother's house long ago because of a quarrel, a family strife, that should be forgotten in the mother's sore hour of need. The German's plea is to the sons of the fatherland who live in the new world. It may seem banal, foolish, alluring, throbbing, the heights of appeal or the depths of inane and drivelling sentimentality, just as you choose to look at it. There may be another feel-

ing, and that is one of intense resentment against the presumption that the United States is simply a breeding place for men to be used in European wars, or of producers who toil that others may fight.

The daughters and the sons have work in their own house, and the house must soon be put in order. Feelings and sympathies may be inherited, and traditions concerning our fathers' home may sway us. That was home; this is. It is to this home that we are bounden.

In war only two things are certain. To victor and vanquished alike there is the burden of unutterable agony and to the unborn there is the heritage of debt and hate. Americans, being of all the peoples now in arms, will in some way share that burden. We have outlived the keener antagonism of the Civil War, and most of us have forgotten the sorrow of those families to which the war had left only the memory of boys they had loved. There are only a few of the maimed survivors to-day. But that war which was small, and is merely history this half century, left a deal of sorrow, and all the wounds are not yet healed and not all the mourning is stilled.

The socialists are planless for the future as they proved to be weak in the past. They hope that a revolution, or something, may turn up. They are doing little, and they will continue to do no more until they rediscover patriotism, begin to build in this country and make a study of the problems here. It does not matter of what stock they come or what their ties of intellectual sympathy may be with the people in Europe. They live here, and their hope in this country must be as true as that of the Belgians, the French, the Germans, the Servians, the Austrians and the English who are fighting for their national lives.

APHRODITE.

BY THE EDITOR.

APHRODITE, the goddess of love, represents originally a distinctly cosmic principle. She is the tendency of procreation, the exuberance of growth, the fertile humidity of spring and the spread of organic life. It is but natural that this cosmic creatrix was in an early stage identified with love in every form, and especially with human love, with propagation and the pleasures of family life.

Aphrodite was worshiped in a prehistoric age and the origin of her cult is plainly traceable to the Orient, especially to Phenicia and further back to Pamphylia, Syria, Canaan and Babylon. The Phenician Astarte was imported to the islands of the Aegean Sea, to Cythera, Paphos and Amathus. Hence even in the Hellenistic age she was still honored with the names Cytherea, Paphia and Amathusia.

From the Aegean islands the cult of Aphrodite spread rapidly to Sparta, Athens and other Greek centers. The barbaric origin of the Aphrodite cult is in evidence in the myth of Aphrodite's birth as the foam-born, but it is difficult to say whom we shall deem responsible for the legend—perhaps the inhabitants of the islands. Certainly we cannot lay the burden of the invention of the story upon the Asiatics, at least not on the Syrians, for according to an account by Nigidius Figulus¹ the fish of the Euphrates found a large egg in the floods and pushed it ashore, where it was brooded upon by a dove until the Syrian goddess came forth from it.

The Oriental goddess was originally the queen of the starry heaven, either the moon or the morning star, and as such she was the same figure which in other places gave rise to the development of Artemis. We may emphasize here that like the Christian Mary the pagan female divinity was at the same time both the eternal virgin

¹ As reported in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. "Aphrodite."

and the celestial mother. Mythology cannot stand the application of logical rationalism, and we must not try to make the traditional legends rigidly consistent.

While we recognize a strong Oriental influence in the Greek construction of the Aphrodite cult, we must acknowledge that we



THE BIRTH OF VENUS.
Relief found in the Villa Ludovisi.

have before us a new and independent origin of the divine ideal of femininity. In Mesopotamia Istar was a very popular deity, and innumerable idols have been found in the shape of a naked woman commonly called "Beltis" or "lady," but this conception of the goddess of femininity cannot be regarded as the prototype

of the Greek Aphrodite who at an early period assumed the type which is now well known as Venus. Without detracting from her universal significance as the cosmic principle of generation, the



DETAIL FROM THE LUDOVISI RELIEF.

artistic conception of the Greek mind at once idealized her as the incarnation of loveliness and grace, and from Phidias down to the end of paganism she has remained this ideal.

In Homer she is called the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and when later usage degraded her to a conception of promiscuous sexuality, philosophers distinguished between Venus Urania, celestial love and Venus Pandemus, or promiscuity.

In Cnidos Aphrodite was worshiped in three forms; as gift-giver (*δωρίτις*), as goddess of the high places (*ἀκραία*) and as the lucky sailor (*εὐπλοία*), and we learn that bloody sacrifices were not permitted (Tac., *Hist.*, II, 3) even on the main altar in Paphos.

Originally, Aphrodite was not only love, grace and beauty, but the mistress, (i. e., the possessor or owner and supreme commander, *domina*) as the lady, the queen (*regina*, *βασιλεύα*); and so she is represented in Cythera as fully armed. The same is true in Sparta and in Corinth where her temple was erected on the highest place



WINTER.



SUMMER.

End pieces of the Ludovisi sculpture.

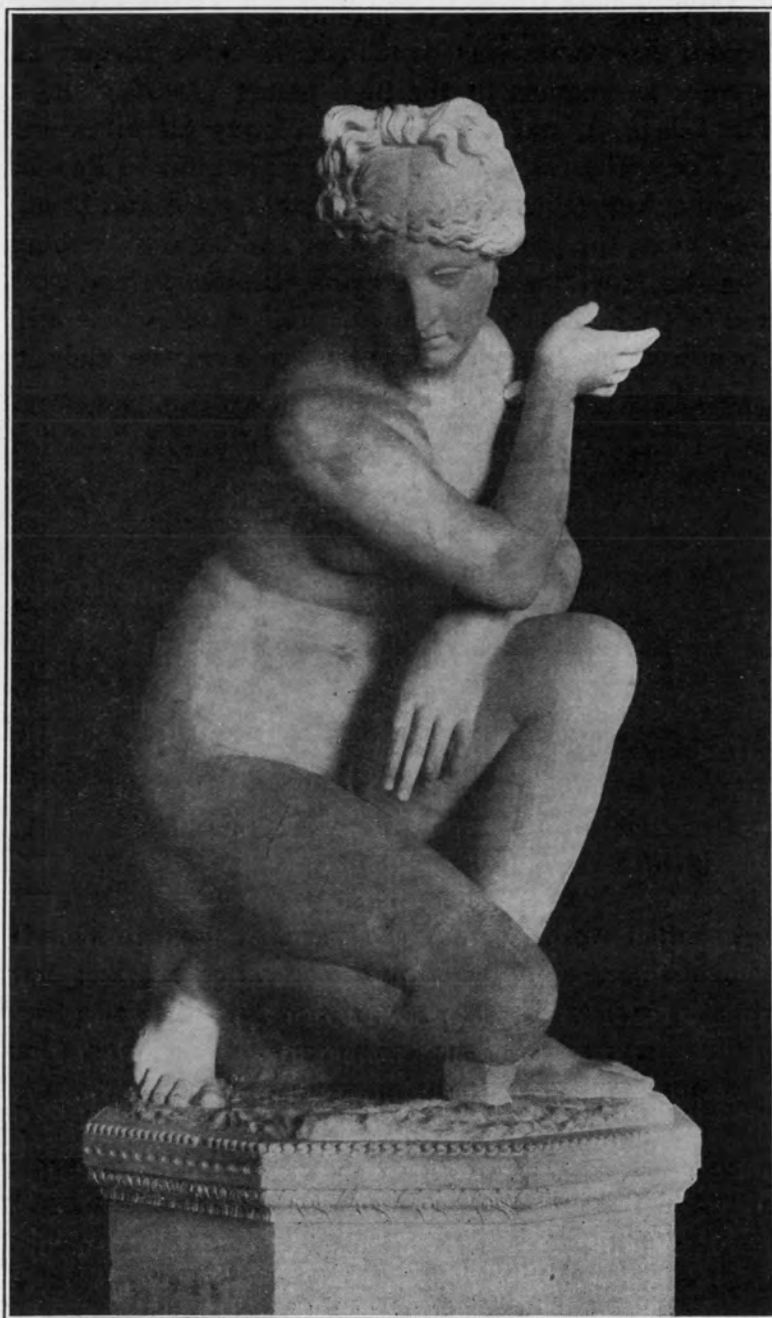
of the city, called Acro Corinthus. She was the life spender, but possessed also a deep significance in the world of death, a chthonian aspect which is indicated by the symbols of the apple and the poppy found in the hand of her statue in the temple at Sikyon (Paus. II, 10, 4). In this same city her priestesses were bound by a vow of chastity.

The chthonian aspect of the Aphrodite cult appears in the legend of the death of Adonis with all its details of funeral lamentations and ceremonies, and the great hope of his resurrection. Istar herself descends to the underworld, and we know that at least in Cyprus a tomb² of Aphrodite has been shown.

The sensual features of the Aphrodite cult were certainly not absent in ancient Hellas. We know that in Corinth there were large numbers of hierodules in the temple who helped to make the

² Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, p. 364.

ceremonies gorgeous and impressive, but judging from the language used by Aeschylus and Pindar they were highly respected and



VENUS CROUCHING IN THE BATH.

In the Vatican Museum.

received public acknowledgement for their fervid and efficient prayers during the Persian wars.

We learn from coins that in olden times the goddess was represented by a pillar with a column on either side, and these stone pillars gradually changed into very awkward statues. Further it is noteworthy that all the ancient representations of the goddess show her not only fully dressed but even veiled, and it was not until the age of Phidias and Praxiteles that the figure of the goddess



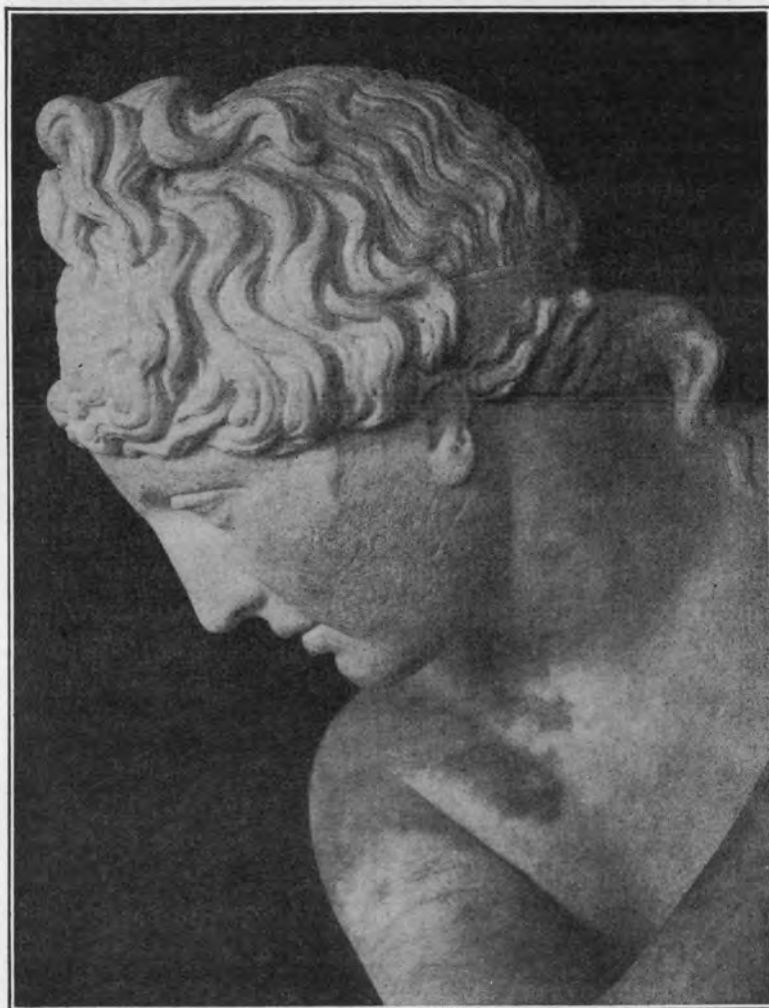
THE STATUE OF VENUS BY KALAMIS.

From Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, p. 412.

was represented at first as partly uncovered and finally entirely nude. As an instance of the older type we reproduce a statue of Venus by Kalamis thought to be the same as that called Sosandra, "the saviour of men," which stood on the Acropolis. Praxiteles seems to have been the first to dare picture Aphrodite stripped of her dress apparently at the moment when she rose from the sea, or when ready to descend into a bath.

In Rome Aphrodite was identified with Venus, the goddess of

vegetation and gardening, and in the imperial age her popularity increased because the legend of Aeneas made her the ancestor of the Julian family and the protectrix of Cæsar. The nature of Venus as the mother of the universe, the mistress of existence, and the representative of all that is charming and lovely endeared her



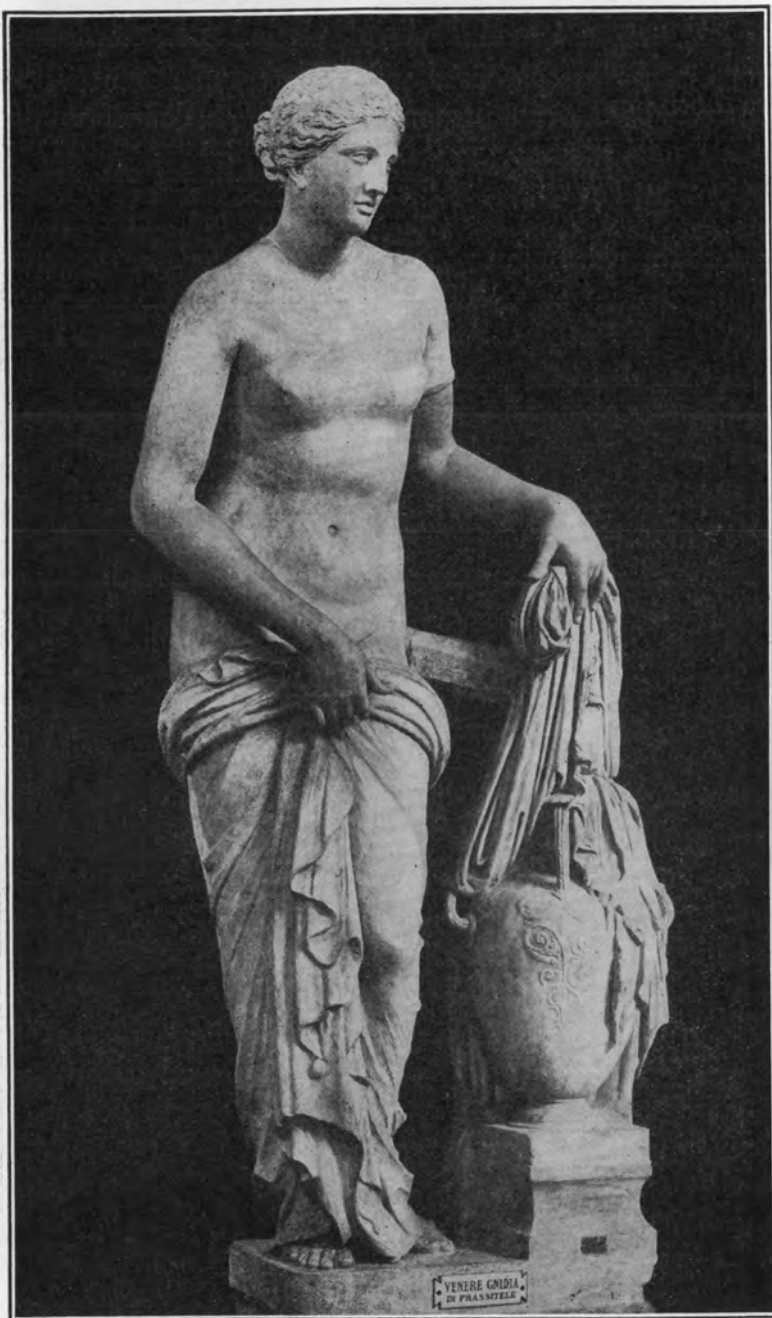
HEAD OF THE CROUCHING VENUS.

to philosophers and poets, and so even the freethinker among classical poets, Titus Lucretius, dedicated to her his philosophical book of poetry, *De rerum natura*, in these often quoted words:³

"Mother of Rome, delight of Gods and men,
Dear Venus that beneath the gliding stars
Makest to teem the many-voyaged main
And fruitful lands—for all of living things

* Translated by Dr. William Ellery Leonard.

Through thee are risen to visit the great sun—
Before thee, Goddess, and thy coming on,
Flee stormy wind and massy cloud away;

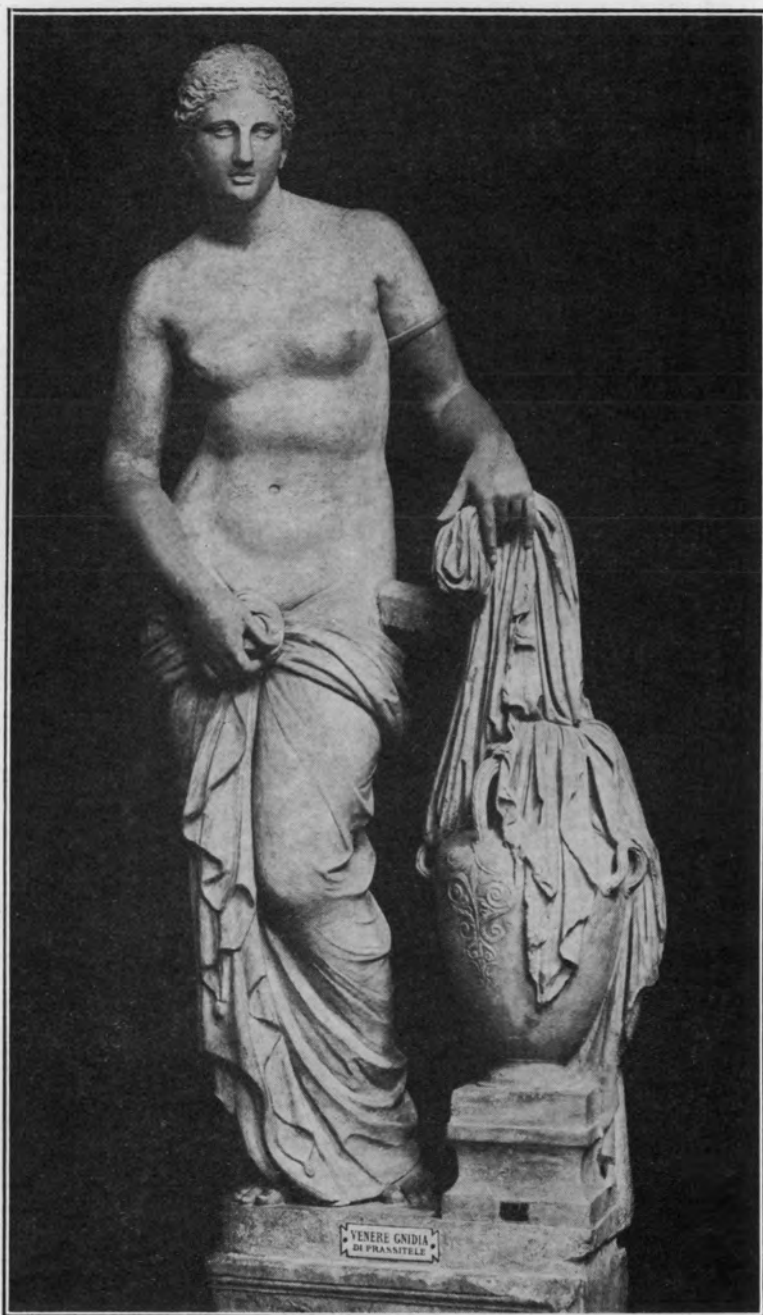


THE CNIDIAN VENUS OF PRAXITELES.

In the Vatican.

For thee the dedal Earth bears gentle flowers;
For thee wide waters of the unvexed deep
Smile, and the hollows of the sérene sky

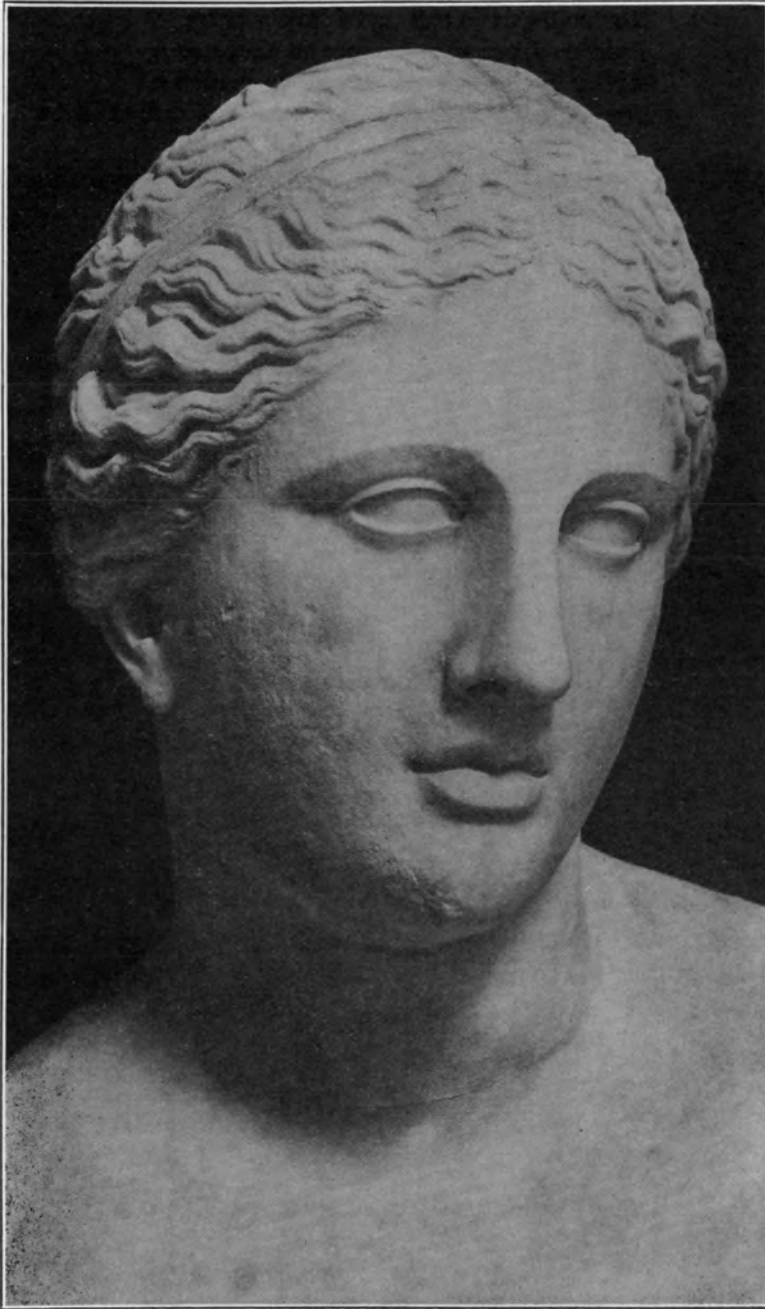
Glow with diffused radiance for thee!
For soon as comes the springtime face of day,
And procreant gales blow from the West unbarred,



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE CNIDIAN VENUS.

First fowls of air, smit to the heart by thee,
Foretoken thy approach, O thou Divine,
And leap the wild herds round the happy fields

Or swim the bounding torrents. Then amain,
Seized with the spell, all creatures follow thee
Whithersoever thou walkest forth to lead;



HEAD OF THE CNIDIAN VENUS.

And thence through seas and mountains and swift streams,
Through leafy homes of birds and greening plains,
Kindling the lure of love in every breast,

Thou bringest the eternal generations forth,
 Kind after kind. And since 'tis thou alone
 Guidest the Cosmos, and without thee naught
 Is risen to reach the holy shores of light,
 Nor aught of joyful or of lovely born,
 Thee do I crave co-partner in that verse
 Which I presume on Nature to compose
 For Memmius mine, whom thou hast willed to be

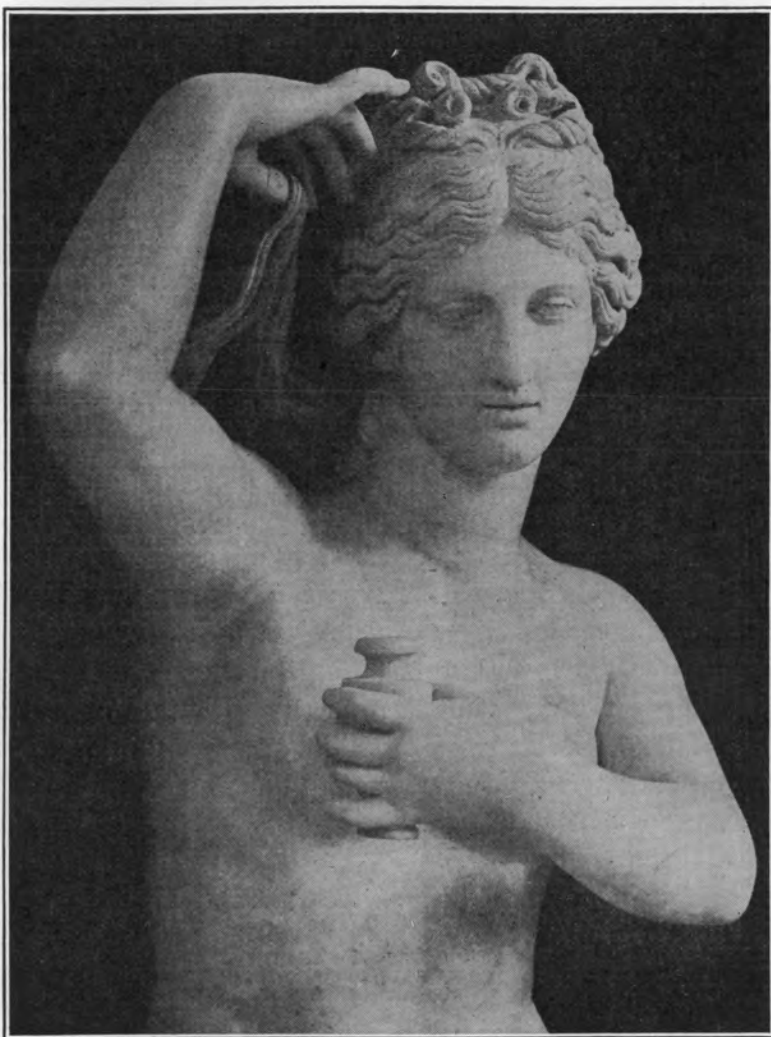


ATTIC SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

In the National Museum at Rome.

Peerless in every grace at every hour—
 Wherefore, indeed, Divine one, give my words
 Immortal charm. Lull to a timely rest
 O'er sea and land the savage works of war,
 For thou alone hast power with public peace
 To aid mortality; since he who rules
 The savage works of battle, puissant Mars,

How often to thy bosom flings his strength,
 O'ermastered by the eternal wound of love—
 And there, with eyes and full throat backward thrown,
 Gazing, my Goddess, open-mouthed at thee,
 Pastures on love his greedy sight, his breath
 Hanging upon thy lips! Him thus reclined
 Fill with thy holy body, round, above!



VENUS WITH THE UNGUENT JAR.

In the Vatican Museum at Rome.

Pour from those lips soft syllables to win
 Peace for the Romans, glorious Lady, peace!
 For in a season troublous to the state
 Neither may I attend this task of mine
 With thought untroubled, nor may mid such events
 The illustrious scion of the Memmian house
 Neglect the civic cause."

THE RELIGIONS OF COMTE AND SPENCER: A NEW SYNTHESIS SUGGESTED.¹

BY CHARLES E. HOOPER.

SOME people might say that Comte and Spencer had no religions. It is certain that they had no theologies. And yet these two remarkable prophets of the age of science were men of great earnestness, and each thought that he had a religion. Each considered his own faith to be, not only true and reasonable in itself, but a great improvement on Christian orthodoxy, and quite adequate to satisfy the legitimate cravings of the human soul. But what could be stranger than the contrast between the religious outlooks of these two thinkers; outlooks so much more incompatible than their respective systems of philosophy?

Their philosophic systems are indeed very different, and yet have much in common. They agree with one another and with the writings of J. S. Mill, who occupies a somewhat intermediate position, in a determined attempt to bring philosophy into line with science, to found it anew on strictly scientific data, to limit

¹The author of this article has, since 1896, been associated with Mr. Charles A. Watts in the publication of the English Rationalist monthly, *The Literary Guide*, and from 1899 to 1913 he acted as secretary to the Rationalist Press Association, of the (honorary) board of which he is a member. The "R. P. A. Cheap Reprints," comprising many famous scientific and critical works, are well known in most parts of the English-speaking world, while the "History of Science Series" (published in this country by G. P. Putnam's Sons) and the "Inquirer's Library," together with many original books, mark the Association's contribution to contemporary thought and discussion. Its publications range from a distinctly non-theological to a strongly anti-theological point of view. Mr. Hooper's books on philosophical subjects are *The Anatomy of Knowledge* (1906) which leads up to a somewhat novel classification of the sciences; and *Common Sense* (1913), in which he endeavors to give a psychological analysis of common sense and a discussion of its bearings on theories of knowledge and causation. Mr. Hooper is an ardent advocate of peace principles and in 1907 wrote *The Need of the Nations: An International Parliament*, advocating a permanent and representative international council. A modification of his earlier suggestions, in the light of the present crisis, is given in a pamphlet entitled *The Wider Outlook Beyond the World War* (Putnam's Sons).

recognized knowledge to the relations of phenomena and banish all speculation on the older metaphysical and theological lines. Both are dominated by the idea of a progressive and generally ascending process of change in the universe, and both apply this idea, though in different ways and with somewhat varying results, to the growth of human knowledge and civilization. These two thinkers were alike engaged in creating the science of sociology, although they could not foresee, and we cannot foresee, its ultimate developments.

There are, however, some outstanding differences of philosophic method, which may partly account for the differences of religious outlook to which I must shortly allude. Spencer was a psychologist—a student of the changeful combinations of sensation, thought, emotion, and desire, as they appear in the diurnally renewed flow of conscious life. Comte eschewed psychology on principle, regarding knowledge as a subjective synthesis made from the point of view of humanity rather than from that of the individual thinker. He accordingly started with logical discourse as the common instrument of all human inquiries, and with the “positive” method of employing this instrument.

Again, Spencer was a strong individualist in sociology, while Comte was an ardent collectivist. Lastly, Spencer was bent on applying a single mechanical law of evolution throughout the various spheres of natural knowledge; while Comte emphasized the unbridged (if not unbridgeable) differences between the points of view of the chief sciences. According to him each of the transitions from mathematics to physics, physics to chemistry, chemistry to biology, biology to sociology, if not also that from sociology to ethics, involves the bringing in of fresh data, with a new and higher scientific outlook. The top rung of his “ladder of the sciences”—the moral or moral-sociological point of view—is that from which he habitually looks forth.

Let us now glance at Comte’s religion, with its characteristic differences from Christian orthodoxy on the one hand and abstract ethicism on the other. It is clear that we have no positive knowledge of individual objects higher in the scale of being than men and women; but human persons differ enormously in physique, in mental endowment, and in moral character, so that the highest individual object we can conceive is not a human being, as such, but what we take to be the best type of—or the ideal—human being.

Most Christians suppose that Jesus, the Messiah, was a morally

ideal man, and there are some rationalizing Christians who hold that his ideal humanity constitutes his whole title to divinity. For Comte, however, Jesus was simply one of the great and good reformers of morals and religion who have, from time to time, appeared in the world. His character, like that of every one else, was partly due to his natural ancestry, and partly due to the human environment and circumstances into which he was born, and to which his thoughts and feelings reacted more strongly and fruitfully than those of a lesser man would have done.

All men and women of historical eminence are moulded in mind and character (though not independently of their own conscious activity) by the social influence of their contemporaries; but they are also powerfully affected by that of their forerunners, through the standard literature and traditions, and the creations of art and industry, to which they have access. The really valuable and permanent elements of culture, which are passed on from century to century and extended from nation to nation, are a product not solely of the more celebrated individuals with whose names many of them are connected. They are also a result of the upward strivings of the great mass of human beings who think not only of what concerns themselves, but also of what is good for others or for all men. Very many of these people contribute directly to the common stores of knowledge, art, and practical wisdom, without attaining notoriety; and all of them exercise a subtle influence in spurring the greater geniuses to achieve the best that is in them.

From these and like considerations Comte arrived at the conception of a Great Being, Humanity, which is not merely the collective multitude of living human individuals, but the efficient unity of all men and women who have ever striven, however vaguely, for the common good. The dead still cooperate with the living in producing one great and growing historical fact: the collective life of the nations to whom the earth belongs, headed by those powerful nations of the West who inherit the science and art of Greece, the legal and moral codes of Rome and Judea.

Humanity, taken in the above sense, is certainly the most directly beneficent thing of which we have any clear knowledge; for its far-reaching and persisting influence is compact of the varied achievements of all great personalities as well as of the unobtrusive goodness of the multitude whose names are forgotten. Comte, therefore, sought to institute a worship of this Humanity, which we know positively though imperfectly, in place of the wor-

ship of a God whom, according to him, we do not know at all. And, be it said, this religion of Humanity may be valid in its way and may survive in essence, even if the elaborate ritual with which Comte sought to surround it, and which caused it to be humorously described as Catholicism *minus* Christianity, cannot or should not be put into practice. The small bodies of positivists who look up to him as their spiritual master have among them thinkers who are by no means incapable of criticizing and setting aside some of his teaching, while it belongs to their avowed ideal to accept the later advances in science and practice which the continued progress of humanity must bring to light.

If Comte considered himself, and is considered by his followers, to be the founder of a new era in human civilization, it must not be forgotten that his whole teaching precludes the idea of there being any miraculous prophet or sage whose authority ought to outweigh the growing experience and science of mankind.

It will, I think, be admitted that, while humanity, taken in its essential solidarity, is morally the grandest thing we know, human selfishness and folly, human vindictiveness and depravity, are the worst things knowable; and we have only too much evidence of their existence. Hence some people think that, if a strictly natural religion be possible, it should be a religion of pure ethics; not of humanity as such, but of what we are convinced is good in human character and social relations; no matter whether this good be destined to triumph in the dim future or to be swallowed up in the tragedy of a deteriorating world.

To this heroic type of ethicism a positivist might object that it is the general consensus of enlightened opinion which causes certain conduct and certain motives to be recognized as good, and other conduct and motives as bad. Humanity, rather than the individual, with his possibly and quite probably prejudiced type of conscientiousness, is the arbiter, because it is the maker, of morality. Moreover, there would be little inspiration for ethical religion if we could not feel that mankind is in fact progressing in the direction of true human betterment; that the passions which man inherits from his animal ancestry, and still more perhaps from the ages of tyrannical force, ruthless predatory warfare and savage superstition, are indeed being brought under the strong control of rational and humane sentiments, expressed in juster laws and better relations between individuals, classes, and nations.

* * *

Comte's doctrine of Humanity has made a much wider appeal

to modern thought than is evidenced by the small band of his nominal followers. It has doubtless exercised a powerful influence upon theistic and Christian thinkers who are not too orthodox; while, for those who no longer believe in a superhuman providence or a divine revelation, but who do believe in the gospel of human advancement, it becomes an increasingly inspiring idea.

Many, however, cannot accept the religion of Humanity at Comte's own valuation, because, while they are willing at times to stand beside him on the top rung of the scientific ladder, and view everything from the moral-sociological standpoint, they like also to view things from some of the lower rungs which, strange to say, give glimpses of a universe altogether greater than humanity; greater by the immensities of time and space; by endless process and limitless substance; by boundless potentialities of form and motion, life and consciousness. They discover that self-conscious humanity is the child of savage races; these the offspring of an animal ancestry; that, of more primitive types of life; also that all are children of mother earth, and earth dependent on the sovereign sun and conditioned by the all-enfolding ether. Thus, while they may recognize that the slowly integrating being of Humanity, ever striving toward the good, is the thing most worthy to be worshiped with love, they cannot withhold all veneration from those mysterious sources of energy, life, and organic progress which have undoubtedly been necessary, even if they have not alone sufficed, to make humanity all that it is, and all that it may become. To venerate them as though they were human and moral would be mere anthropomorphism; but not to venerate them at all seems to disclose a somewhat narrow attitude of self-satisfaction in human achievements. It is as if the child, mankind, were still in the womb of primitive nature, conscious only of itself and caring nothing for the mother who is to bring it forth; whereas, the relative independence of pre-sociological conditions which man undoubtedly possesses argues his ability to reflect on pre-sociological nature, and to see that it is indeed his mother and deserves some at least of his reverence.

When we have learned to forgive nature for not being human (which many people seem unable to do) we shall perhaps begin to revere her for being what she is. This attitude might seem more consonant with the robust monism of Professor Haeckel than with Spencer's austere doctrine of the Unknowable; and yet that doctrine undoubtedly asserts the value of an ultimate reality which is not specifically human.

The pervading mystery of the universe which meant little to Comte's predominantly social spirit meant much to Spencer. He came to suppose that science and religion might be ultimately reconciled in the recognition of a great First Cause or Inscrutable Absolute; a reality underlying at once the facts of consciousness and the facts of matter in motion, but not to be identified with either, nor yet with both taken together at their phenomenal value. His religion is thus a sort of modern sphinx-worship; but be it said without sarcasm; for the sphinx was a profoundly symbolic monster. Probably I am not alone in thinking that where he erred was in objectifying the pervading mystery of being under such titles as Cause, Power, and Absolute, and supposing that it contrasts radically with a sphere of phenomena which can be definitely known; whereas the very fact of knowing, in the true or intellectual sense, involves a relation of subjective ideas and judgments to some object-matter with which they are not commensurate; something which they *mean* but do *not* equate with or substantially resemble. The mystery of being is seen to lurk in all those things that are called phenomena, and even in the simplest sensations, when we try to understand them in their manifold real relations, and do not satisfy ourselves with the familiarity of their *names*, as though this familiarity were true knowledge of them.

It is fairly certain that the chapters on the Unknowable in Spencer's *First Principles* do not appeal strongly either to persons of religious or to persons of scientific temperament. There are, however, various incontrovertible truths contained in those chapters, and if Spencer had contented himself with showing how many of the questions which men formulate are verbal rather than conceptual, and had preached, instead of the Inscrutable Absolute, *that Infinite Reality to which knowledge is ever more nearly approximating, but which thought can never fully represent*, many who withhold assent from his doctrine as it stands would have freely gone along with him.

* * *

To the Christian believer, or to any believer in supernaturally-grounded religion, the religions of Comte and Spencer must of course both seem unsatisfactory. It is, however, from the point of view of purely natural religion, and as making an appeal to the rationalist rather than to the orthodox that they have to be seriously considered.

Now it may be that the majority of rationalists are in fact, if not in profession, secularists; that they do not want a natural

any more than they want a revealed, religion. Certain rationalists, however, do feel that the individual soul should learn to link itself, in love and reverence, with realities greater than itself. Some, therefore, become positivists; while others, who may be not less zealous for human progress, reserve their religious emotion for what transcends humanity; for what they may, with Spencer, regard as the unknowable Absolute, or may view simply as the stupendous encompassing and indwelling mystery of nature. Each of these sorts of natural religion seems to me somewhat one-sided. Why should not the rationalist seek to unite the intimate worship of Humanity, as the most intensively beneficent reality known to him, with an imaginative veneration of that infinite Nature, in which the life of humanity has not only its external setting but its very being? Certainly there is a sense in which these two objects of reverence may seem opposed. Nature contains so many forces hostile to man and entails on man so many elements inimical to true humanity. But man himself is after all a part of nature, and the highest excellence of individual and social life can only be attained in and through nature. The superiority of man to his subhuman surroundings is not a superiority to that Reality which embraces the subhuman and human alike.

Thus nature is not essentially, though it may be accidentally, inimical to human ideals. Moreover, there is a third object of possible natural religion to be considered; one which is identical neither with nature nor with humanity, but is instrumental to our knowledge of both. Whatever we realize either of humanity or of nature over and above those inarticulate feelings for the good and the beautiful which are best expressed by music and the fine arts, is realized in that form of connected and mutually supported thoughts which is fairly described by the familiar word reason.

This reason is not simply reasoning, still less is it mere arguing; it is just the clearest understanding and the truest judgment of which we are personally capable. It is the circle of subjective ideas and opinions which at once link up with one another and reach out to an objective goal; be that some object of contemplation or of passive feelings evoked by contemplation, or be it some practical achievement which the moral sense approves and to which rational reflection points the way.

A truer appreciation of humanity, a fuller conception of nature, a humbler sense of that part of natural reality which lies beyond present knowledge, a better ability to serve mankind socially or to utilize the knowledge of physical forces for human good are all

alike dependent on an increase of individual understanding, which can be brought about only by training the person to think as widely and earnestly, as carefully and impartially, as possible. Such thinking, or exercise of reason, necessarily mediates between self and humanity, self and nature, and even in some sense between nature and humanity themselves. Must we not therefore consider reason as being closely linked with these, its greatest objects; a third term in the supreme natural trinity? Does not reason also deserve to be in some sort venerated? True, it does not possess the moral dignity, the social fulness, and the inspiring appeal of humanity; nor does it possess the infinite sublimity and manifold wonders and charms of nature; but what were humanity and nature to us without it? Simply nonentities!

I would therefore suggest that a reasonable religion for the avowed rationalist is to venerate Nature, as the supreme but never wholly revealed reality; to love Humanity as his own higher self and highest end; to reverence Reason as the essential means to the best that he can either think or do, and, in its collective exercise, to the best conditions that humanity itself can achieve.

If natural religion can exist at all, it can only exist as the complement of advancing knowledge. Whatever the inevitable limitations of reason may be, there is nothing too high or too sacred to be inquired into; provided the inquiry be, not a pursuit of arguments in favor of some foregone conclusion, but a sincere quest of truth, marked by willingness to relinquish or modify our old beliefs in the light of stronger evidence and clearer understanding.

A religion of Reason can be approved only if it hearten us to an ever-increasing exercise of the thing itself. The actual hard work of scientific observation, experiment and induction, of scholarly research, and of logical rearrangement of ideas should of course be undertaken in the mood of the workman, not in that of the devotee. Moreover those persons who, without pretending to be original investigators, would learn in broad outline what has actually been ascertained as to the constitution of nature and the history of mankind must be workmanlike in their studies, more especially as there is, under our present system of education, a lamentable dearth of sound instruction on these most important subjects.

We must really know something of the wonders of evolution, cosmic and biological, and of natural law, before the sublime mystery of Nature can become an object of religious feeling. We must form some fairly distinct mental picture of the world-history of which British history is only one comparatively modern and Amer-

ican history a much more modern section, before the ideal-ward striving spirit of Humanity, which has moulded all that is worth living in our lives can become for us a great and imperious reality.

It is, however, when we clearly perceive what an absurdly small distance can be traveled by personal knowledge toward conceiving the infinite reality of Nature or measuring the essential goodness and greatness of Humanity that natural religion may well arise to supplement natural knowledge, without in any degree supplanting scientific investigation or the patient learning of its results.

How much of that religion should take the form of ceremonial observance, or at least of the gathering together of like-minded worshipers, and how much is best left to the individual soul or to individual expression in poetry (which usually tends to view Nature and Humanity with true reverence, and may be expected to grow increasingly religious in this sense) is a question worth asking, though I shall not here attempt to answer it.

ITALY AND THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is difficult to understand why Italy entered the war. The Italians are not a warlike people, and it is not likely that they will reap laurels on the battlefield. Italy is the youngest nation of Europe, the union of all the states of the peninsula occurring in 1870. The founder of United Italy was Victor Emmanuel, a Piedmontese prince, and he was supported by the republican Garibaldi who in the name of republican Italians was a fitting hero to champion the ideal of a united Italy.

Even to-day Austria is regarded as the arch-enemy of Italy, though in the past Austria has given up portion after portion of her Italian possessions, not because of any Italian conquest but because other conditions forced Austria to yield. First, Austria gave up large sections of northern Italy to Napoleon III, who won the battle of Magenta, and Napoleon III ceded this stretch of western Lombardy to Italy, but retained for France the most beautiful stretch of the Riviera at Nice. The surrender of Nice was greatly resented by the Italians, but they comforted themselves by the gain of western Lombardy. Eastern Lombardy was surrendered by Austria in spite of Austrian victories over the Italian army, on account of Prussia. Italy had been the ally of Prussia, and Prussian victories forced Austria to make peace, Prussia insisting on rewarding her ally by the eastern portion of Lombardy in 1866.

But Bismarck did not mean to cripple Austria and cut her off entirely from the sea, so this surrender of Italian country did not include Trieste; and we must remember that Trieste was the only harbor in possession of Austria. We can understand how, in the present war, Austria was not willing to give it up to Italy. Italy is not in need of more ports, for the sea touches it on three sides and it is richly endowed with most valuable harbors. A fair consideration ought to allow Austria to keep this port.

In 1883 Italy joined the Triple Alliance and has derived great benefits by being in close touch with Austria and Prussian Germany. In fact it was through Prussia that Italy was able to accomplish its designs of complete unification, for France prevented Rome from falling into the hands of the kingdom. Napoleon favored the Roman Catholic church and protected the pope in his political ambitions as a worldly sovereign and head of the Eternal City. French troops garrisoned Rome, and so King Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi were prevented from taking the jewel of Italy, the natural capital of the country, by storm. It was during the war of 1870-71 between Prussia and France that the French garrison was withdrawn and that Garibaldi boldly entered Rome and deposed the pope as a temporal sovereign. The Italian government however has been careful to respect the pope as a spiritual authority and has allowed him unreserved and even sovereign rights in the Vatican. At any rate the possession of Rome is due to Prussia's support of Italy, and after the establishment of the alliance between Prussian Germany and Austria-Hungary the Italians found it quite advisable to join the two central powers and so establish the Triple Alliance.

Italy's ambition has been to become again the power of the Mediterranean Sea. The main obstacle to this plan was first of all England, for England has the Mediterranean locked up at both ends, at Gibraltar and Suez, and in addition holds Malta, a strategic central position. France is more powerful than Italy, and so France with the connivance of England has increased her navy and has begun to play a prominent part in the Mediterranean as a kind of protectorate state of Great Britain. When the Triple Entente was formed the Mediterranean was, as it were, promised to France by Great Britain, and this promise involved the condition that Italy's ambition should not be considered. Nevertheless Great Britain was ambitious to isolate Germany and break up the Triple Alliance. Thus the British diplomats, first of all by favoring Italy and not opposing the Italian intention to gain Tripoli, imitated the policy followed by France to gain Algiers and Morocco. Germany was naturally inclined to let Italy gain a foothold in Africa, for Italy belonged to the Triple Alliance, so she exercised sufficient pressure on Turkey to cause the latter to surrender this portion of African territory. It was through peace with Turkey that Italy gained Tripoli. Otherwise she would have found it very difficult to gain a foothold in that country. At any rate the fight was much harder than the Italian military leaders had expected.

Of late the Italians have broken away from the Triple Alliance.

They owe their very existence to the support of Prussian Germany, nevertheless they found what they believed were sufficient reasons for not declaring war on France while still living up to their agreement with the Triple Alliance. I will even go further and say that the terms of the Triple Alliance were not such as to oblige Italy to go to war. Italy regarded the war on Germany's part as offensive and not as a mere defense against her enemies. But not content with remaining neutral, Italy finally joined the enemies of Germany and declared war on Austria-Hungary. In an endeavor to keep Italy peaceful, Austria-Hungary, at the suggestion of Germany, offered to surrender those portions of Austrian territory in which the Italian language is still spoken, with the single exception of Triest, Austria's only harbor, which she therefore could not give up without surrendering her entire navy and all her maritime interests. She offered, however, to make Triest a free city and endow it with an Italian university, which would have been a great advantage for Italian interests in the city. But all these offers were refused and Italy preferred the doubtful issue of a war.

It is difficult to understand why Italy joined the cause of the Allies. In the first place, France and England are her most powerful rivals in the Mediterranean. If the Allies prevail in this war Italy's influence in the Mediterranean will be practically reduced to that of a vassal of England. Moreover, if this state of things should come about, France would still be her direct rival, for France is not likely to tolerate an Italian navy as strong as her own in the Mediterranean, and it is still more unlikely that France will agree to divide her influence in the Mediterranean with any other power.

Italy can accomplish her ambitions only with the assistance of Germany and Austria, the central powers of Europe. As matters stand now, she has broken with the friends who would naturally stand by her and has joined those who are her natural enemies.

How was it possible that Italy should have entered into this war, not only needlessly but also against her own interests, by joining her natural enemies and opposing her natural friends? It almost looks as if some sinister personal interest were at play. The end which the Italians are made to serve in this war is exclusively in the interest of the Allies without any possible result for Italy except perhaps the acquisition of Triest in the event of a victory of the Allies over Germany and Austria.

This is Italy's fifth war against Austria-Hungary, and there is scarcely any battle or combat in the four previous wars, in sixty-seven years, in which the Italians have gained any advantage. The

Italians fought against Austria in 1848 and, after a truce, in 1849; further conflicts occurred in 1859 and 1866; and now, in 1915, the countries are at war for the fifth time.

Field Marshall Radetzky is still mentioned in the book of fame for his great victory at Custoza on July 25, 1849, where, after a hard fight of ten hours, the Sardinian army was utterly routed, as afterwards also at Villafranca. On the 21st of March, 1849, the Austrians beat the Italians at Mortara, and on March 23 Radetzky beat the Italians again at Novara, King Charles Albert of Sardinia abdicating his throne in consequence of the defeat. In 1866 another battle at Custoza was fought on June 24 under the Archduke Albrecht of Austria, where 75,000 Austrians beat 130,000 Italians under King Victor Emmanuel. In the same year, 1866, on July 20, the Austrian navy under Admiral Tegetthoff gained a complete victory over the Italian fleet under Persano. In spite of these decisive victories Austria ceded northern Italy to Italy in the peace made with Prussia at Vienna.

The Italians are not warlike, but that is no fault. Peaceful people too have a right to existence. But it seems to us that nations that lack the necessary manhood for waging war should be distinguished by a love of peace. But among all the nations no one has cared more for war than Italy. The sons of Italy have even shown themselves incompetent to meet savages in battle, and when the Italians sent a goodly number of their army to East African shores it was a sorry day for them, for the whole army was cut off by the Abyssinians, and not one of the poor Italians who were ambushed in the Abyssinian mountains returned to tell the tale. At that time Italy did not dare to send a punitive expedition but allowed the Abyssinians to continue their independence from the Italian crown.

It is a dangerous game that the Italians are playing, and we must wait to see what will come of it. It is a war that certainly cannot serve Italian interests, for if Great Britain and the Allies win, Italy will be reduced to a state of British vassalage; and if they lose, Italy has offended her best friends by having ranged herself with their enemies. Why the government of Italy has taken this course is almost incomprehensible. At any rate we must confess that British diplomacy has here shown its great genius for inducing nations to go to war against their own interests.

BEHAISM.

IN REPLY TO THE ATTACK OF ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

BY I. G. KHEIRALLA.

THE evils, deceptions, wars and murders, which the followers of Christ committed against each other and against people of different faiths since the birth of Christianity until the present day, and all the shameful accusations against the personality of Jesus Christ himself and against his claims by Pharisees and Scribes, and the misdoings ascribed to his faithful disciples and early followers, were all naught but vague and untrue evidences as we all know, and failed to prove that Christ was a pretender and Christianity was a false religion. How much more unfair it is to state that Huseyn Ali was not Beha Ullah, the Manifestation of the Everlasting Father and that the Behai religion is false and insane, because Mr. Robert P. Richardson read some records against Beha Ullah and against his Forerunner the Bab, which were certainly attributed to both of them by adversaries; also because Mr. Richardson visited some Bostonians claiming to be followers of Beha, and found them deceitful as they had cheated Miss Farmer out of her property known as "Greenacre." Indeed, "History repeats itself."

It is waste of time to say more on such a useless subject, and now, I like to draw the attention of the reader to the following proofs, which should convince him of the fact that Huseyn Ali was the Appearance of the Everlasting Father, and that his knowledge, teachings, life as well as his personality were superior to those of Jesus Christ as he himself declared in the New Testament.

I am of the opinion that the Prophets and Manifestations of God must prove to the people of the earth the truth of their divine missions by producing the following four evidences in order that the people may believe and acknowledge them. Should they present

such evidences and yet should we reject them it would be our own fault and not theirs.

First: To utter verses which contain striking truths and principles, whereby the human race is uplifted and elevated, and the extremely wicked become upright and good.

Second: Their appearance is foretold by the prophets of yore.

Third: To display a divine knowledge, which is beyond that of man.

Fourth: To show a superiority in their lives and in their personalities.

These evidences were fully established in the person of Huseyn Ali, so as to leave no doubt that He was the Glory of God, and the Manifestation of the Father. In brief all the prophecies were fulfilled in him as you will see by some of them which shall here be mentioned.

By comparison we find Beha Ullah more excellent and uplifting than all the other prophets. For his teachings are not visionary nor prophetic, but practical, final, and useful to the high and the low, to the civilized and the uncivilized. At the same time they are in accord with reason and science and in harmony with the laws governing the world.

For instance, history proves that neither through Christianity nor Mohammedanism could peace be established upon earth, for the first shed blood, if not more, not less than the other, and the present horrible war bears witness. But in the Tablets which Beha Ullah, the Prince of Peace, sent to the rulers of the world, He prohibited them from warring with each other, and commanded them to settle their differences by arbitration. He also strictly forbade the waging of war for differences in faith or otherwise. By His teachings, He established the foundation of peace and enlightened the world with the light of union, concord, and love. He urged His followers to rise up by the help of God, and deliver the world from religious hatred and enmity, which are a consuming fire devouring the human race. He came to unite all those who are upon earth and save the world from the fetters of ignorance. He said, "Let justice be your army, and your weapon reason."

Jesus said: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."

Beha said: "Come that I make you vivifiers of the world."

Jesus said: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Beha said: "To be murdered is better for you than to commit murder, were ye seeking the pleasure of God."

Jesus said to preach the gospel to the people, and whosoever believeth shall attain everlasting life, but whosoever rejecteth shall have everlasting fire.

Beha said: "If ye follow Me I will make you the heirs of My Kingdom, but if ye rebel against Me I will kindly be patient; I am the Forgiver, the Merciful."

Also Beha said: "Communicate to all people what ye know, with the language of love and kindness." "Consort with people of all faiths, with fragrance and spirituality." "Allow not the zeal of bigotry to display itself in you, for everyone cometh from God, and unto God shall he return. He is the Causer of their being, and the Center of their final attainment."

The verses written by the Supreme Pen of Beha Ullah contain an ocean of sublime spiritual teachings, thrilling precepts and admonitions, excellent bases of religious principles, just and equitable laws and edicts. When the time comes, wherein those teachings shall be diffused and read in the civilized countries, the people of understanding shall find therein the remedy for healing the sick body of this world. Through His teachings and commandments, the great peace shall come, capital and labor shall be conciliated, the wolf and the lamb shall live together, the unity of race shall be established, a universal language shall be adopted, and the people of the earth shall live as brothers, as one kindred, one family, loving not only their country, but the whole world.

All the prophets of yore foretold the coming of the Father and the establishment of His Kingdom on earth. They gave the signs of His coming, and that Elijah shall come as a forerunner. They located the city of Akka as the new Jerusalem. They predicted the year of His Manifestation, and described the condition at His day. Every prophecy in regard to the Manifestation of the Deity upon earth was fulfilled in Huseyn Ali, and proved that He was the Glory of God.

Jewish rabbis, Christian theologians, Mohammedan doctors, and priests of other faiths, all expected the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth in the nineteenth century. They were not mistaken, for their scriptures foretold His appearance. Jesus said: "The Lord of the vineyard cometh"; "The Comforter will come"; "When the Spirit of Truth is come he will guide you into all truth." He prayed: "Thy Kingdom come."

In the twenty-first chapter of Luke, Jesus, after giving the signs of the Kingdom, taught that our salvation is in God at the

time of His coming: "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh" (verse 28). . . . "When the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem and before His ancients gloriously" (Is. xxiv. 23). "For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace" (Is. ix. 6-7). "This was the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the Lord" (Ezekiel i. 28).

Huseyn Ali was born Nov. 12, 1817, and manifested Himself as Beha Ullah, the Glory of God, 1867, and departed May 28th, 1892.

All the signs of His coming which were mentioned in the scriptures of different religions were fulfilled in the nineteenth century. Jesus Christ said: "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." In the last century, the Christian missionaries preached the Gospel to all nations. Mohammed said: "When ye behold the ships sailing upon the land, then He shall come." The trains sailed upon the land a few years before He manifested Himself. Nahum said: "The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall jostle one against another in the broad ways: they shall seem like torches, they shall run like lightning." In this sign the material atoms declared the coming of the Glory of God. It is an accurate prediction of electric cars and modern vehicles which throng our streets. "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Malachi iv. 5). In 1844 Elijah the prophet came, for there appeared in Persia a young man who possessed great powers of wisdom and spiritual inspiration. He is known in history as Ali Mohammed. He called himself "The Bab," meaning the "Gate" or "Door." He was also termed "Nokteh," the "Point," signifying the center of religious truth. He was Elijah, the forerunner, and gave the glad tidings of the coming of the Kingdom of God and the appearance of "Him whom God shall manifest," the Glory of God.

Akka is the new Jerusalem, the City of the Lord, unto which He was exiled as a prisoner of the Turkish government, and from whence He departed. It is upon the Syrian Coast nine miles from the foot of Mount Carmel, and during the Crusades it was the headquarters of the Knights Templars, who called it Saint Jean d'Acre. It is a fortified city and celebrated for its unhealthy climate

and filthiness. It is the Turkish city of exile and the place of confinement for the prisoners of the Government.

Isaiah (ix. 1) accurately located the new Jerusalem at Akka (literal translation of the prophecies of Isaiah by Professor Cheyne of Oxford, England): "Surely there is (now) no (more) gloom to her whose lot was affliction. At the former time he brought shame on the land of Zebulun and on the land of Naphtali, but in the latter, he hath brought honor on the 'Way by the Sea' (Akka), the other side of Jordon, the district of the nations. The people that walk in darkness see a great light; they that dwell in the land of deadly shade, light shineth brilliantly upon them. Thou hast multiplied exultation, thou hast increased joy; they rejoice before thee as with joy in the harvest, as men exult when they divide spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his back, the rod of his taskmaster, thou hast broken, as in the days of Midian. Yea, every boot of him that stamped with noise, and the cloak rolled in blood—they are to be burned up as fuel of fire. For a child is born unto us, a son is given unto us, and the government resteth upon his back, and his name is called Wonder-Counsellor, God-Mighty-One, Everlasting-Father, Prince of Peace; increased is the government and to peace there is no end; upon the throne of David and throughout His Kingdom, in establishing and supporting it by justice and by righteousness from henceforth and forever. The jealousy of Jehovah Sabbaoth will perform this." The spot described by the prophet between the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali is *Akka*; and to appoint the exact situation, he said, "But in the later time, he hath brought honor on the 'Way by the Sea' " (Akka).

From ancient times the highway to Damascus from the sea commenced at Akka. In *Prophecies of Isaiah* we read in a note on page 59: "Via Maris, M. Renan observes, was the name of the high-road from Akka to Damascus, as late as the Crusades." "Way," however, means "region." Thus literally, the Manifestation of Jehovah, Beha Ullah, appeared in the latter days and brought honor upon the "Way by the Sea" (Akka).

Huseyn Ali manifested himself as The Glory of God to all the people in the year 1867 A. D., at the exact time announced by Jesus in the twelfth chapter of Revelation, and by Daniel in the twelfth chapter. It was three times and a half after the appearance of the two wonders, the Papacy and Mohammedanism. Three times and a half are 1260 years.

The Papacy and Mohammedanism appeared about the same

time in the year 607 A. D. Therefore, the basis of chronology is the Christian era. By adding 607 years to 1260 years, we find that the year 1867 A. D. is the appointed year of His Manifestation.

The vision of the image and that of the tree mentioned in the second and the fourth chapters of Daniel have the same significance concerning the appearance of the Kingdom of God, the time of its coming, as shown in the latter chapter, to be after "seven times" had passed over the head of Nebuchadnezzar. Seven times (360 years) make 2520. From the date of Nebuchadnezzar's birth, 628 B. C. seven times or 2520 years forward, will bring us to 1892 A. D., the year of the departure of the Manifestation and the completion of His organization of the Kingdom of God.

The prophets described the day of God as a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, and said that He would come in clouds. Indeed, the nineteenth century was the day of God, for the spiritual ignorance shrouded humanity like unto thick clouds. Humanity became more civilized, but less sanctified; men gained material knowledge, but they were losers in grace. The prophecy of the appearance of scoffers was fulfilled, and a great number of our fellow creatures based their theories of life and religion upon materialism and pantheistic doctrines. Hundreds of false Christs and prophets appeared. Celibacy and vegetarianism were advocated. Accumulation of wealth and estate came to pass. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." "Wars and rumors of war and no peace to him that went out or came in."

The Divine knowledge and wisdom which Huseyn Ali displayed in thousands of Epistles and Tablets to his followers, in the just and beautiful laws He gave the world in the Most Sacred Book (Kitabul-Ackdas), in the tablets which He sent to the rulers of the earth, inviting them to come to His Kingdom and partake of the Spiritual Banquet, eat and drink with the elect, in knowing the past and the future as was stated in His numerous predictions, proved conclusively that He was the Glory of God, as such knowledge is beyond that of man.

For instance, in the second tablet sent to Napoleon III He informed the Emperor concerning his past secrets, and judged him, because he cast aside the first tablet which Beha sent to him. The prediction was that the Empire shall depart from the hands of Napoleon, and humiliation shall come upon him, and commotion shall seize the people of France, and his glory shall pass away. A

few months later Napoleon declared war on Germany and was defeated, dethroned, humiliated as a prisoner of war, and finally died an exile in England. Also the commotion seized the French people at the revolution of the Commune.

Beha Ullah proclaimed the downfall of the Sultan Abdu'l Azez, the death of Ali Pasha in a foreign country, and the judgment of Turkey. The downfall of Zill-i-Sultan was foreshadowed in the epistle to Sheik Bakir. He foretold the exile of some of his followers, and Ismail Pasha of Egypt exiled them to Khartoun. Then He sent them an epistle wherein He announced that their oppressor, Ismail Pasha, would fall from power, and soon they should stand again in His presence. After a while Gordon Pasha came to Khartoun as the governor of Soudan and liberated them, and Ismail Pasha was exiled to Naples in Italy; and some of them visited Akka and stood in the presence of Beha. The numerous written and verbal warnings of impending events which took place, and which shall come to pass, are plain evidences of His Divine Knowledge.

The life and personality of Huseyn Ali are convincing proofs that He was the Manifestation and the Glory of God. For forty years he suffered in jails and in exile, oppressed and afflicted, was threatened with death by Mohammedan doctors and rulers, yet under the sword of the enemy He summoned all the people of the earth and their rulers, even those who imprisoned and exiled Him, to come to God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. At the same time He uttered volumes of wonderful teachings and precepts, vigorous in style, clear in argument, powerful in proof, displaying perfect acquaintance with the scriptures of different faiths. He spent His life for the salvation of our race, and suffered humiliation for our elevation. He was imprisoned to free us from the fetters of ignorance. If more proofs are desired, read my work entitled *Beha Ullah*.

The wonderful and heavenly atmosphere of spirituality which shrouded the place of His presence, proved His divinity. Professor Browne of Cambridge, England, the greatest historian of this faith, who recorded what the friends and the adversaries said in favor or against Beha Ullah, went himself and met Beha Ulla in person, that he might be able to write his own experience and knowledge independently from what the others said. But he was attacked and blamed by Christian theologians and missionaries because he recorded his experience truthfully. While visiting Beha, he wrote as follows:

"I might, indeed, strive to describe in greater detail the faces and forms which surrounded me, the conversations to which I was privileged to listen, the solemn melodious reading of the Sacred Books, the general sense of harmony and content which pervaded the place, and the fragrant shady gardens whither in the afternoons we sometimes repaired; but all this was naught in comparison with the spiritual atmosphere with which I was encompassed.... Let those who have not seen disbelieve me if they will; but should that Spirit once reveal itself to them, they will experience an emotion which they are not likely to forget."

The followers of Beha were more loving and devoted to the personality of their Master than those of Jesus. When Jesus was arrested His disciples left Him and fled, and the most courageous of them, while following Him secretly, denied Him when asked if he were one of His followers. But those of Beha followed their Master to prison and exile. No hardships, no persecution, no calamity and no death could separate them from Him, and to this profane history bears witness. Indeed, what Jesus said was true, that the Father was greater than He. Professor Browne also said: "In the corner where the divan met the wall sat a wondrous and venerable figure.... The face of Him on Whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul; power and authority sat on that ample brow; while the deep lines on the forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in indistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist, seemed to belie."

"No need to ask in whose presence I stood, as I bowed myself before One who is the Object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain."

The appearance of the Father is distinguished. It is more excellent and more sublime than all other Manifestations. When the fragrance of His teachings shall be diffused among the people of understanding, they will realize that Behaism is the only competent religion which has the capacity of receiving into her bosom all other religions, unifying them into one. Indeed, a day shall come when the banners of all religions shall be lowered under her Glorified Flag, and the melodious air shall universally be sung: "The Kingdom, the Glory and the Power belong to the Father."



THE BRONZE DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY AT FLORENCE.

By Ghiberti (15th cent.)

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1915

NO. 714

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AN AMERICAN'S APOLOGY TO GERMANY.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

THE United States, my German friends, has maintained relations of amity and good-will with your country for a century and more; and it is to be hoped that this historic friendship will continue undiminished through the world war. At the very outbreak of hostilities, however, menacing undercurrents of unpleasantness were set in motion, and they have grown steadily in volume and strength. As soon as you became definitely aware that sentiment here was running against you, you were amazed; and that amazement gave way after a time to irritation. You could not understand, you said, how this republic should have been misled by British sophistry. Later you learned that our bankers were loaning millions to your enemies, and that our manufacturers were doing a stupendous business in supplying the Allies with explosives and other munitions of war. Then your irritation changed to bitterness and your papers, with Teutonic candor, did not attempt to conceal their resentment towards Germany's "invisible enemy."

There has been a similar growth of antagonistic feeling in America. The bulk of our press took an unfriendly attitude toward you as early as August 1, 1914. Your invasion of Belgium and the subsequent military measures which you employed there greatly intensified the hostility of some sections of American opinion. The current ran against you from that time on. There were intervals, it is true, when your cause here appeared to be gaining ground, particularly during the brilliant championship of Dr. Dernburg. But the sinking of the Lusitania by a German submarine caused anti-German feeling to flame out afresh. The official relations of the two nations are now strained; and they may be worse before they are better.

To say that this situation is distressing to many of us in America is to put the matter mildly. The mutual misunderstandings will not easily be cleared away. May I attempt to explain to you why Americans—the majority, that is—have sided against you? It will be hard for you to understand the true reasons. The obvious and usual explanations do not suffice. It was not because your cable was cut, for news from Berlin and Vienna reaches us regularly by wireless. It is not because the German point of view is unknown. We have had no censorship in this country, and you no lack of able defenders. Since the beginning of the war German-Americans have protested vehemently against the prevailing antagonism, and our magazines and newspapers have published many telling arguments from pro-German pens. It is not because Americans dislike Germany and things German. Before the war there may have been prejudice in some quarters against Germany; but there was also prejudice against England and against Russia. If German achievements in art, science and government are now belittled, it is because a recent partisanship has chilled the admiration rightly due you as a great people.

No, the blindness and intolerance now so conspicuous are not the causes of our bias, but rather its symptoms. You will entirely fail to understand the attitude of the typical American of intelligence unless you see that he thinks himself fair and just. He admits to no perjury; he scoffs at the idea that he is the victim of English lies or sophistry; he believes he has arrived at a reasoned judgment after an impartial examination of the evidence. I think the American errs, but I know that he errs in good faith. He has rendered a decision against you because in his mind certain large charges have been proved against you. These charges may be grouped under the four following heads:

First, that you the people of Germany, or your military caste, started this war, and made Europe a shambles in an attempt to dominate world politics.

Second, that your invasion and devastation of Belgium was a legal and moral crime which nothing can excuse or to appreciable degree palliate.

Third, that you make war with ruthlessness and brutality, and disregard in the pursuit of your military ends the rules of international law and the dictates of humanity.

Fourth, that your victory would be detrimental to civilization, leading to a militaristic domination which would ultimately threaten the peace of all democratic countries, including the United States.

These accusations undoubtedly seem to you exaggerated, absurd, grossly unjust. So they are, considered from any viewpoint which includes knowledge of and sympathy for the German people. But let me assure you that they are held in all seriousness by thousands and thousands of Americans who are quite above the charge of either stupidity or hypocrisy. Their attitude results from a peculiar logic and their previous point of view.

II.

Americans, you should understand, were surprised at this war. Yourselves, like Russians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, who have been living for two decades under the shadow of a possible European conflict, saw in the outbreak of hostilities the clash of deep historical forces. But Americans were literally bowled over with astonishment. They had been listening to the soothing assurances of pacifists, and the insincere professions of statesmen, until they were hypnotized into believing that a world war was "impossible." And when the war did come they hit upon the most obvious explanation: that some nation had conspired in its own interest to upset the sacred *status quo*. America immediately set herself up as judge to determine who was "guilty," and straightway fixed the blame on you.

Germany was selected as the culprit because the surface case was against you. You had backed up Austria-Hungary in an attack on the small nation Servia. You had sent out twenty-four hour ultimatums and made the formal declarations of war on both Russia and France. You had drawn in England by violating the neutrality of a little country England had pledged to support. And so the surface case was complete; and this is precisely the case which your enemies rigged up against you in their White, Orange, Yellow, Gray and Blue Books. America accepted the indictment at almost face value.

Does it seem preposterous that so simple, so naive a view of European politics could seriously be entertained? Does it appear ridiculous to you that the significance of events should be judged by their sequence in time rather than by their causal connections, or that the incidents of a brief crisis should be given more weight than all the antecedent issues out of which the crisis arose? Well, such is the mind of average America. You must remember that we stand outside of the whirl of world politics, and are not accustomed to penetrate the shams of cabinets and the intrigues of diplomats. In particular the editors who control our newspapers and magazines, and who to some extent do "mold" public opinion, are usually with-

out a sound European perspective, and often display, in their quick but cocksure judgments of affairs outside our borders, a schoolboy naïveté and a provincial gullibility. They think of states as Persons, who act on single and sentimental motives.

But that is not all. America is not entirely made up of half-educated journalists and people who follow their opinions. Men of culture and travel, who take a more sophisticated view of international affairs, have joined in your condemnation. They, too, hold you "guilty." And this, I think, traces to one cause: a failure to understand the true nature and policy of Russia. The "bear that walks like a man" has been quite shouldered out of sight by England. You as Germans realize that the controversy which led directly up to the war was a Russo-German quarrel.¹ You comprehend the politics of the Balkans, where bribery, assassination, and savage "exterminations" serve in lieu of diplomacy: You know that it was Russia's unyielding mobilization on two frontiers which precipitated the present struggle. But Americans do not sense these things. From the beginning of the war Russia has been systematically and shamelessly whitewashed. We are being fed with talk about Russia's liberalization at the very time when the Russian government is throwing labor leaders into prison, exiling her Liberals to Siberia, instituting new pogroms against the Jews, and proceeding with a relentless Russification of Finland. We are constantly invited to admire "the soul of the Slav" as exemplified in Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Turgenieff, as though the intellectuals of Russia were not a small class among one hundred and seventy millions which suffers a living martyrdom in revolt against the dominant and inhuman autocracy. What G. Lowes Dickinson recently said to Englishmen might be addressed with even more force to Americans: "Since there has been in Russia a class of thinkers and of writers that class has given all its energy to destroy the power and discredit the ideas of the Russian government. Persecuted with a horror of persecution of which Englishmen can form but the palest image (for such experiences lie outside our ken), exiled, imprisoned, tortured, by hundreds and by thousands, they have never ceased to protest, in season and out of season, against the whole conception of the state which animates the soulless bureaucracy of Russia."

And so the American, forgetting Russia, and with his eyes on Germany, France, Belgium and England, declares you the aggressor. May I presume to give you my personal view of the burden of

¹ Brailsford, H. N. *The Origins of the Great War*.

responsibility? In one sense, the ultimate sense, I cannot exempt you from all blame. Your government has, like all the governments of Europe, been concerning itself with the Balance of Power, and with imperialistic projects. It has demanded a voice in world affairs, its place in the sun. The creation of a great army, and especially the building of a big navy, were not wholly unconnected with these ambitions. In this you were merely part of the European system, for the world to-day is a militarist world. You were no deeper in it than England, which spent far more money on its military and naval equipment, nor France, which had a greater proportion of its population under arms. If you were better prepared it was only on account of certain qualities in your character, of thoroughness, of punctuality, of scientific versatility, of genius for organization, which are just as conspicuous in the arts of peace as of war. Each of the chancelleries of Europe plotted for selfish national advantages—advantages which had very little real significance for the masses in any country—and bent its chief efforts to forming alliances which would shift the balance of power in its favor. To that system of rival alliances must be ascribed this collapse of civilization; for fundamentally the conflict on its negative side is a war of mutual fears, and on its positive side a war of imperial ambitions. Thereby the system stands forever condemned, as must any system which causes the slaughter of hundreds of thousands, and brings heartbreak to a million homes. The war itself is the great tragedy. The wreck of any national ambitions is a paltry calamity by the side of it, and the fulfilment of no national hopes can compensate for it.

But once granting the fundamental truth that the world of to-day is a militaristic world, the part you Germans have played in it has been a notably inoffensive and honorable one. You have kept the peace for forty years, while every other great nation went to war. You have seen England and France each add, by military aggression or threat of it, four million square miles of colonial territory to their possessions, while you added one million,—mostly worthless land. You saw your legitimate projects for expansion balked again and again by English and French diplomacy, in Africa, in Asia, in the Balkans. You watched the growing menace of Russia, as, financed by French and British gold, she increased her military resources, built strategic railroads, and marshalled her half-barbarous millions. And when Russia threw down the challenge you accepted it. You were fighting for yourselves a preventative war, and for your ally Austria-Hungary a defensive war.

Your statesmen were entirely honest when they said in the German White Paper:

"Had the Servians been allowed, with the help of Russia and France, to endanger the integrity of the neighboring monarchy much longer, the consequence must have been the gradual disruption of Austria, and the subjection of the whole Slav world to the Russian scepter, with the result that the position of the German race in central Europe would have become untenable."

You knew that the Pan-Slav movement, engineered from St. Petersburg, menaced Austria directly and yourself indirectly. What nonsense then to say that Russia entered the war out of sympathy for her little Slav brothers, the Serbs! Russia had recently watched the humiliation of her little Slav brothers, the Bulgars, with composure, and even with satisfaction. For Bulgaria had broken loose from Russian influence, but the Servians were Russian tools. Further—and here is a point ignored in most of the "histories" written by Englishmen and Americans—Austria under pressure from your government modified her demands on Servia before she mobilized on August 1. She conceded the only point on which Russia, even from an imperialistic standpoint, could be interested, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Servia. But Russia, certain of the cooperation of France, and confident of the support of Great Britain, moved from first to last for war. She was the first of the powers to mobilize. She persisted in that mobilization despite your warning that it could be interpreted in only one way. It was then that you saw parley was futile: you sent your ultimatums, and mobilized to meet the double menace.

There are Americans who, by some freak of reasoning, declare that France was "attacked" by you. France, who had lent herself body and soul to the designs of the Russian autocracy! France, whose answer to your inquiry about her position was to call up her reserves! No nation, however confident of its strength, would prefer to fight Russia and France together rather than Russia alone. You know who made the "attack."

III.

The invasion of Belgium is considered in this country the strongest count in the indictment against you; nothing carries such conviction of German perfidy to the mind of the American as your treatment of a pledge to respect her neutrality as a "scrap of paper"; and many go about declaring that America disgraced herself among the nations by not officially protesting against this act

of unrighteousness. For myself, this hue and cry over Belgium seems one of the least sensible aspects of American discussion. I cannot but admire the bold words of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag:

"Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law....The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his possessions, has only one thought—how he is to hack his way through."

That statement is one of the few sincere utterances heard from any European statesman since the war began. It rings true. You were terribly threatened; you had to strike through Belgium or court ruin. Any nation in your predicament would have done the same thing. G. Bernard Shaw put the matter squarely before Americans early in the war, when he told them: "I think, for example, that if Russia made a descent on your continent under circumstances which made it essential to the maintenance of your national freedom that you should move an army through Canada, you would ask our leave to do so and take it by force if we did not grant it to you. I may reasonably suspect, even if all our statesmen raise a shriek of denial, that we should take a similar liberty under similar circumstances in the teeth of all the scraps of paper in our Foreign Office dustbin."

That is the true British view, not the sniveling cant over the sanctity of treaties. A recent English historian² asked, in speaking of the seizure of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen in 1807, "Would it have been any satisfaction, if we had sunk under the pressure from Bonaparte, to have died with our eyes fixed on Puffendorf and the law of nations?"

You can see, however, why the plea of self-preservation carries little weight here. The American throws aside the whole argument from necessity, to you so conclusive, because, as I have explained, he believes you the aggressor. He regards the invasion of Belgium as a dastardly detail in a sinister campaign to conquer the world. Furthermore England has made all the capital possible out of your breach of law. England's declaration of war followed your violation of Belgian neutrality, and she alleged that as her cause for entry. It was a lucky stroke for the cabal of politicians that con-

² H. W. V. Temperley, *Life of Canning*, 1905.

trolled Britain, for they had committed the naval and military forces of the Empire to France in secret agreements while they had openly denied these arrangements in the House of Commons. They needed an excuse before the country, and Belgium furnished it to them. Sir Edward Grey and his faction did not stage-manage England's negotiations for their influence on neutral opinion, but for their influence on British public opinion and the recruiting campaign. Nevertheless it had its effect here. Curiously enough there exists in England a strong group of protest which is not for a moment taken in by the miserable sham of Grey, Churchill and the rest that this is a "war to preserve international law" or a "war to end war" or anything else on Britain's part but a war of imperialistic jealousy from top to bottom. But America, sentimental, credulous, self-righteous, in the face of the facts, in the face of England's record, believes that England is fighting for the rights of small nations.

It is not reasonable to take tragically the violation of Belgium's neutrality because there was very little neutrality there to violate. She had practically allied herself with France and England. To enter into secret military agreements with two of the guarantors of her neutrality, ostensibly for "defense" but actually to the detriment of a third guarantor, was not playing the game fairly. Roland G. Usher, a writer who has attained prominence in this country by his discussions of European affairs, wrote in the *New Republic*, November 28, 1914:

"The vital difficulty in this question of neutrality was and is that the territory of Belgium was not and is not neutral ground. It is literally the front door to France and the side door to Germany, and its possession by either is so dangerous to the other that the moment war breaks out or even becomes probable, Belgium is either a part of Germany or a part of France, and hostile territory for whichever of the two does not hold it. . . . Whatever the diplomatic facts may be, whatever the technicalities of alliances and treaties eventually prove to have been, Belgium was as clearly an ally of France as England was. The Belgian army and its dispositions, the Belgian forts on the German frontier, were prepared with the advice, at least, of English and French generals. Plans for the cooperation of the three armies were undoubtedly made. Let us not quibble over the question whether this was an infringement of neutrality. The Belgians knew—let us say it once more—that the neutrality of Belgium was a fiction because Belgium was not neutral ground."

Quite so. Belgium was not neutral because she had thrown her sympathies to the French, and because she had connived with your recognized enemies for the employment of her military forces. You had a reasonable suspicion that she would not view a French violation of her neutrality in the same light as a German violation. Few Americans realize what the strategic situation was. They conceive of Belgium merely as an easy road to France, and the sole purpose of your invasion to strike a swift blow at France in order to be able later to turn and deal with Russia. But there was a more vital matter involved. Belgium borders on the most vulnerable portion of Germany, the great industrial district of Westphalia, which includes among other vital centers Essen and the Krupp gun works. Essen, though east of the Rhine, is less than one hundred and fifty miles from Antwerp. Cologne, Düsseldorf and Krefeld are nearer. The empire would be prostrate once this prosperous and thickly populated region of factories, blast furnaces and steel mills fell into hostile hands. It is an open secret that the English military leaders had planned in a war with you to blockade your ports by sea and enter Westphalia by land, and so hold Germany by the throat. As a road to Paris Belgium was an advantage to you; as a gate to Essen it was a warrant of death. Through Belgium you could strike France a blow in the face, but through Belgium France could stab you in the back. That was the nature of the military necessity.

You suspected, with reason, Belgium's good faith. The documents found in the archives of the Belgian general staff in Antwerp merely confirmed in part facts already thoroughly well known to your military authorities. But why, asks the American, didn't Germany wait to see if France or England intended to violate Belgian neutrality? That is the whole point. You couldn't wait. In our Southwest when a man reaches for his gun we do not expect the other disputant to see what use will be made of the gun before he draws his own. He acts on a presumption. Men who refuse to act on that sort of presumption soon have heirs reading their wills. You could not take the chance of having Belgium used as a weapon to crush you.

The destruction which hit Belgium, it is true, was a terrible penalty for her dereliction, or that of her military rulers. We live in a world where, either for the nation or the individual, the punishment rarely fits the crime. When men play with fire they may be frightfully burnt; and war is the only fire that compares with hell. The apologists and mourners for Belgium usually contend that

she was justified in seeking covert aid against the German menace, which proved to be real. But she would have had a thousand times better chance to escape disaster had she practised a real neutrality and not one interpreted to fit her supposed interests. When history makes its final reckoning, I am sure, Belgium will not be found the "black indelible blot" on your name which your enemies would place there. At least you have the satisfaction of knowing that you went about the business like men, openly and frankly, without the subterfuge and hypocrisy practised by the other nations concerned.

IV.

Barbarians! Huns!

From the beginning of the war your foes have carried on against you a campaign of atrocity tales as unscrupulous and mendacious as that conducted by the Greeks against the Bulgars in the Second Balkan War. The Belgians issued an official report of alleged German barbarities, and the French and English followed suit. Viscount Bryce, well and favorably known on this side of the Atlantic, lent his name to the English version. These canards are widely believed in America, but chiefly, I think, by those who wilfully want to believe—those whose prejudice blinds them to impartial evidence. Responsible American newspaper correspondents, returned from the front where they had every opportunity to investigate, have exposed the fraud again and again. Your own official document on the conduct of war by the Belgians more than exonerates you for the reprisal measures you took. But these were not "atrocities" as advertised.

Of course no one will assert that the sweep of your armies through Belgium and France was accomplished without occasional instances of pillage, rape and murder. Such sporadic lapses into crime are to be expected in war time. Business is business, says the American; in far truer sense, war is war. We have reason to believe, however, that the iron discipline of the Prussian armies, unequalled anywhere else, reduces the number of these offenses to a minimum. The stories that seep through from France—of the bayoneting of prisoners, for example, and of German girls shrieking to be killed—make us skeptical of the effectiveness of the restraints in the other armies. And what will turn the stomach of civilization when the final inquest is held are the barbarities of the Russian hordes. You know that in East Prussia the atrocities of the Cosacks in 1812, 1813 and 1814 are still recalled, a century later. And you know what a saturnalia of outrage, cruelty and torture Russian

troops perpetrated last year in Bukowina, Galicia and East Prussia. The official German report of the Russian horrors has been tacitly ignored, although the reports of the "atrocities" in Belgium have been given the widest possible publicity.

There has grown up, in fact, a legend that the Teuton in warfare is brutal, savage and ruthless. This legend has been carefully fostered in England—again to aid the recruiting campaign; and it has gained wide-spread credence in the United States. What has lent color to the legend more than anything else is the occasional slaughter of civilians and non-combatants,—as in the dropping of Zeppelin bombs on London and other English towns, the bombardment of the east coast of England by a German fleet, and the sinking of passenger vessels by submarines. You look upon the killing of these non-combatants as the regrettable concomitants of legitimate military projects, but a mind hostile in opinion to you finds in them proof of your personal depravity. In the fog of war we arrive at a curious mental state. What seems justifiable when done by our side appears intolerable and execrable when practised by the enemy. Thus American sympathizers with the Allies wax hot when German airmen shell open English towns, but watch with composure when the aviators of the Allies drop bombs and kill women and children in the unfortified German towns of Freiburg, Schlettstadt or Karlsruhe. When the French use asphyxiating gas they hear the news with grim satisfaction, but when you use gas they raise a howl of indignation. When you shell a cathedral tower they quote the Hague Conventions, but when the English use dum-dum bullets they shrug their shoulders. Sympathy with a belligerent hardens the heart. To your ill-wishers in America German heart-break and German agony means nothing, and German deaths are a cause for rejoicing.

This is the reason why America has not shown resentment at the cynical inhumanity of England and France in pitting against you uncivilized yellow, brown and negroid troops. In the name of civilization and the higher culture they have launched on your sons and husbands the Turco, the Sikh, the Ghoorka, the Pathan,—these savages who cut off the heads of prisoners, make necklaces of eyes they have gouged from the wounded, and thrust their knives upward through the bowels. "From Senegambia, Morocco, the Sudan, Afghanistan, every wild band of robber clans, come fighting men to slay the compatriots of Kant, Hegel, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Beethoven, Wagner, Mozart, Dürer, Helmholtz, Hertz, Ilaeckel, and a million others, perhaps obscurer, no less noble, men of the

fatherland of music, of philosophy, of science, and of medicine, the land where education is a reality and not a farce, the land of Luther and Melanchthon, the land whose life-blood washed out the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Dark Ages.

“The Huns!”

V.

Quite frankly the American press wants to see you beaten in this war, to have “Prussian militarism” wiped out. If you win, say our sage students of foreign affairs, you will override the world like a tyrannical colossus, threatening the life of every free people. France and England will be annihilated. Who will be next? Naturally the United States. As our sapient editors are fond of phrasing it, the United States “cannot afford” to see the Allies lose.

The desire to see you defeated springs naturally out of the general feeling of antagonism. Some explanation of your supposed aggression had to be found. How was it that you, notoriously a peace-loving people, suddenly reached up and pulled down the pillars of civilization? What was the motive? The answer has been militarism—together with autocracy, lust for expansion, delusion of a world mission—but always first and last, militarism. Nietzsche, Treitschke and Bernhardi have been pictured as your popular authors and national guides. The Prussian drill sergeant has been depicted as your universal educator, who has drilled your minds as well as your bodies. The House of Hohenzollern has been held up as a dynasty of war-lords, afflicted with a Cæsarian itch to rule the world.

In other words, your defamers do their best to make of you a bogey. The non-combatant in modern war loses all touch with fact and comes to paint the enemy as a monster and a demon. No greater libel ever has been uttered against a nation than when Germans are accused of being a race of militarists. A juster description is that you are the most military and the least warlike of people. You had in Germany, of course, as had every other European power, your pro-war party, and it was an insistent and outspoken party, but to picture it as anything but a small minority is to travesty the truth. Your militarists had no more popular support or more effective grip on the government than did the Imperialists of England, or the Chauvinists of France, or the Irridentists of Italy; the proof lies in the event!

If you had not maintained a powerful army, where would you be now? Here is Germany, completely ringed with hate-stung foes,

battling against odds such as no other nation ever has had to face, outnumbered more than two to one—almost three to one, in men, resources and wealth, fighting to preserve her existence and even her right to remain a free and united people,—yet to hear Englishmen and Americans talk one would imagine that the Allies, rather than Germany, were the stag at bay! Of late it has become the fashion in our journals to cite your “preparedness” as a convincing proof of a German conspiracy against the peace of the world. I quote a few phrases from a bitter and rhetorical article³ in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*: “Germany...has hurled calamity on a continent. She has struck to pieces a Europe whose very unpreparedness answers her ridiculous falsehood that she was attacked first;” “Prussia’s long-prepared and malignant assault.... the deadliest assault ever made on Democracy;” “Her spring at the throat of an unsuspecting, unprepared world.” There you have it! Germany was prepared to meet a dangerous attack (which actually was made), therefore she must have invited the attack, nay, perpetrated it. And such nonsense passes for logic! At the war’s beginning your American enemies predicted that you soon would be crushed and taught the folly of challenging a fore-warned world; now that you are winning, your victories are cited to show how innocent must have been the rest of the world so to have been caught napping. Either way you are blamed. When you stand off a world and deal your enemies staggering blows, you are given no credit for being better generalled, for having superior physical stamina, for meeting with greater ability the complex industrial and technical problems of modern war, or for your intenser moral earnestness,—this passion of conviction which enables you to unlock such marvellous reserves of energy.

No, the explanation is always “preparedness.” Yet in all except the tangible racial factors your opponents were as well prepared as yourselves. The combined standing armies of Russia and France before the war numbered 2,010,000 soldiers as against your 870,000, and the total of their drilled men was 9,500,000 as against your 5,500,000. Austria and Turkey were more than offset by Great Britain, Servia, Portugal, Italy and Japan. On the sea the preparedness of the Allies exceeded yours in the proportion of four to one. The total output of their arms works and munitions factories was greater than yours in the same ratio as their armies, and Creusot rivalled Krupp. The boasts of your enemies last summer, telling what they would do to you, shows how highly they thought of their

³ “The Pentecost of Calamity” by Owen Wister.

armaments. Is it your reproach or theirs that those boasts proved somewhat hollow? Why not rather give you decent credit for the amazing, almost incredible, stand you are making?

The overworked assertion that civilization will suffer if you win is not based on any impartial analysis of German character or purposes, or upon a reasoned forecast of historical probabilities. It is sheer malice. Probably there is no settlement of this conflict which can be entirely satisfactory. For myself I prefer to see you win, and win decisively. If Germany is destroyed, or even greatly hampered in its normal development, one of the world's best hopes will be extinguished. But if Germany is victorious, the international situation may be much improved. The world will be spared an increase in Russia's power, and the forcible Russification of more victim peoples. We shall avoid a dangerous aggrandizement in the position of Japan. A German victory may liberalize the electoral system of Prussia,⁴ but nothing will liberalize Russia except a crushing defeat and the withdrawal of English and French loans to the bureaucracy. France will not be annihilated, any more than she was after 1870, though she may be forced to part with a section of her colonial empire. England will not be wiped out, but she may be forced to forego the arrogant assumption that the sea is British property. The United States can view with composure any changes in titles to colonies in Africa or the Near East. You will never cross our path. For one thing you will be too busy elsewhere!

Most Americans, of course, do not share this view; nothing would please them better than to see Germany brought to her knees. It is this popular desire to see you beaten which so complicates the question of our trade in war munitions. That question has not and cannot be argued on its merits. However neutral the United States has been in its official attitude, it is not neutral in sentiment. Americans are glad to supply your enemies with arms, because in this way they can help avenge the "rape of Belgium" and aid in punishing the "disturber of the world's peace." Technically, of course, our neutrality is not violated, for we have the legal right, by historical usage and by article 7, Convention XIII of the 1907 Hague Conference, to sell arms anywhere in the world. Neither, on the other hand, would our neutrality be violated by placing a complete embargo on the ships carrying munitions. To right-thinking men and women this whole business of dealing in instruments of destruction for profit appears disgusting and abhorrent.

⁴ Professor Henry C. Emery, "German Economics and the War," *Yale Review*, January, 1915.

However, the crux of the question is neither neutrality or ethics. While the Allies control the seas export of arms aids them, embargo on arms aids you. Consequently outside of German-Americans, there is little demand that Congress suppress this new and monstrous billion-dollar industry.

My German friends, there is one last word I would address to you, and this most earnestly of all. Do not allow your bitterness against the United States to increase. Do not regard this country as your confirmed enemy, but as a potential friend. Our nation is much more divided in its sympathy than it appears to be. There are over eight million German-Americans in America,—immigrants or offspring of immigrants. There are nearly three millions from Austria-Hungary. There are four and a half millions from Ireland, of whom a large proportion take a pro-German attitude. Besides these millions there are a vast number of men and women of older American stock who see the justice of your struggle, or at least are lenient in their judgment. The laboring men, the common people everywhere, do not share the rabid intolerance of our pseudo-intellectuals. The anti-German attitude of our press gives a false surface of unanimity to American opinion. We do not know, as a matter of fact, where we should stand if your side had adequate and fair representation in the journals of public discussion. But be assured of this: what is now called "the American attitude" toward Germany will not endure forever. It is, as I have explained to you, based in large part on errors in the interpretation of facts. If that is so, some day these misinterpretations will be refuted and swept away. At bottom America is fair-minded. And you have in the United States loyal friends, whose eyes refuse to be blinded by calumny, who, not unaware of your faults, love you for your lofty virtues, who will fight for you against a world of falsehoods, until the truth prevails. *Dem glücklichen Tag!*

THE ORIGIN OF WOMAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

PLATO'S Symposium is perhaps the most poetical discussion in Greek philosophy and one of the most interesting. It tells of a banquet to which Agathon has invited his friends, among whom we find the philosopher Socrates, the poet Aristophanes, the disciples of Socrates, Pausanias, Phaedrus and some others. After dinner Phaedrus proposes to make speeches in honor of love, and Pausanias begins by drawing a distinction between heavenly and earthly love, extolling the former and giving scant praise to the latter. Aristophanes is the next speaker, but, being prevented by a severe hiccup from taking up the discussion, gives precedence to Eryximachus, the physician. This speaker approves the distinction made by Pausanias, but generalizes the conception of love by regarding it as a universal principle bringing about the harmony that regulates nature in the course of the seasons, in its relations of moist and dry, hot and cold, etc., and whose absence is marked by diseases of all sorts. Aristophanes, having recovered from his hiccup, proposes to offer a new explanation setting forth a novel theory of the origin of human nature. We quote extracts from the translation of Jowett:

"Primeval man was round, his back and sides forming a circle; and he had four hands and four feet, one head with two faces, looking opposite ways, set on a round neck and precisely alike; also four ears, two privy members and the remainder to correspond. He could walk upright as men now do, backward or forward as he pleased, and he could also roll over and over at a great pace, turning on his four hands and four feet, eight in all, like tumblers going over and over with their legs in the air; this was when he wanted to run fast.... Terrible was their might and strength, and the thoughts of their hearts were great, and they made an attack upon the gods; of them is told the tale of Otys and Ephialtes who, as

Homer says, dared to scale heaven, and would have laid hands upon the gods. Doubt reigned in the celestial councils. Should they kill them and annihilate the race with thunderbolts, as they had done the giants, then there would be an end of the sacrifices and worship which men offered to them; but, on the other hand, the gods could not suffer their insolence to be unrestrained. At last, after a good deal of reflection, Zeus discovered a way. He said: 'Methinks I have a plan which will humble their pride and improve their manners; men shall continue to exist, but I will cut them in two and then they will be diminished in strength and increased in numbers; this will have the advantage of making them more profitable to us. They shall walk upright on two legs, and if they continue insolent and will not be quiet, I will split them again and they shall hop about on a single leg.' He spoke and cut men in two, like a sorb-apple which is halved for pickling, or as you might divide an egg with a hair; and as he cut them one after another, he bade Apollo give the face and the half of the neck a turn in order that the man might contemplate the section of himself: he would thus learn a lesson of humility. Apollo was also bidden to heal their wounds and compose their forms. So he gave a turn to the face and pulled the skin from the sides all over that which in our language is called the belly, like the purses which draw in, and he made one mouth at the center which he fastened in a knot (the same which is called the navel); he also moulded the breast and took out most of the wrinkles, much as a shoemaker might smooth leather upon a last; he left a few, however, in the region of the belly and navel, as a memorial of the primeval state. After the division the two parts of man, each desiring his other half, came together, and throwing their arms about one another, entwined in mutual embraces, longing to grow into one, they were on the point of dying from hunger and self-neglect, because they did not like to do anything apart; and when one of the halves died and the other survived, the survivor sought another mate, man or woman as we call them, being the sections of entire men or women,—and clung to that."

This ingenious theory of primitive man as a union of two human creatures is perhaps older than Plato and may not be original with him. At any rate the Biblical passage in Gen. i. 27 and Gen. ii. 21-22 may also have been given the interpretation of man's creation as a union of Adam and Eve. The oldest texts read plainly: "And God created man in his image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them"; but it has been pointed out that the same primitive man is here spoken of, first in

the singular as "him," and then at the end of the verse in the plural, "them." The idea that originally Adam comprised in himself the nature of Eve as well has been suggested by the story that Eve was taken out of the side of Adam, and was formed from one of his ribs.

Obviously the idea expressed here in this passage of Genesis is ultimately the same as that of the Greek poet Aristophanes, and from the standpoint of modern physiology neither man nor woman is an individual, but the combination of two, viz., the father and mother. Each one of them, man alone or woman alone, is but a one-sided half of human existence. Each, by itself alone, is doomed to die; both together are immortal.

The Genesis story of the creation of woman is portrayed in many of the artistic representations of the creation of Eve.

Suggestions made to explain the original story of the creation of man in the sense suggested by Aristophanes in Plato's Symposium, may not be tenable but they are not altogether senseless.

We must consider that primitive legends have originated from curiosity with regard to some problem that has presented itself to man in the childhood of the race. In our present case we have to deal with the question why the ribs of man's chest do not entirely enclose the body, but leave unprotected an opening in the middle, the so-called procordium, where they turn upward. The primitive answer to this problem was the story we have been discussing, and thence the notion seems implied that before Eve, the feminine portion of man, had been taken out of his side he must have been an androgynous being, and we will add that there is a scientific truth underlying this primitive idea.

Living substance is originally asexual, or rather bisexual,¹ and in its primitive state it is immortal. A moner does not experience what we call death; unless it is crushed, or destroyed by poison, it lives on and grows. When it outgrows its proper size it divides into two parts. It does not die; nor does it beget a young moner; it divides. There are two new moners, but there is not a mother and a child; the two are coordinate. Both are mothers and both are children. Death is not the original lot of life. Death comes into this world by birth. Life in itself can be destroyed by physical violence or by chemical means, but if it is not thus destroyed it is unending, or, in other words, immortality is a fact.

The differentiation of life into two sexes places a limit upon the existence of the differentiated parts. Each individual grows to

¹ See the author's *Soul of Man*, pp. 399ff.

a definite size and is limited to a definite span of duration: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

The story of the garden of Eden was given a symbolical interpretation at an early date. We read in Origen's refutation of Cel-sus (Book IV, Chapter XXXVIII):

"In the next place, as it is his object to slander our scriptures, he ridicules the following statement: 'And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which he had taken from the man, made he a woman,' and so on; without quoting the words which would give the hearer the impression that they are spoken with a figurative meaning. He would not even have it appear that the words were used allegorically, although he says afterward, that 'the more modest among Jews and Christians are ashamed of these things, and endeavor to give them somehow an allegorical signification.'"

It is not an accident that in pagan antiquity the fruit of the tree of life in the shape of an apple or pomegranate was the symbol of Aphrodite. We must assume that the apples of the Hesperides which Hercules was requested to obtain, and also the apples of Iduna bestowing immortality upon the Teutonic gods, possess ultimately the same significance as the apple of Eve.

We do not mean to gather here all the traditions about the origin of woman, but we will quote two accounts from a modern book of Hindu tales, called *A Digit of the Moon and Other Love Stories from the Hindu*, and translated from the original manuscripts by F. W. Bain. Here we are told of a king who falls in love with a princess when he sees her picture. He leaves his kingdom in the hands of his ministers and travels out in search of his love, accompanied by his faithful companion Rasakósha.² The passage containing the story of the origin of woman reads thus:

"One day, as they rested at noon beneath the thick shade of a *Kadamba*³ tree, the King gazed for a long time at the portrait of his mistress. And suddenly he broke silence, and said, 'Rasakósha, this is a woman. Now, a woman is the one thing about which I

² Pronounce *Russakósh*. The name refers to the part he will play in the story; it means both "a ball of mercury," and "a treasure of taste, wit, literary sentiments or flavors," a sort of walking encyclopedia. The King's companion is a salient figure in Hindu drama: he is a sort of Sancho Panza, *minus* the vulgarity and the humor.

³ "A tree with orange-colored fragrant blossoms."

know nothing. Tell me, what is the nature of women?' Then Rasa-kósha smiled, and said: 'King, you should certainly keep this question to ask the Princess; for it is a hard question. A very terrible creature indeed is a woman, and one formed of strange elements. *A propos*, I will tell you a story: listen.

"In the beginning, when Twashtri⁴ came to the creation of woman, he found that he had exhausted his materials in the making of man, and that no solid elements were left. In this dilemma, after profound meditation, he did as follows: He took the rotundity of the moon, and the curves of creepers, and the clinging of tendrils, and the trembling of grass, and the slenderness of the reed, and the bloom of flowers, and the lightness of leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk, and the glances of deer, and the clustering of rows of bees,⁵ and the joyous gaiety of sunbeams, and the weeping of clouds, and the fickleness of the winds, and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant, and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire, and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of the *kókila*,⁶ and the hypocrisy of the crane, and the fidelity of the *chakraváka*;⁷ and compounded all these together, he made woman, and gave her to man. But after one week, man came to him and said: Lord, this creature that you have given me makes my life miserable. She chatters incessantly, and teases me beyond endurance, never leaving me alone: and she requires incessant attention, and takes all my time up, and cries about nothing, and is always idle; and so I have come to give her back again, as I cannot live with her. So Twashtri said: Very well: and he took her back. Then after another week, man came again to him, and said: Lord, I find that my life is very lonely since I gave you back that creature. I remember how she used to dance and sing to me, and look at me out of the corner of her eye, and play with me, and cling to me; and her laughter was music, and she was beautiful to look at, and soft to touch: so give her back to me again. So Twashtri said: Very well: and gave her back again. Then after only three days,

⁴ The Hindu Vulcan, sometimes, as here, used for the Creator, *dhatri* = Plato's *δημιουργος*. Sanskrit literature is the key to Plato; much of his philosophy is only the moonlike reflection of Hindu mythology.

⁵ Hindu poets see a resemblance between rows of bees and eye-glances.

⁶ The Indian cuckoo. The crane is a by-word for inward villainy and sanctimonious exterior.

⁷ The *chakraváka*, or Brahmany drake, is fabled to pass the night sorrowing for the absence of his mate and she for him.

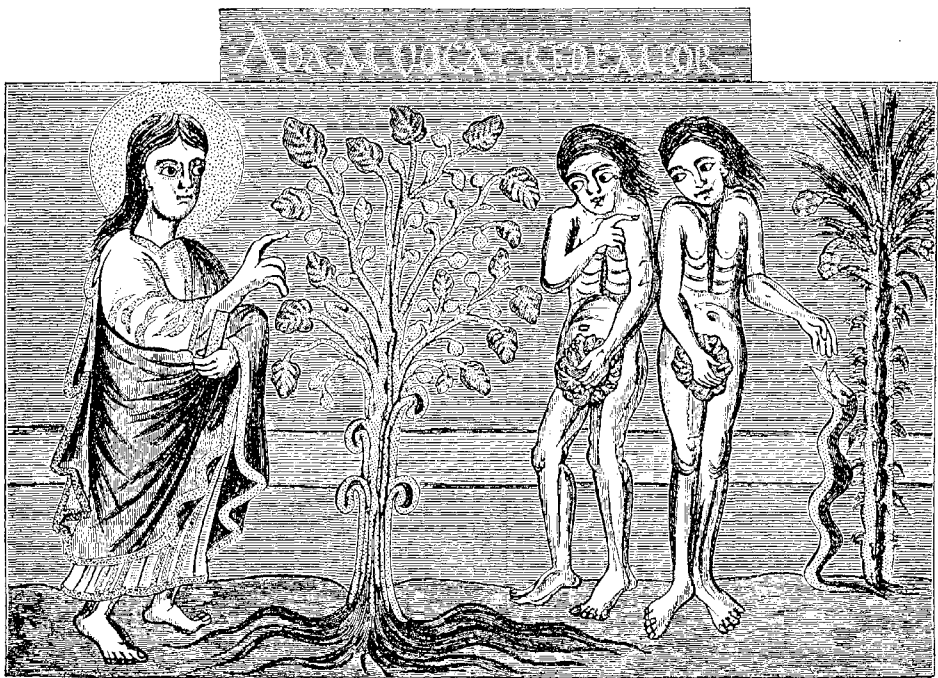
man came back to him again, and said: Lord, I know not how it is; but after all, I have come to the conclusion that she is more of a trouble than a pleasure to me: so please take her back again. But Twashtri said: Out on you! Be off! I will have no more of this. You must manage how you can. Then man said: But I cannot live with her. And Twashtri replied: Neither could you live without her. And he turned his back on man, and went on with his work. Then man said: What is to be done? for I cannot live either with or without her.'

"And Rasakósha ceased, and looked at the King. But the King remained silent, gazing intently at the portrait of the Princess."

Another story, of like character, is told in the same book, on pages 372-374, only with the difference that it points out a lesson for woman that she must cleave to her husband because she possesses no independent existence by herself. (The same, however, in the Indian story is not true of man.) This is the explanation the faithful wife Wanawallari gives to the Brahman who tempts her to leave her husband. She says:

"Once there was a time when there were neither men nor women, but the universe existed alone. And then one day, when the Creator was meditating with a view to further creation he said to himself: 'Something is wanting to complete the Creation which I have created. It is blind, and unconscious of its own curious beauty and excellence.' Thereupon he created a man. And instantly the creation became an object of wonder and beauty, being reflected like a picture in the mirror of the mind of the man. Then the man roamed alone in the world, wondering at the flowers and the trees and the animals, and at last he came to a pool. And he looked in, and saw himself. Then full of astonishment, he exclaimed: 'This is the most beautiful creature of all.' And he hunted incessantly through the whole world to find it, not knowing that he was looking for himself. But when he found that in spite of all his endeavors he could never do more than see it on the surface of pools, he became sad, and ceased to care about anything. Then the Creator, perceiving it, said to himself: 'Ha! this is a difficulty which I never foresaw, arising naturally from the beauty of my work. But now, what is to be done? For here is this man, whom I made to be a mirror for my world, snared in the mirror of his own beauty. So I must somehow or other cure this evil. But I cannot make another man, for then there would be two centers to the circle of the universe. Neither can I add anything to the circumference of Nature, for it is perfect in itself. There is necessary, therefore, some third

thing: not real, for then it would disturb the balance of the universe; nor unreal, for then it would be nothing: but poised on the border between reality and nonentity.' So he collected the reflections on the surface of the pools, and made of them a woman. But she, as soon as she was made, began to cry. And she said: 'Alas! alas! I am, and I am not.' Then said the Creator: 'Thou foolish intermediate creature, thou art a nonentity only when thou standest alone. But when thou art united to the man, thou art real in participation with his substance.' And thus, O Brahman, apart from her husband a woman is a nonentity and a shadow without a



ADAM AND EVE CALLED TO ACCOUNT.

From the so-called Alcuin Bible (9th cent.)

substance: being nothing but the mirror of himself, reflected on the mirror of illusion."

* * *

Early Christian art took little or no interest in the parents of mankind. So far as we can discover neither the catacombs of Rome nor Christian sarcophagi are adorned with representations of Adam and Eve. Wherever they may occur they are rare exceptions. There is no trace of them in the *fondi d'oro* (gold-bottomed glasses), nor

in the mosaics. In painting they become more and more frequent in the beginning of the Middle Ages, and we reproduce here, as one of the oldest representations of the subject, a picture from the so-called Alcuin Bible preserved in the British Museum.

The name "Alcuin Bible" is not justified, for the work dates from some time after Alcuin; but, after all, it comes from his school and the book was *manufactured* in Tours about the middle of the ninth century, still showing the influence of the brilliant scholar of Charlemagne's court.

We will say here that the so-called Alcuin Bible is severely criticized by Anton Springer on account of "the ugliness of its figures,"



THE CREATION OF WOMAN.

Relief on the cathedral of Orvieto (14th cent.)

but there is more to be seen in this picture than mere awkwardness of style. Certainly we are at once impressed with the lack of technique; art is in its beginning; but the artist is apparently endowed with artistic talent, for the psychology of the picture here reproduced is exceedingly good. The eyes of Adam and Eve, and of the Lord in rebuking them, show real appreciation of the mental processes of the individuals. God walks into the garden with his finger raised, like a teacher who rebukes children caught stealing apples. God's finger is not straight, a fact which presupposes a close observation of life. His eyes express kindness as well as admonition, while Adam and Eve stand conscience-stricken by the side of the

tree. They do not dare to look into the face of God, and Adam, with his clumsy hand, points to Eve as the cause of the evil, while her face expresses admission, though in her turn she lays the blame on the snake which stands erect at her left.

It is true that the technique is abominable. The heads are ridiculously large, and the hands are out of proportion. The bodies



DETAIL FROM Ghiberti's DOORS.

First panel.

do not express the beauty generally credited to both Adam and Eve as the most perfect handiwork of God. The paints in the picture are reported to be no better than the drawing. The flesh is of a gray color shaded with maroon streaks. In contrast to the sickly and poverty-stricken appearance of the human couple the good Lord is dressed in gold, like a wealthy nobleman of the age, and the

scene is shown to be in Paradise by the trees too being overlaid with gold. Nevertheless the situation is very clearly a garden, copied from nature, and the very story, with all its details, could be reconstructed from this picture.

In time, with the advance of art, the figures of Adam and Eve come more and more to assume the artistic appearance of natural beauty. Adam and Eve represent mankind in its primitive state, devoid of spirituality but perfect in health and vigor. It is note-



THE CREATION OF WOMAN.

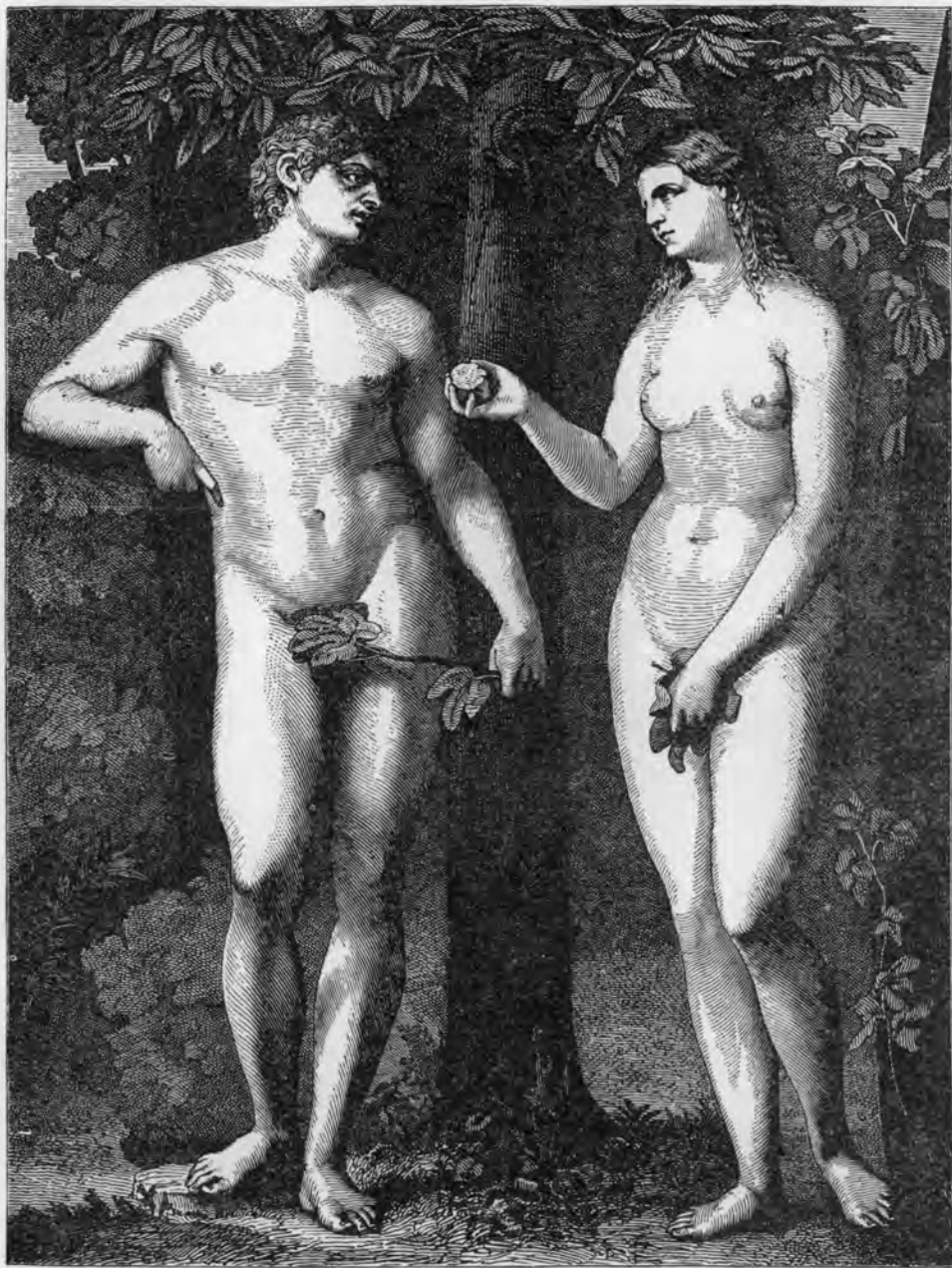
By Michelangelo (15th cent.)

worthy that they represent paganism in its rudeness and ignorance, and so acquire a certain relationship to Greek antiquity.

In the Renaissance we reach a perfection in the figures of Adam and Eve which attains the ideal of classical beauty, and the fall of man grows more and more indispensable in the history of Christian salvation. Almost every painter believed it his duty to represent the two fatal scenes, the fall of man and the expulsion from Paradise. Similar scenes also begin to appear in sculptured reliefs. A scene on one side of the large pillars in the front of the cathedral at Orvieto is devoted to the subject of Eve's creation.

The creation of man and woman is the first scene portrayed

on Ghiberti's great bronze entrance-doors of the baptistery at Florence. These beautiful reliefs represent the beginning of a new



THE FALL OF MAN.

By Palma Vecchio (15th cent.)

and greater period of art. It is Ghiberti's merit to have created an originally Christian conception quite different from the classical

reliefs of plastic art. It is noble and perfect, much fuller and richer than ancient Greek reliefs, and in a new style which we may call that of the Renaissance, or Christian plastic. We observe in it evidence

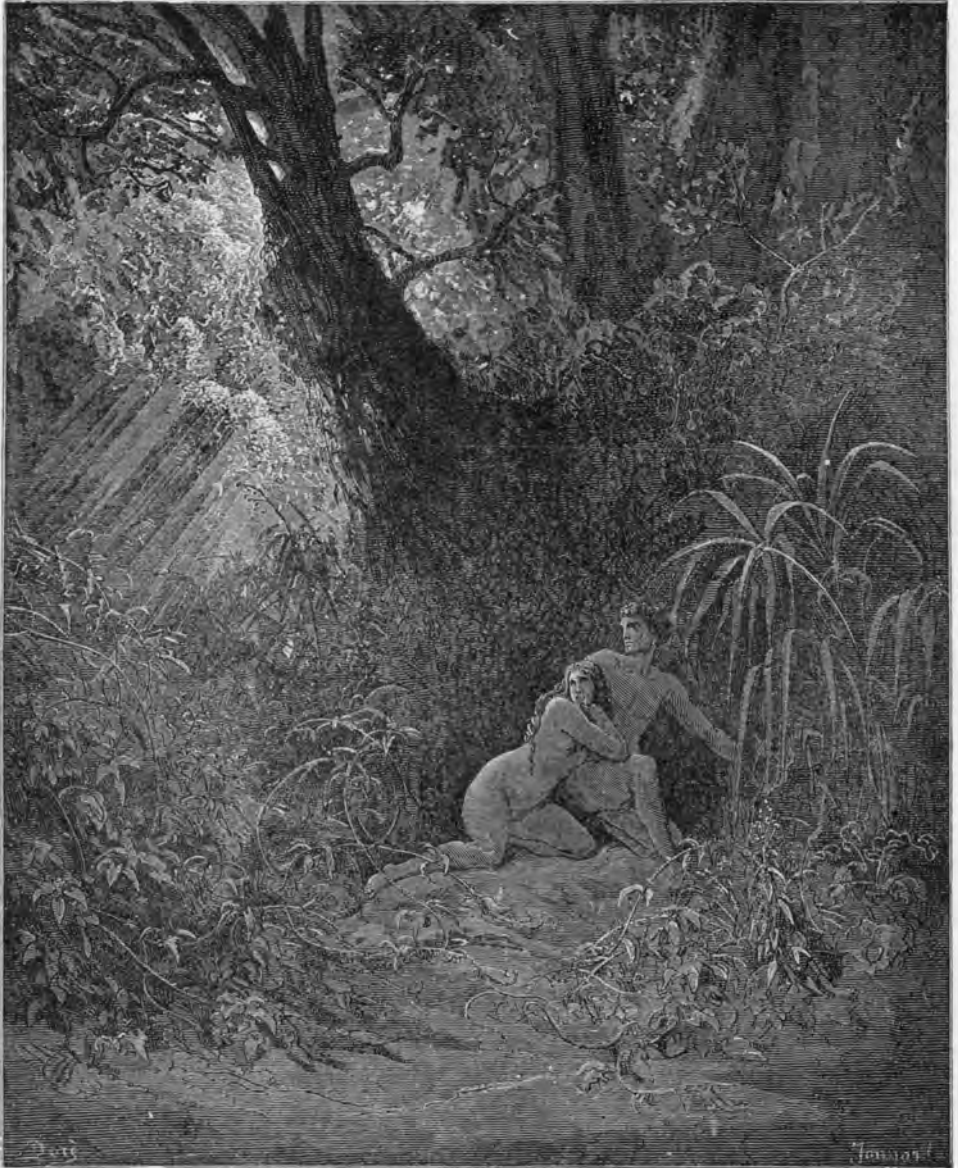


ADAM AND EVE IN PARADISE.

By Gustave Doré.

of a close study of garments and draperies, and the attempt to bring out not only bodily beauty but a spiritual expression and allegorical meaning. At the same time we can notice that not only Ghiberti

but also his successors follow nature, and most of the characters presented are plainly portraits of men and women who have served as living models.



THE SUMMONS.

By Gustave Doré.

We reproduce in our frontispiece the doors of the baptistery and here also, in a slightly larger form, the panel representing the creation of man and woman. In the lower left corner of this

illustration God is creating man. In the center he is raising Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam, who lies prostrate on the ground. God is here always surrounded and assisted by angels,



THE EXPULSION FROM PARADISE.

By Gustave Doré.

who lift up Eve while the good Lord watches her rise. In the middle left part of the picture we see Adam and Eve taking the apple from the serpent which is entwined about the tree between

them. In the right corner our unfortunate ancestors are being driven out of Paradise. Eve stands in despair, while Adam is visible in the rear.

Michelangelo's Creation of Eve is represented on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, and is perhaps the most vigorous expression of the original strength of the mother of mankind. It will be observed that here too Eve comes forth from the side of man, although the picture seems to show her already in perfect body,



THE CREATION.

By Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

while the Ghiberti and other pictures show her still emerging from Adam's side. Palma Vecchio is one of Michelangelo's contemporaries who has painted the theme of Adam's temptation and fall.

From among the more modern pictures we reproduce here three drawings, representing Adam and Eve, by Gustave Doré. In the first we see them in their state of innocence, Eve being pictured as reclining on the ground, while Adam looks upon her in love and admiration. In the next we see them hiding in the dark recesses of Paradise, as they notice the arrival of the good Lord; it is the

scene representing the awakening of their consciences. In the third picture they are being expelled from Paradise by the fiery sword of the archangel, who stands in a threatening attitude in the background. Eve is leaning in despair against a rock by the wayside, and Adam in a somewhat firmer attitude seems to be meditating on his future fate.

Of the most recent pictures we will mention only those of Schnorr von Carolsfeld, who has succeeded most effectively in strik-

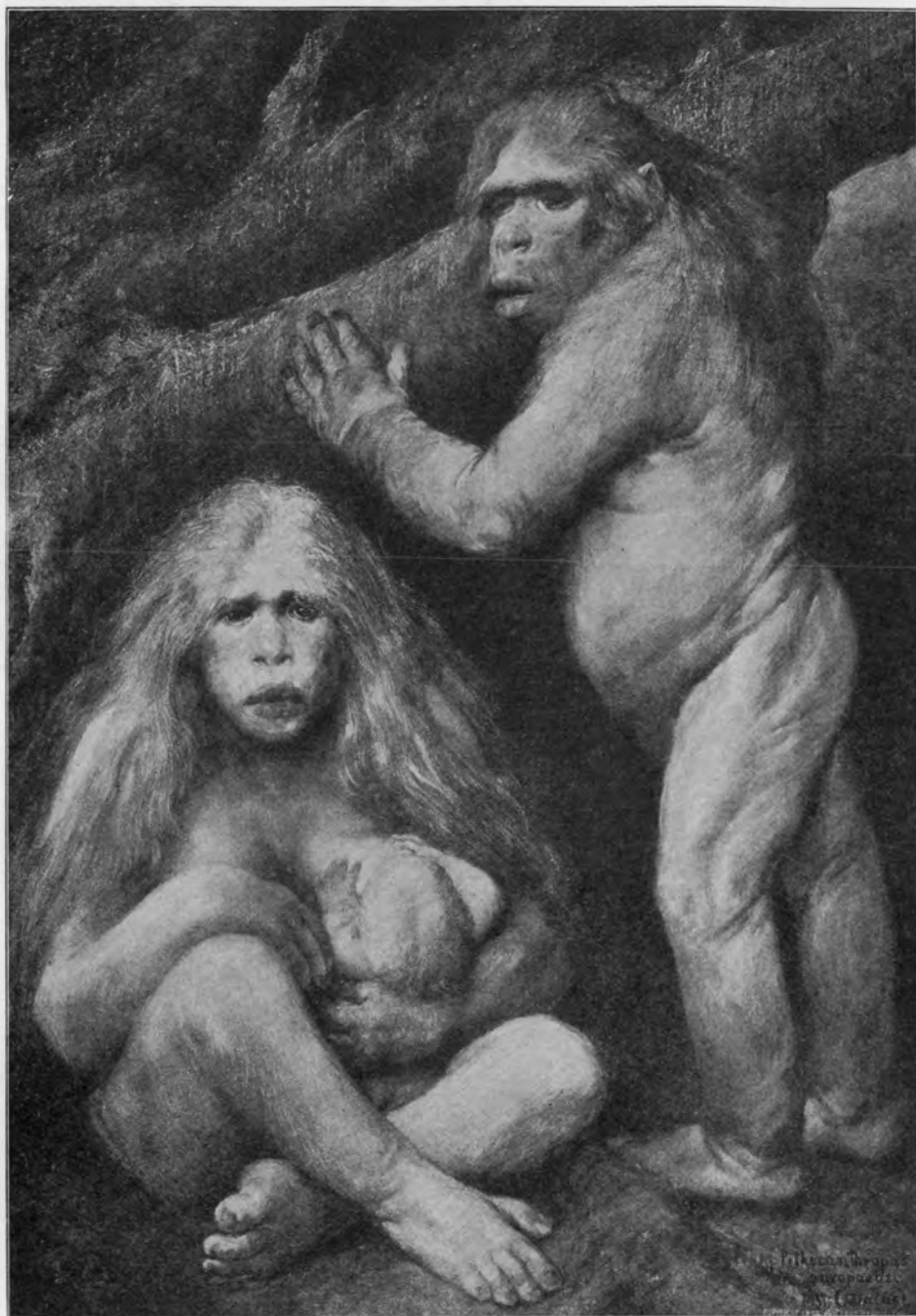


THE FIRST FAMILY.

By Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

ing the proper traditional note in Bible illustrations. He shows Adam and Eve as first created by God, when they are given dominion over all the rest of creation. The scene which shows Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise expresses a more modern view, portraying the comfortable domestic scene of Adam's primitive home, where, leaning on his hoe, he rests from his labors while Eve sits in the background with a distaff in her hand, and their two sons are playing about them.

And now, in conclusion, the question as to the place of this



PRIMITIVE MAN.

By Gabriel Max.

theme in the art of the future. Has not the present generation lost interest in our ancestors? Since the legend is no longer believed literally our artistic imagination is not attracted so strongly by it. The story of the fall of man has become an allegory, an interesting tale, but it is no longer a truth. We believe now in evolution, and so Gabriel Max has pictured a new Eve for us which is the mother of modern man,—the mother who bequeathes to her son a deeper comprehension of life and a truer insight into the nature of things.

The picture is at first sight repulsive, but the more we look at it and the more we study the artist's intentions, the more it grows on us. Here is a primitive couple of the ape-man type, fossil remains of which have been found in the Neanderthal, in Cannstatt and in Spy. They must have been very savage, and we shudder at their appearance. How unpleasant it would be to meet such creatures in a lonely forest! The male is very brutish while the female shows traces of a dawning intelligence.

Verily, we discover a close resemblance of the scene represented by Gabriel Max to pictures of the holy family. And considered rightly, the similarity is by no means fortuitous, for here we have indeed a holy family. It is an uncultured primitive couple of a speechless tribe of forest men, yet the hope of progress and a brave determination to take up the battle of life for the sake of the babe that is born to them becomes visible in the mother's eyes.

After all, the wife of *homo alalus*, of the primitive speechless man, is still the same Eve. There is the same sacrifice of mother-love, the same determination of bringing to life the man of the future, the higher, better, nobler man, whose life will be much more worth living than was her own.

That is the secret of life, that we live not for ourselves but for others. If mankind were one great immortal being, how monotonous would life be; how egotistical would all our aspirations become. But nature renders all egotism futile. None of us finds an abiding home here on earth; we pass away and new generations fill the places which we leave vacant.

Daily the world grows older, and yet it remains ever young. There is the same happiness, the same bliss and joy that ever thrilled the heart of a mother. Christianity has abolished Venus, the great mother goddess, but Eve has taken her place; and if Eve too is to be deposed, mankind will still cling to the old idea of eternal womanhood, the patron of love and loveliness, of wifhood and of motherhood.

THE CREATION OF EVE.

“So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.”—Gen. i. 27.

GOD had created man in his own image,
And in his likeness he had molded him.
So he had made him One Eternal being,
Complete, in strange perfection, male and female,
Endowed with knowledge both of good and evil;
And when God saw his last and best creation
He praised his work and said: “’Tis very good.”

God gave to man dominion o’er the whole
Broad earth and all its animals; but man,
The owner of the world, was discontented.
The fishes in the sea, the birds in heaven,
The brutes in all the fields and woods were his,
And he like God himself had all the knowledge
Of God’s creation. Neither had he needs
Or longings unfulfilled. Happy was he;
God’s greatest handiwork was very good.

He was not man, he was mankind; not one,
A single human being. No, he was
The human race summed up in its completeness;
Not male nor female, both he was at once.
No hunger did he have, no need of work
Except for recreation, to disport himself.
Such was the climax of God’s cosmic plan.
’T was perfect truly; yet God’s work itself,
The man God had so wonderfully wrought,
Was discontented with his own perfection.
He knew all things by an instinctive vision
And in himself he was complete; no wants

Tormented him, he was like God himself.
Desires he knew not, and no longings rose
To break the calmness of his godlike soul.

Quoth he, the man, in tone of fretful plaint:
"Shall I thus evermore encounter naught
But ceaseless rest? Shall passions never stir
My heart,—passions for higher, greater gifts,
Passions for deeds that should be done by me?
I am not grateful for divinity
Which thou, my father, God, alone hast made,
Of which I nothing further can accomplish."

Said God to man, "Thou art my own true son.
For I myself feel sorely malcontent
With mine own Godhood, with eternal rest,
With absolute perfection which remains
The same, immutable and infinite.
I long for action and to verify
The grand eternal truth that in me lives;
I long for life, I long for quest and struggle.
Eternal bliss is wearisome to me!
And so the universe originates.
So life springs up, and life consists of struggle—
Fierce struggle which demands great sacrifice.
But struggle offers opportunity;
It proves the worth of life and tests life's courage.
Divinity is not enough for thee!
So I will lead thee by the path of progress
On thine own search through error to the truth,
From brute beginnings to divinity,
To a divinity thyself hast gained.
Know this, my son, and venture into life.
I'll take away from thee that grand completeness
Of thy perfection which thou deemest naught
And will implant into thy heart a yearning
That will remain thy stimulant through life.
'Tis life thou wantest; life I'll give to thee,
True life; but life means struggle, pain and sorrow,
Sometimes defeat and sometimes victory,
Yet always want and labor. Thou hast chosen
The harder lot, but for thyself 'tis best."

Then God let sleep profound fall upon man
And God took out of man some bone and flesh,
A living piece of man next to his heart,
A piece of his own soul and of his life,
And such a piece as man was needing most.
Out of this piece God formed the counterpart
Of man and called it Hevah, which means "life."

When man awoke he was complete no longer,
Nor did he still partake of the great boon
Of deathlessness, he lost his strange perfection,
Nor was he any more without desire.
Poor mortal, thou must leave thy paradise—
But only to exchange it for a world
Which is far better than immortal bliss,
A world of struggle, search and aspiration.

And God brought Hevah to the man who gazed
In wonder at her beauteous lovely form
And said, "Yea, thou art bone of mine own bone
And flesh of mine own flesh. Soul of my soul!
Part of myself, we two belong together;
Thou bringest back the portion that I lost.
For thee I'll gladly fight life's bitter struggles;
Through thee, my dear loved wife, I shall regain
The immortality I forfeited."

God blessed the two and left them in the garden
Among the fruit trees pleasant to behold.
There was the tree of life, the tree of knowledge—
Of knowledge as to what is good and evil—
And there God left the lovers to themselves
In natural and naked innocence;
And when he parted spoke this word of caution:

"Eat of the fruit," said God, "of all the trees,
But"—warningly, and not without a smile,
He added—"taste not of the sweetest fruit
That grows here on the spreading tree of knowledge,
For it will drive you out of Paradise."
God knew the man, he knew too what would happen,

He knew that man and woman had to make
A living of their own; they needs must work,
And struggle with the thistles and the thorns.
They would want children to console old age,
Children to carry on the work with vigor,
And then, wearied of life, would pass away
Into eternal, well-earned rest. God knew
Life would be hard. But was it not man's will?
Had he not chosen this, his destiny?

And what man gained thereby was worth the change.
He lost his blissful immortality
And now will have to face the dreaded specter
By men called death, which is the end of life.
But then he has acquired that greater boon
Unending, never sated longing, the boon
Of progress spreading in infinitude—
That higher nobler life in wife and child,
That better, greater immortality
Which must be gained in manly fight, and daily
Regained in efforts constantly renewed,
And that diviner and much truer Godhood
Which is not God-bestowed by gracious gift
But must be earned by us with own endeavor.
This is our fate, this is our task, and God
Himself it was created Hevah fair
And brought her as man's counterpart to man.

PROFESSOR BURGESS AND THE WAR.

A SPLENDID book on *The European War of 1914, its Causes, Purposes and Probable Results*, has been written by John William Burgess, formerly professor of constitutional and international law, and dean of the faculties of political science, philosophy and pure science in Columbia University. It is easily the clearest and best exposition of this great bewildering conflict that has entangled Germany. It is sketched by an American for Americans, discussing all the essential questions connected with the war from an American point of view; and it is unquestionable that Dean Burgess is easily the most competent judge as to the different problems of this war, their history and their significance for the United States, for indeed international law, and the political history of both continents, Europe and America, have been his specialty, and the reader feels that the author is speaking with authority. He writes:

"Europe is now writhing in the agony of a great labor pain of human development, and while God grant that we may escape active participation in the suffering, we cannot avoid having our own interests most profoundly involved in the outcome. Let us make sure that we correctly conceive what those interests are and how they will be best subserved."

Professor Burgess sees with keen penetration through the schemes of British diplomacy and calls our attention to facts which many of us either overlook or have forgotten. He has watched with amazement "the anti-German craze" which has swept over this country. This craze has been prepared under some sinister foreign influence, says Dean Burgess:

"Everything has been done, and done systematically, and done according to a seemingly long-matured and sinister plan, to give the American people not simply an erroneous, but an absolutely false, conception of German institutions, purposes, and aspirations."

In discussing the occasions of the war, he points out that "the

diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey struck out upon a line which if [it had] not [been] intended to bring war". . . . would be "evidence of great dullness in the mind of its inventor."

In speaking of the proximate causes, the history of Europe during the last century is passed in review. In the chapter following, the British and the Russian empires are described, and it is astonishing how similar the two are. We read:

"The Russian economic and political systems have more points of likeness with the British than is usually conceived. Substituting the Czar for the almighty House of Commons, and the Grand Ducal circle for the Cabinet, and keeping in mind that the connection of the dependencies with the nucleus of the empire is territorial instead of oversea, and that, therefore, the necessary organ of military power is a vast army instead of an overwhelming navy, and you have in substance the elements whose play and interplay bring about something like the same results and produce something like the same policy as in the British system. At least we may say that the two are admirably adapted to supplement each other in the conquest of the world. They possess between them now nearly half of it, and if they can only agree between themselves to let the one have the whole of Asia and continental Europe and the other all the rest, then possibly will the Millennium be ushered in and, with the Bear and the Lion in loving embrace, mankind may enjoy everlasting peace."

We are accustomed to think that England is the freest country in the world, but in its political government Parliament dominates the empire with a rod of iron. Professor Burgess says:

"There is no judicial body which can uphold the rights of the individual against an act of Parliament; in fact, against an act of Parliament no individual right exists. There is no independent executive which can veto, modify, check, or delay an act of Parliament. And the House of Lords can now no longer thwart or even modify permanently the will of the House of Commons, wielded by the majority party in that House, under the leadership of its Executive Committee, the Cabinet of Ministers."

"There is no longer a British constitution according to the American idea of constitutional government. With us constitutional government is limited government, government limited judicially by the rights of the individual, expressed and guaranteed by a written instrument, ordained by the sovereign people and interpreted and enforced by the courts, and limited politically by the constitutional distribution of powers between, and the coordination of, separate and independent departments of government. In this only true sense of constitutional government, the British Government is a despotism."

Germany, though having the most military institutions, compelling every man to bear arms for the defense of the country, is the least warlike people on earth.

"In the twenty years of her wonderful industrial development between the years 1890 and 1910, she acquired less than two thousand square miles of

foreign territory, while Great Britain acquired nearly two million, Russia almost as much, France six to eight hundred thousand, Belgium a million, and even the United States of America about one hundred and fifty thousand, and while Germany acquired the bits of this small area, in about every case, by purchase or lease, all the other countries seized most, if not all, of their gains by military conquest."

German militarism is much misunderstood and purposely misrepresented. It is quite democratic in its constitution. In this connection Dr. Burgess writes:

"The German army is not simply an organization for drill, discipline and fighting; it is also a school of general physical culture, through which the average life of German men has been increased by ten years and their average capacity for any kind of work by twenty-five per cent; it is a school of intellectual culture in which, besides military drill and tactics, mathematics, engineering, physics, geography and sanitation are taught to all the men; it is a school of moral culture which prevents demoralization and dissoluteness in the young men at the most critical age; it is a school of politeness in which rudeness of manners gives way to habits of courtesy; and it is a school of genuine patriotism through which the spirit of provincialism is made to yield to national loyalty. These educational and practical compensations overbalance the economic burden of German militarism and distinguish it from the militarism of Russia and France, although they are all based upon the same principle of universal military service."

We Americans owe much to German militarism, and it is worth while reprinting Professor Burgess's sketch of this chapter of American history. While we have suffered almost all our ills from the hands of British militarism and even more from British navalism, it is perfectly correct to say that the independence of the United States would not exist if German militarism had not given us strength to resist the forces that threatened to crush us, first our rights and liberties and then our union. Our author says:

"In our colonial period almost the entire western border of our country was occupied by Germans. It fell to them, therefore, to defend, in first instance, the colonists from the attacks of the French and the Indians. They formed what was known in those times as the Regiment of Royal Americans, a brigade rather than a regiment, numbering some four thousand men, and the bands led by Nicholas Herkimer and Conrad Weiser. Many of the men composing these bodies had been schooled in military tactics and discipline in their German fatherland and the service which they rendered in creating, organizing, and drilling this little army of some six thousand men cannot be overestimated. It enabled us to resist successfully the French and their Indian allies in the Seven Years War, which they made upon us from 1756 to 1763, and it gave a nucleus for our Revolutionary Army.

"At the outbreak of our War of Independence, Herkimer, Mühlenberg and Schlatter gathered the Germans in the Mohawk Valley and the Virginia

Valley together and organized them into companies for service. Baron von Ottendorff, another German soldier, recruited and drilled the famous Armand Legion. And when Washington's first bodyguard was suspected of treasonable sentiments and plans, it was dismissed and a new bodyguard consisting entirely of Germans was formed. This new bodyguard was supported by a troop of cavalry consisting entirely of Germans, under the command of Major Barth von Heer, one of Frederick the Great's finest cavalry officers. This troop stood by Washington during the entire war, and twelve of them escorted him to Mt. Vernon when he retired.

"But the greatest contribution of German militarism to the cause of our independence was Baron von Steuben, the famous aide de camp of Frederick the Great. He came to us at the most critical period of the revolution, that awful winter of 1777-78, when the remnant of our forces, a small band of ragged, starved, and discouraged militiamen, were trying to keep body and soul together at Valley Forge. He shared their sufferings. He introduced the Prussian organization, discipline, and drill among them. In a few months he made a real army out of them, which turned defeat into victory and made our independence possible. He then proceeded to the south and organized and disciplined the army for General Greene. He was present at the siege of Yorktown, and, as the only American officer who had ever witnessed the storming of a fortified place, he rendered most invaluable service, and it was his fortune to be in command in the trenches when the British flag was hauled down.

"And besides Steuben, there were Baron de Kalb, the most brilliant cavalry officer; Johann Schott, the most efficient artillery officer; General Lutterloh, the quartermaster general, and Christopher Ludwig, the master purveyor, all Germans, who had had the training of German militarism. It is not too much to say that German militarism did probably as much as any other thing to make our final triumph over Great Britain in our war for independence possible.

"But we have had another and more recent war for our national existence: the war of 1861-65, the Civil War, as we of the North called it; the war between the states, as they of the South called it. Let us see if German militarism played any part in that great struggle, and if so, what that part was.

"Every one, even only slightly acquainted with the history of this war, knows that the question of first and greatest importance which arose and demanded solution was that of the position in the struggle of the border slave states, namely: Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Mr. Lincoln's administration gave its attention most seriously and anxiously to the work of holding these states back from passing secession ordinances, and preventing them from being occupied by the armies of the southern confederacy.

"The most important among these states was Missouri. It was the largest; it reached away up into the very heart of the North; it commanded the left bank of the Mississippi for some five hundred miles; and the great United States arsenal of the West, containing the arms and munitions for that whole section of our country, was located in St. Louis. It had been stacked to the utmost capacity by the Secretary of War of the preceding administration, Mr. Floyd of Virginia, in the expectation that it would certainly fall into the hands of the South. The governor of the state, C. F. Jackson, manifested the stand he would take in his reply to President Lincoln's requisition for Missouri's

quota of the first call for troops. He defied the President in the words: 'Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its object; inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with.'

"It happened most fortunately, however, that the commandant of the arsenal was a staunch Unionist, Nathaniel Lyon. He immediately recognized the peril of the situation. He had only three men to guard the arsenal and there was in the city a full company of secessionist militia calling themselves Minute Men. Moreover, two companies of the state militia composed of Germans had shortly before been disarmed by the general of the state militia. Under these conditions Lyon turned to F. P. Blair for advice. Blair was acquainted with the views and sympathies of the inhabitants perfectly, and knew that he could rely only upon the Germans to save the arsenal and then the city and the state for the Union.

"The Germans of the city were organized in Turner-Unions, in which they had, besides practising gymnastics, kept up their knowledge of military drill and evolutions. After some hesitation, during which the movements of the secessionists to seize the arsenal became more and more threatening, Lyon called the German Turners into the arsenal, armed them thoroughly and garrisoned the place with them. Five regiments of Germans were now hastily organized and armed. They were the regiments commanded by Blair, Börnstein, Sigel, Schüttner, and Salomon. The arsenal and city were now safe, and some thirty thousand stands of arms with munitions were sent over into Illinois to arm the Illinois troops for the occupation of Missouri. This was the first great service which German militarism rendered to the cause of the Union in the perilous month of April, 1861.

"It would fill a volume to recite the services which followed this throughout those terrible four years, during which Union was preserved and slavery destroyed. Without the Germans, who almost to a man knew military drill, discipline and organization, I do not know how we could have prepared our armies for the work which they were called upon to do. The people of the North were unaccustomed to the use of arms, knew little of military organization, and were restive under discipline. We had our Westpointers and they were good, but far too few in number to train the vast hosts of raw recruits which were now called under arms. The two hundred thousand native born Germans who served in our armies were nearly all of them experienced in the use of arms and accustomed to the severities of military discipline. A very large proportion of these were engaged as officers in teaching our men to become soldiers. Among the taught were nearly four hundred thousand men of German descent, many of whom, through their practices in their Turn- and Schützen-Hallen, were the quickest of all our volunteers to become efficient soldiers.

"The German and German-American contingent in our armies amounted thus, first and last, to some five hundred thousand soldiers. They were led by men such as Heinzelman, Rosecrans, Schurz, Sigel, Osterhaus, Willich, Hartranft, Steinwehr, Wagner, Hecker, and a thousand others. Mrs. Jefferson Davis, the wife of the Confederate President, has often said to me that without the Germans the North could never have overcome the armies of the Confederacy; and unless that had been accomplished then, this continent would have been, since then, the theater of continuous war instead of the home of peace."

Such is our debt to German militarism. It makes our blood boil to read how the English have treated us, and while the prophecy is so often expressed that something terrible may come to us and to the world through German militarism, British navalism passes almost unchallenged. We have forgotten how formerly President Lincoln was maligned in England—at times in the same terms as are now applied to Kaiser Wilhelm—in those days when Great Britain favored the southern states, in an attempt to disrupt the Union into two hostile confederacies.

That Dr. Burgess should condemn most vigorously the export of arms and ammunition is but to be expected. In allowing this vile traffic to go on we Americans “will prolong the war without altering the final result.” He quotes Charles R. Bryson, president of the Electro-Steel Company of Pittsburgh, who justifies his refusal to fill any order. Mr. Bryson says: “We believe that the time is at hand when any firm or individual who accepts a contract to further add to the horrible slaughter now going on in Europe will do so to his own disgrace.” And Professor Burgess adds: “These words should be printed in gold and in letters large enough and upon a tower high enough to be seen all over these United States.”

Professor Burgess has followed up German victories, and he declares that in spite of our assistance, in furnishing war materials to the allies, “there is no power on the face of the earth sufficient to crush the German empire.”

In the chapter on Belgian Neutrality, Professor Burgess exposes the sinister British policy. Britain could have protected Belgium effectively if Sir Edward Grey had only given an unequivocal promise to remain neutral; but by refusing to give any promise and thereby threatening Germany to join in the war, he forced her to forestall the danger and break the neutrality of Belgium.

* * *

Professor Burgess knows Germany not only as a traveler or globetrotter may know it, but as a specialist who has been a close student of social and political science. He bases his exposition upon exact data. The following quotations will give the reader a fair idea of the great significance of Germany for modern civilization:

“The present organization, economic and political, of the German Empire, bears in its constitution the significant title of the United States of Germany. Its economic system is by far the most efficient, most genuinely democratic which exists at the present moment in the world, or has ever existed. There is no great state in the world to-day in which there is so general and even

a distribution of the fruits of civilization, spiritual and material, among all the people as in the United States of Germany. And there is no state, great or small, in which the general plane of civilization is so high. Education is universal and illiteracy is completely stamped out; there are no slums, no proletariat, and no pauperism; prosperity is universal; and the sense of duty is the governing principle of life, public and private, from the highest to the lowest.

"German agriculture has been systematically developed, improved, and protected until it has reached the highest point of productiveness known to the world. It is a land of small proprietors, where relatively few great estates exist and where the relatively few tenant farmers hold leases of communal land rather than of land in private ownership. Forests are preserved for furnishing wood and lumber and protecting the water courses, but pasture land is limited and the greatest possible area is kept under the plow. Fostered by law, pursued with intelligence and individual interest, and enriched by science, German agriculture is so intensive that one acre of German land produces as much as three acres of Russian land, although originally poorer and more difficult to cultivate. Feed the people with home products, has been the first principle of the German system. With two hundred and eight thousand square miles of territory, an area not as great as our single state of Texas, the United States of Germany can sustain seventy millions of people.

"Upon this natural and healthy foundation for their economic system, consciously and tenaciously preserved, the Germans have built their manufactures and their commerce. They have built these carefully and scientifically, and with unwearying industry. They have not allowed factory life to make slums of their cities, nor to produce a proletariat. By requiring employers to contribute with the state and the employes to the establishment of insurance and pension funds, they have secured to labor its proper share in the wealth produced.

"The German Government is constitutionally limited, limited politically by the distribution of governmental powers between the Imperial Government and the States of the Union and by the distribution of the powers of the Imperial Government between the legislature and the executive, and limited judicially by the bills of individual rights in each of the State constitutions and by the fixing of certain of the fundamental duties and rights of the individual in the Imperial Constitution.

"One among these duties, which must also be regarded as a fundamental right, is the constitutional requirement upon every able-bodied male German to bear arms, and the fixing of the time for which his services are or may be required, which also means beyond which they may not be required. I call this a right as well as a duty. In the Constitution of the United States of America it is so treated and is declared as follows: 'As well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' It is the German way to put the duty first and treat the right as the attending incident. This is the keynote to the German character, political and economic as well as private. The rights guaranteed to the individual by this constitutional provision requiring universal military service are that there shall be no professional army separate from the general citizenship of the Empire with separate interests from those of citizenship.

"The German communal and local governmental organization is the most perfect known to modern politics. Under it the most honest, efficient, and prosperous communal life which the world has ever known has been produced and developed. No slums, no illiteracy, and no proletariat are to be found in any German city or commune, while the control is more genuinely democratic and the distribution of the fruits of civilization is more even and general than what prevails in any other country."

* * *

The two concluding chapters of Professor Burgess's book are of special interest: one on the Austrian empire and the character of its aged sovereign, the Emperor Francis Joseph; the other on the Kaiser; the characterizations of these two rulers show both in a sympathetic light, and Dr. Burgess's view is based upon careful study and, in the case of the Kaiser, personal acquaintance as well.

We conclude our review with a quotation from the chapter on the character of the war lord of the Huns, Kaiser Wilhelm II. Dean Burgess says:

"The Emperor impressed me as a man of heart, of warm affections and of great consideration for the feelings and well-being of others. He can not, at least does not, conceal his reverence for, and devotion to, the Empress, or his love for his children, or his attachment to his friends. He always speaks of Queen Victoria and of the Empress Friedrich with the greatest veneration, and once when speaking to me of an old American friend who had turned upon him, he said that it was difficult for him to give up an old friend, right or wrong, and impossible when he believed him to be in the right. His manifest respect and affection for his old and tried officials give strong evidence of the warmth and depth of his nature. His consideration for Americans, especially, has always been remarkable. It was at his suggestion that the exchange of educators between the universities of Germany and of the United States was established, and it has been his custom to be present at the opening lecture of each new incumbent of these positions at the University of Berlin, and to greet him and welcome him to his work. He is also the first to extend to these foreign educators hospitality and social attention....

"But the characteristic of the Emperor which struck me most forcibly is his profound sense of duty and his readiness for self-sacrifice for the welfare of his country. This is a general German trait. It is the most admirable side of German nature. And the Emperor is, in this respect especially, their Princeps....

"One of his sons once told me that from his earliest childhood his father had instilled into his mind the lesson that devotion to duty and readiness for sacrifice were the cardinal virtues of a German, especially of a Hohenzollern. His days are periods of constant labor and severe discipline. He rises early, lives abstemiously, and works until far into the night. There is no day laborer in his entire empire who gives so many hours per diem to his work."

OUR ADMINISTRATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

OUR present administration seems to be endowed with a special talent of everywhere following the wrong course in foreign politics. Our President has been accused of being guided by pro-British sentiments, and it has been claimed in editorials of the *Chicago Examiner* that President Wilson is British by parentage and education. It is perhaps excusable that he should have acquired prejudice in favor of Great Britain, but it is a misfortune that he has become president at such a critical time as the present, for he has followed a policy which is submissive to Great Britain and extremely unfair to Germany. We do not doubt that he is honest and well meaning and that he has endeavored to preserve a neutral attitude, but we must say that our administration has erred from the very beginning and has entered a path which, with all its love for peace, may, by its vacillation and doctrinary insistence on principles, lead to war; and a war under present conditions is decidedly against the will of the country. Our policy in Mexico is, of course, of less moment than our policy with the European powers, but even here it has been bungling and wavering in the strangest way. It has been a combination of a headstrong insistence on principles, doctrinary but unpractical, and an obvious weakness which, however, threatens to develop into stubbornness. When we ought to have created order we treated Mexico as a nation of responsible people whose rights we do not dare to interfere with, and thereby added confusion to the situation. Our President favors a party that cleverly calls itself constitutionalistic; he does not consider that a true constitutionalism is impossible in a country where illiteracy is the rule.

In our relations with England we have been submissive when she stopped our normal trade not only with Germany but also with the neutral European powers who could sell harmless commodi-

ties and foodstuffs to Germany. Thus our cotton trade has been ruined for this year. We ought to have insisted from the start, most vigorously, on the freedom of the seas, and we ought to have dared to protect our trade in non-contraband goods, especially cotton; and, to show that we were serious in our claims regarding the American right to trade not only with neutrals but also with Germany, we should have sent our navy along with our cotton ships, even at the risk of a possible war. England would not, however, have ventured a war with the United States at the present time. She would have acceded to our just demand to trade with Germany, or at least with the neutral countries of Europe, even at the risk of our goods being sent on to Germany. The Americans of a hundred years ago showed manliness, but our generation acquiesces in English supremacy over the seas and meekly submits to English demands.

Our demand on England would have been fair, and not only was it our right to make it, it was our duty to insist on it. The idea that we should not suffer Great Britain to prescribe to us where and in what goods we may carry on our commerce, is by no means uncommon in the United States. As evidence I will quote a few lines from an editorial written by George W. O'Reilly and published in the *Chicago American* (August 25, 1915):

"England has stopped our shipment of cotton. Let us stop our shipment of arms. . . . Let us clearly define and courageously defend our rights.

"Are we an independent nation or an English colony? Have we a president who is a British subject, or an American citizen?

"Are we quite sure that this is after all the home of the brave and the land of the free? If so, now is the time to demonstrate our bravery and assert our freedom.

"Let us say to Germany and England alike, 'There are our rights, defy them if you dare.'"

These sentiments, though they are those of a considerable fraction of American citizens, are not endorsed by our administration. Our President sends strong notes to Germany in which he preaches to the German government on the principles of humanity and insists on the abandonment of Germany's submarine warfare; but he does not dare to say boo to England.

The United States has never been highly respected in England, and the reason is because our submissiveness is too well known. The English regard us as second or third class English subjects; and on closer study I have found that even the colonials are not

regarded as quite equal to native English people, and that the Americans are considered inferior even to them.

While our administration has failed to protect our non-contraband trade from England it has given full permission to carry on contraband trade in the interest of England and her allies. This contraband trade is a crime for several reasons. First, and perhaps most important, is the fact that in this country about one-third of its citizens are of German birth or descent and thus are closely connected with Germany. Their brothers and cousins are to be shot down by the ammunition which American manufacturers are furnishing to the allied nations, and German-Americans, citizens of this country, resent very much that our administration should insist on the propriety of manufacturing contraband goods at the behest and in the plain interest of England.

The second reason why the manufacture of munitions should be prohibited in this country is the unfairness of helping one party in the war at the expense of another. Moreover, even apart from the influence of the strong German element in this country, the German people have always been in most friendly relations with the United States while England has always been our enemy. We have never had serious quarrels with any nation except England. Our very existence as an independent nation is due to a revolution against English rule, and for more or less similar reasons we waged a second war against her one hundred years ago. The only menace that looms over our political horizon is that of an English invasion and an attempt to make us once more an English dependency. Canada is a constant danger to us, offering, as she does, a boundary of thousands of miles across which, in the event of war, English armies could break into our territory. It is true that the outcome, in a war with Canada, would in the long run be in favor of the United States, but we ought to be awake to the danger, and should know that England would not hesitate to take every advantage in the event of strained political conditions.

The third reason why our manufacture and trade in war munitions is wrong is a purely humanitarian one. We pretend to favor peace, but for the sake of large profits we are glad to furnish instruments of murder to one party, and thus contribute our quota to prolong the war. The great profits, however, do not go to the people; they go only to a few millionaires. If we could furnish the same amount of war material to the other side it might be somewhat less inexcusable, although even then it would be inhuman to allow a few millionaires to fatten themselves on the prolonged

bloodshed in Europe. These things make all our prayers for peace hypocritical, nay worse, contemptible, and it is certainly a shame on our administration to regard our manufacture of munitions as a justifiable and purely neutral act. Mr. Wilson seems to think that when Germany and Austria-Hungary attack us, England, France, Russia and Japan will supply us with war material. But if the case were reversed, if England and Japan should attack us, should we be justified in expecting Germany to come to our aid?

There is, however, another feature of the administration's policy which will bring dire results in its train. Germany has followed the principle of rendering herself, as far as possible, independent of foreign trade in time of war. The wisdom and foresight of this policy has been clearly brought out in the present struggle. The plan of starving the country into submission has proved a failure, and Germany is commercially almost as strong as it has ever been in times of peace. In fact the British blockade acts like a high prohibitive tariff, for the Germans are obliged to have all their goods manufactured within their own domain. German money remains in Germany, and the foreign countries (including Great Britain) which used to deal with Germany suffer more thereby than Germany herself. Germany's chief difficulty is in being cut off from certain raw products needed in her industries, the most important of these being cotton.

Now what will Germany do in the future to protect herself from again being cut off from the cotton market? She will conclude a close alliance, both industrial and military, with Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and these three empires will form a compact geographical territory extending through several zones. After the war Germany will see to it that cotton plantations are developed within this territory, either in southern Hungary or in the Turkish empire, from which she will at all times be able to draw the supply for her factories in Saxony without hindrance from the English navy. And with the development of cotton lands of her own Germany will, to a large extent at least, be independent of our output; she will put a tariff on cotton, and very soon our trade with her in this commodity—a trade which has been of considerable importance in the past—will be as dead as if it never had been. And who will be to blame for this but our administration?

In still another respect the present policy has been short-sighted. The Germans have always furnished the best of material for citizenship to this country, and they constitute a most virile and vigorous element. The Germans among us have always been prominent in

our country in times of crisis and national defense, and have played an important part in its history. They have always been most reliable patriots and have never, never, been clannish. The attitude of our present administration is so un-American in its identification of American interests with those of Great Britain, that our German citizens will be compelled to stand together, and, if they do, it is obvious that they will represent the true American attitude toward this Anglomania which, like a cancer, is eating away the marrow from the backbone of our nation.

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST: A REVIEW.¹

BY WILLIAM HARPER DAVIS.

EMERSON observes that the name of Jesus is not so much written in history as it is ploughed into it. This peculiar, insulated preeminence is of course consonant with orthodox Christian faith and also otherwise intelligible to the student of psychology with any genuine experience in personal piety and even the most general familiarity with the one-time power of the church, educational no less than political.

Much has been contemplated both in curiosity and in piety, and much argued in controversy, concerning the historical significance of the man Jesus, the ontological "Son of God," and the ideal Christ. Probably in no region open to investigation or speculation has there prevailed a greater wilful confusion or consciously prejudiced ignoring of issues, perhaps, with a like unintentional failure to sift and separate separable points of view and to recognize available distinctions possibly representative of real differences. Every error of pseudo-piety, of impiety, of intellectual artificiality and of intellectual inertia, of dogmatism and of skepticism, of ignorant credulity and of ignorant incredulity, of fantasy, of fear, of sentimentality real and assumed, of doctrinaire oversight and of doctrinaire excess, has been perpetrated upon these themes. Every degree of transmogrification seems to have been affected or achieved. We have not the space to characterize the history of christological dogmatics and apologetics in their patristic and medieval elaborations; nor of the great "independent" critical or interpretive biographies of Jesus, from the period culminating in Strauss and Renan to the present day; nor yet to glance even at the various hues and shades of neological interpretation, more or less explicit,

¹ *Our Knowledge of Christ, an Historical Approach.* By Lucius Hopkins Miller, Assistant Professor of Biblical Instruction in Princeton University. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1914. 166 pages. \$1.00.

of the person, life, mission and meaning of Jesus Christ,—Catholic, Protestant, Judaistic, Oriental and secular,—whether, e g., primarily psychological, literary, imaginative, historical, theological, rationalistic, mystical, skeptical, sociological, personalistic, unitarian, Hegelian, Ritschlian, avowedly or unavowedly eclectic, critically or uncritically syncretic, or what not soever they may be. Where so much has been thought and felt, affirmed and denied, imagined, believed and doubted, a trustworthy statement of essential facts obviously would serve a good purpose.

Dispensing (in theory at least) with all apriorism of standpoint, save so much as is implied in an honest curiosity about the historically ascertainable or probable facts of the earthly life and teaching of Jesus; either assuming his historicity or easily reaching a belief in it on *prima facie* evidence: the little book before us—which can be read to advantage in about four thoughtful sittings, although there is meat in it for many more—aims to disentangle and set down the principal “facts” aforesaid; so that the ordinarily educated or intelligent lay reader may form sufficiently clear ideas, which shall be at the same time correct, of the historical setting of Christ’s life as related in the four Gospels, the chief episodes of his career, and the words that he uttered.

The book is not intended as a christology in the usual sense; it proposes no theory of Christ. Nor is it, except incidentally, a treatise on Christianity, friendly or adverse. It is not a *criticism* either of Christianity or of Christ, of his life or teaching. It is not a contribution to or an exposition of any “Christian” cultus, Christian metaphysic, Christian eschatology, Christian history, Christian ethic, Christian polity, Christian prophecy or poetry, Christian apologetic or exhortation; it is not an account of “Christian experience” or of “the Christian life”; although naturally it bears on some of these things. It is, in aim at least, a portrait or true picture, outlined in the light of modern knowledge and of common sense criticism, of the historic figure of the man Jesus Christ, showing what he did and said: that is all. It is, properly, a skeletal summary of its subject: a brief and episodic life, meager in the materials bequeathed to us, yet large, rich, and luminous in significance,—a garland of conspicuous good deeds and strange potent words, preternaturally penetrant,—a bloom of immortality encasing the cruel thorn of crucifixion.

In handling the subject the author aims, on the whole very successfully, at perfect frankness, at the same time seeking to be “constructive,” once the conditions of candor are fulfilled. The

result is accordingly an admirably useful sketch of the nature and presumable value of the sources of our information about Christ (Chapter I), followed by an account of the more obviously historical and traditionally prominent events of his life (Chapter II); this in turn by a résumé of his teaching (Chapter III); and finally the suggestion of a basis for a comfortable rationalism in thinking of his divinity, regarded both historically and in a logico-practical way, which preserves the sentiment of reverence dear to the Christian heart (Chapter IV). These chapters are written in a style pure, dignified and cultivated, befitting the theme.

The temper of the author impresses me as thoroughly sincere and wholesomely responsive to the simple truth of the situation. The statements about the Gospels appear to represent the sanest net results of the higher criticism, and possibly gain from being second-hand, the plan offering no temptation to a dubious originality. The early Christian legend has been thoughtfully examined, with a due sense of relative values sure to appeal to the studious reader. A dutifully clear discrimination between the better attested "facts" and the more doubtful reports of happenings is interestingly effected with a minimum of possible offence to anybody; and a reverent open-minded leaning toward conservative views accompanies an admirably intelligent grasp of the fundamentals of scientific criticism. Yet there is no straining after paradox, no truculent claims of superior orthodoxy such as frequently vitiate the lucubrations of liberal theologians; nor is there any desire to press, or even to express, too forcibly, the definite outcome of the author's own thinking as such, whether relatively orthodox or negative in respect of the questioned supernatural aspects of the story. The exegesis is straightforward, apparently unbiased and in accordance with current informed Protestant standards.

Unusually simple and comprehensive in plan, frank and earnest in method, the book is nevertheless characterized, throughout, by a noteworthy restraint in the result,—which one feels to be not so much, primarily, from what might antagonize, as from what might distract and detract from the factual issues which are the book's excuse for being. Nothing seriously to becloud these is admitted. Nevertheless the emphasis is rightly on the ideal and spiritual rather than the existential and temporal aspects of the teaching. The account given of Jesus's life is so short it cannot be abstracted; moreover, it should be read directly by any student caring to learn what is known concerning Christ. It is, however, a pleasant duty to commend the book's emphatic recognition and treatment of the

peculiar distinctive quality of the characteristic inwardness of Jesus's teaching, and its illustrations in his thoughts about God and about man; also to remark the definite and timely conclusion that Jesus's teaching was primarily "individualistic but affords ground for, and imparts a great impetus to, an extended social application." Another very important point, effectively brought out, is that Christ *lived* his teaching; and the *life* as it happens to follow, even with its tragedy of vicissitude (however this may be regarded), gives or rather constitutes the "teaching" a utilizable force in human conduct; it embodies and bestows a completely congenial human ideal sympathetic with our innermost being and apparently unalterable destiny, and renders the teaching fruitful of new ideal values in our lives in so far as they are like His.

I cannot so much as allude to the teaching of Jesus without remarking the *great difference between* it and all other ethical teaching of which we have anything like adequate knowledge. The sublimity and sweep of its seizure upon sympathy, charity and lovingkindness—transcending and countervailing all previous standards; the extremity of consideration and concrete altruism which it enjoins—a democratic altruism extended to our fellowmen as such, to the entire human family, thought of as subject to the solicitude of a common spiritual Father; the unique, vitalizing conception of the power and beauty, the privilege and duty of love, even the love which "passeth understanding," which is its summary and essence; these things have, I believe, wrought a gradual pervasive revolution in human society, and the end is not yet; rather are we still near the beginning of the due reign of mutual sympathetic recognition and service which is doubtless part of the general modern enlightenment of the human spirit, part of the practical doctrines of liberty and of cooperation which underlie our modern aspiration and much that is best esteemed in modern institutions, but which is, I believe, principally the gift to the world of Christ's teaching, and our inheritance from that. Even now, in these days of dreadful war, the best men of all parties and nations are actually troubled in their consciences and actively occupied in thinking out and arguing their national courses—even across the lines of battle—in terms of a *moral* standard, which imperatively takes theoretic cognizance at least of the other's rights, and of a general sense of the rights of all and the duties of each: even fear and policy owning an open allegiance to this moral consciousness recognized as diffused among the nations of the world, and which is possibly the chief characteristic, psychologically regarded, of what we cherish

as "civilization." There is apparently in the teaching and example of Jesus an element of charity and grace which reaches beyond abstract justice and represents a beautiful overflow of outgoing contributive spiritual vitality. Jesus proclaimed an exalted idea of the worth of a man, believed in the infinite significance, potentially, of every human life. This extreme acknowledgment of the absolute value of the soul, the spiritual integrity and importance of the individual as an entity in direct relations with God, and of the universal kinship of the race, together with an unequivocal sentiment of love toward all mankind, appear to be characteristic and essential aspects of the original Christian teachings. Professor Miller naturally enlarges upon the place of love and its kindred virtues in Christ's teaching, but he might have emphasized even more this amazing aspect, so fundamental, distinctive and influential.

Having in mind the piously contented and unadventurous, still satisfied with the old creeds and religiously unwilling to blaze new paths, even in the relatively passive exercise of curiosity or vision, Professor Miller professes "too much respect and admiration for the spiritual power and intellectual honesty of thousands of men and women who think in this way, [i. e., anti-innovationally] to appear for a moment as in any sense their antagonist." "I was born and brought up," he continues, "in an atmosphere permeated by such ideas and I owe too much to my upbringing to be able, even if I wished, to deny the spiritual value of that heritage." This passage not only illustrates our author's angle of regard, but reveals a truly beautiful spirit.

As a reviewer I feel bound to go farther, and to point out that a reasonable affirmation is made and briefly argued, toward the end of the book, which may be called an elastic or pragmatic dogma of Christ's divinity, empirically grounded on our alleged inevitable response to his character as the supreme concrete historical expression of noble spirituality; whence, it is argued, we derive (i. e., on the basis of a presumed correspondence of the "real world" and our deepest reactions, or the reasonableness of habitual human expectancy in directions of experienced satisfaction), a kind of theism from "our knowledge of Christ"; farther than that, we reach a theistic Christology from premises and authorities antecedent to our reading and experience of Christ's character. As a reviewer I purposely refrain from a discussion of this thesis, or of the experiences and allegations, the assumptions and inferences, which are back of it. But it cannot be doubted that the author earnestly feels and persuasively communicates the impression, doubtless satis-

fyng to many who have slipped their moorings in the traditional faith, that Jesus may be uniquely regarded with reverence without superstition: with a reverence, one gathers, *sui generis*, and not quite appropriate toward any other persons or teachers. So much at least is left possible for the "*Christian's*" choice.

Finally, be it said that *Our Knowledge of Christ* by Professor Miller is rather uniquely useful as an elementary primer of the subject in English for any honest reader, but especially for such as, like the author, find themselves in a state of transition from prescribed interpretations toward detachment. Such a state is potentially prolific of nuances foreign to more logically definite positions. One thinks at once of many more radical books, such as Professor Bousset's splendid account of *Jesus* (accessible in English translation), Goldwin Smith's brilliant little book on *The Founder of Christendom*, and—equally unambiguous with these—a group of able sketches in miniature by American Unitarian divines, e. g., John White Chadwick's *The Man Jesus*, Charles F. Dole's *What We Know About Jesus*, and several expository treatises by Prof. Francis Greenwood Peabody. Comparative mention might be made also of Etienne Giran's *Jesus of Nazareth*, Joseph H. Crooker's *Supremacy of Jesus*, J. Estlin Carpenter's *The Historical Jesus*, and *The Theological Christ*, Delibach's *Whose Son is Christ?*, the writings of Dr. A. B. Bruce, the liberal Scotch divine, and many others, notably the beautiful serial called *The Man Jesus*, by Mary Austin now current in the *North American Review*. The masterly exhaustive biographical study by Nathaniel Schmidt, entitled *The Prophet of Galilee*, is hardly comparable. The student desiring to review the various biographical interpretations that have been essayed will do best to turn to the voluminous pages of the scholarly summary given by Albert Schweitzer in his *Quest of the Historical Jesus; a critical study of its progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, from which incidentally it may be seen how preponderantly Germanic the subject is. Among very recent books, I think at the moment of nothing so superficially like *Our Knowledge of Christ* by Professor Miller as *The Life of Jesus* by Alfred W. Martin, of the Ethical Culture Society; which is also readable and excellent in matter, but much longer and more detailed, while in a sense less comprehensive, and furthermore written with complete humanitarian detachment from traditional orthodox, trinitarian or supernaturalistic Christianity. Both books are liberal in conception, the one more unreservedly, even enthusiastically so. Like Mr. Martin, Professor Miller is a sound scholar, truth-loving and clear-headed,

and a teacher of good influence upon aspiring minds. His book is perhaps equally thoroughgoing in its way; only it is, to say the least, more obviously conservative and better adapted to the reader of evangelical antecedents. It is a popular presentation of a greatly interesting problem, worthy of a university professor. If it is not a contribution to Christian scholarship, it is a contribution from it. The chief interest of the book, as by intent, lies not in the classification of the author's views, but in the information it gives us about Jesus Christ.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BUDDHIST OMISSIONS IN HASTINGS'S DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Second Paper.

These omissions, first noted in *The Open Court* for July, 1912, still continue. But we must not forget that the gigantic work is a pioneer one, and big with promise for the future. Furthermore we cannot expect professional Christians to accord the same full treatment to a great rival religion which they accord to their own. With these reservations, and expressing the warmest appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Hastings for his great work, I wish to point out a few more gaps in the record.

Under the article "Fiction," the Jātakas are hardly more than mentioned. Under "Grail" no mention is made of the wanderings of Buddha's alms-bowl, as testified to by Fā-hien in the fifth century. Under "Gospels, Apocryphal," no mention is made of the demonstrable Buddhist influence in these. We will not register a like complaint about the canonical Gospels, because the work which deals with this subject is hardly known to British and Americans, but to Japanese, Italians, Germans and Frenchmen. Therefore we cannot expect the full treatment in an English cyclopedia which we look for in a foreign one.

Under "Faith," no Buddhist faith is mentioned, though Buddha said, even in the Hīnayāna texts: "All those who have merely faith and love toward me are sure of Paradise hereafter." Likewise under "Faith-healing" there is no mention of the mental cures wrought by Buddha and his disciples in so respectable a scripture as the Classified Collection. Neither do such appear under "Disease and Medicine" nor "Health and Healing."

Under "Fire" there is no mention of the Buddhist fire-meditation, wherein the ascetic sees himself burst into flame, as is recorded of St. Francis, and which the late Canadian alienist, Dr. Richard M. Bucke, testified as having happened to himself.

Under "Euthanasia" there is no mention of the Buddhist Pārājika which forbids the practise under pain of excommunication.

There is no article on the "Beloved Disciple," though both Christianity and Buddhism possess such a character—Christianity in its latest Gospel, under suspicion of fiction; Buddhism, as one of the salient features of its most authentic texts. Let us hope that the "Penitent Thief" will not suffer from a like omission, though he ought already to have appeared under

"Angulimālo," who is passed over in silence. Like the "beloved disciple," this character is a late fiction in the Gospel, but an historical personage in the Sūtras.

Under the forthcoming articles "Missions" and "Parthia" it is to be hoped that an account will be given of the great Buddhist propaganda in Central Asia and the eastern parts of the Parthian empire at the time of Christ. The translation of a sacred canon is one of the greatest phenomena in history, and it would be as proper to ignore the Septuagint in an article on the Old Testament as to ignore the missionary versions of the Buddhist scriptures in Sogdian, Tokharish and other forgotten languages which were current between Christendom and Buddhdom at the time when our Gospels were composed. The article "Translations" might appropriately deal with such, or "Propaganda," which ought also to include a mention of the numerous sculptures of Buddhist scriptural incidents known to have existed at the time of Christ, both in and out of India.

Speaking of translations, it is a grave omission in the article "Anguttara Nikāya" (which would better have been placed under its English title of "Numerical Collection") that no mention is made of the fact that this great scripture was translated into Chinese in the fourth century A. D. Before we can deal fully with any ancient text we must inform ourselves about its early translations, and here it is peremptorily necessary for Dr. Hastings to employ a Buddhist scholar who knows Chinese. Thus, under the brief article "Agama," there is no mention of the vast labor of Professor Anesaki of Harvard in collating the Chinese Agamas with the Pāli Nikāyas and finding them identical in basis, but differing in sectarian recension. The laborious work was published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* for 1908 in the English language, and all Pāli scholars ought to read it. However, Nanjio, in 1883, had shown the identity of the Long Agama in Chinese (from a lost Hindu original) with the Long Collection in Pāli, translated by Rhys Davids without any mention of the fact.

We could never have a scientific text of the New Testament if we relied upon Greek scholars alone, for many of our most ancient readings are betrayed by early versions: Old Latin, Old Syriac, Old Armenian. The days of one-man scholarship have for ever gone by in our own religion, and ought not to be perpetuated in studies of our neighbor's religion.

Under "Discipline, Buddhist," we find the English version of some Sūtras quoted among the authorities, while the Chinese translations of five sectarian recensions of the Discipline itself are ignored. These translations were made some fifteen hundred years ago, and included a Chinese version of the Pāli Book of Discipline.

A valuable article on Chinese Buddhism draws a picture of present monastic life. But no account is given of the Hīnayāna sects in China, with the five recensions of the Discipline aforesaid. The great missionary movement of the pilgrims and translators is mentioned, but not with sufficient fullness. Chinese Buddhism is treated as if mainly Mahāyāna (which of course it is to-day) though the author frequently quotes the Sūtra of "Brahmā's Net" without ever locating it in the Hīnayāna Long Collection. Credit ought to have been given to Gogerly and Rhys Davids for former translations of it from the Pāli.

The old-fashioned cyclopedia was impersonal, and the reader looked upon

its utterances as final, i. e., as the authoritative expression of what was agreed upon as known. But the modern method of signed articles has the advantage of laying bare the fragmentary character of knowledge, by breaking it up into personal statements wherein a scholar advertises his own books and slays his enemies, living or dead. I can quote a case where a splendid scholar, recently the ornament of a great university, is thus chastised over his grave, when he was entirely right,—his only misfortunes being that he knew more than his adversary and died first. But all this helps to destroy the old cocksureness about everything and enables people to realize how incomplete our knowledge is. For this reason some sort of correlation articles are necessary to give coherence to the whole.

WE HAVE FORGOTTEN WHAT WE VOWED TO REMEMBER.

During the war of secession Great Britain remained neutral in name, but favored the southern states and supplied them with arms and ammunition. Great Britain would have been pleased if the rebels had come out victorious, and if the United States had been divided into two countries. At that time an anonymous poem appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, May 18, 1863, under the title "A Warning," which reads thus:

"We will remember it—England's "neutrality"—
We who have witnessed her cowardly craft;
Friendly in seeming, a foe in reality,
Wiping her eyes while she inwardly laughed.

"We will remember when round us were lying
Thousands of gallant men, wounded and dead,
Rebels on all sides our pathway defying—
'Down with our rival!' was all England said.

"We will remember with lasting emotion,
When her starved workmen were gasping for breath,
While stores of grain we sent over the ocean,
Her ships came laden with weapons of death!

"We will remember her sham aristocracy,
Cheerful and jubilant over our fall,
Helping when treason would stifle democracy,
Turning a deaf ear to Liberty's call.

"We will remember the Keokuk sinking,
Riddled with balls 'neutral England' had sent;
We will remember her laughing and winking,
Feasting arch-traitors on board of the Trent.

"We will remember it when we are stronger,
When once again we stand saved and erect;
Her neutral mask shall shield England no longer;
By her foul deeds she'll know what to expect!"

In these fifty-two years since 1863 the national character of the United States seems to have changed; our Yankee type has been anglicized. At

present we not only admire everything English, but meekly obey every behest that comes from the British government. The White House is still standing in the same old place, but the British Embassy is becoming from day to day more important than either the White House or the Capitol. The British Embassy decides now with whom our merchants shall be permitted to trade; and the manufacture of ammunition for the Allies is so encouraged that the time approaches when the whole nation shall be engaged in it, and after the war we shall be out of employment.

The German-Americans and Irish-Americans who protest against our manufacture of ammunition are denounced as traitors and spies. The President of the United States is still watchfully waiting, but his Excellency, the British ambassador, will probably soon demand that our dangerous fellow citizens be confined in concentration camps where they will be deprived of their hyphenation.

John L. Stoddard, who still believes in the antiquated ideal of the old Americanism, has written "A Second Warning," analogous to the warning of 1863. He regrets that we have forgotten that which our fathers vowed to remember. His poem reads thus:

"We have forgotten it,—England's 'neutrality,'
We have surpassed it by one of our own,
Based on a specious but shameful legality,
Masked by a smug, hypocritical tone.

"We have forgotten how England then treated us,
Jeered at our losses, our struggles, our tears,
Shouted whenever our brothers defeated us,
Captured our vessels with swift privateers.

"We have forgotten how England then rated us;
Nothing too vile of us then could be said;
Snobs and aristocrats,—all of them hated us,
Now they despise us,—our spirit is dead.

"We have forgotten how England then scornfully
Ridiculed Lincoln as 'ape' and as 'clown,'
While a whole nation, in reverence, mournfully
Laid him to rest and immortal renown.

"We have forgotten her earlier ravages,—
Cities destroyed on our shelterless shore,
Use in her ranks of the scalp-hunting savages!
Read we the lives of our fathers no more?

"We have forgotten it all; and, though stronger,
Tamely we yield to her shameless decrees;
Souls of our sires, respect us no longer,
While we thus cringe to the Scourge of the seas!

"*Make* us remember it, lest our servility
Finally meet with the craven's reward;
God of our fathers, restore our virility!
Up from our knees! It is time for the sword."

Is it time for the sword?—No, not to protect our rights against England. What an antiquated idea! A hundred years ago Americans fought for their rights, but to-day they regret their former misbehavior and lack of respect for the ruler of the seas, the mistress of the world. To-day Americans would fight only if they received orders from London.

A BAHAIST PROTEST.

Believers in the religion of Baha Ullah are naturally disappointed in Mr. Robert P. Richardson's presentation of it in the August *Open Court*. In the October number appeared a protest by Mr. I. G. Kheiralla, and we have received another objection to Mr. Richardson's article from Mrs. Albert Kirchner, of Chicago, who has been a student of the Baha cause for twelve years. The following extracts characterize her attitude:

"From this it will be seen that we do not substitute Baha 'Ollah for Jesus, for each have their own identity or station, one cannot take the place of the other; but each represents His own station in the evolution of Truth according to the unfoldment of the capacity of humanity....

"I would advise any one who would care to read a better account of the historical facts of the Bahai Movement to get *Everybody's Magazine* of December 1911, also the *Fortnightly Review* of June 1911. I will quote the note of the editor of *Everybody's* to the writer of these articles, Miss E. S. Stevens: 'For seventy years a religion without church, priest, creed or fixed form of worship has been spreading through the Orient, claiming converts and martyrs by the thousands. Love and Unity are its sole principles; and on this broad program believers in various faiths can unite. This Movement, called Bahaism, has also extended to Europe, Hawaii and the United States. Her acquaintance with Abdul Baha in his oriental home makes her story authoritative—a first-hand, intimate study.'

"These magazines can be read at the Bahai Inquirers Room, 1407 Auditorium Building, if any one is unable to obtain them.

"There has been no great movement born without the tongue of scandal and calumny attacking it, so we do not hope to be able to escape it either. As to some of the ambitious people who attach themselves to this cause, these are the ones who make it possible to be misunderstood. As Baha 'Ollah has said: 'These are they who attach themselves to my name but are not of me.' And as Abdul Baha says: 'If we are true Bahais (Real Christians or Glorious Christians) speech is not needed. Our actions will help on the world, will spread civilization, will help the progress of science, and cause the arts to develop. Without action nothing in the material world can be accomplished, neither can words unaided advance a man in the Spiritual Kingdom. It is not through lip service only that the Elect of God have attained to holiness, but by patient lives of active service they have brought Light into the world. Therefore strive that your actions day by day may be beautiful prayers. Turn toward God, and seek always to do that which is right and noble. Enrich the poor, raise the fallen, comfort the sorrowful, bring healing to the sick, reassure the fearful, rescue the oppressed, bring hope to the hopeless, shelter the destitute! This is the work of a true Bahai, and this is what is expected of him. If we strive to do all this, then are we true Bahais, but if we neglect it we are not followers of the Light, and we have no right to the name. God, who knows all hearts, knows how far our lives are the fulfilment of our words.'

"Is this not the essence of the Sermon on the Mount? So let this be our criterion for judging a Bahai.

"As to the Greenacre difficulties, I do not know of the happenings; but if such be the case, those committing such acts and doings have never been touched with the true spirit of the Bahai cause."

AMERICA 1915.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

Plain words may do for times like these:
 If in our ignorance and ease
 We blaspheme truth beyond the seas.
 And name those sons
 Embattled for Germania's peace
 Barbarians, Huns;

If in our greed we cannot feel
 The marvel of the blows they deal,
 And must, a workshop commonweal,
 With brawn and breath
 Triple that ring of fire and steel
 By selling death;

Let us not patch our ugly Cause
 By mouthing to mankind old saws
 On "righteousness" and "moral laws,"
 Nor longer chant
 "Humanity" with self-applause
 And craven cant.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE LAYMAN REVATO. A Story of a Restless Mind in Buddhist India at the Time of Greek Influence. By *Edward P. Buffet*. 4to., price, \$2. Pp. 106.

This book takes the form of fiction, but its appeal is to the scholarly few who will not read it for the dramatic material which is buried in its serious contents. The novel form was necessary to admit its human and psychological elements and as a framework for the great quantity of data selected from old Buddhist literature. It is a study, in many phases, of the reaction between Hellenism and Buddhism following Alexander's Indian invasion, these civilizations being taken as types of the world's opposing spirits—self-expression and self-repression, the "will to act" and the "will to refrain," the gospel of Nietzsche and the gospel of Tolstoy. The scene is laid in the middle Ganges valley during the reign of Asoka, "the Buddhist Constantine," about a century after Alexander; some license, however, being taken in attributing to this time and period effects like those seen in the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, which dates from the early centuries of the Christian era.

Revato, a young lay adherent, son of a Buddhist mother and, unknown to himself, of a Greek father, has been reared among the monks. With an intensely Buddhistic temperament he combines a self-tormenting conscience

and an independent mind. At a time when his life is well-nigh strangled by morbid scruples concerning duty, he encounters a Greek girl Prote and her father, an architect who is building a monastery for king Asoka. From them he hears a law of liberty and the rest of his life is spent in conflict between motives. It ends in no conventionally approved manner but tapers down under the force of psychological necessity. There are left unanswered some vital questions, both ethical and psychopathic (or neuropathic). Revato's conversations with the Greeks, however, furnish abundant opportunity for study of their respective religions and philosophies at curious points of contact.

Among the dramatic incidents are: Revato's first sight of the Greeks at their Bacchic revel when his mind is frantic with a scene of torture just witnessed; his encounter with Prote in the park at dawn after his night of spiritual travail; his visit to the new monastery where the builder Diomedes is perverting the puritanic religion of Buddha by a pagan expression in sculpture; the two interviews with the mendicant king Asoka, who halts his procession to relieve a wounded frog and who later rejects Prote's incitations to save his empire by force; Revato's renunciation of Prote and her world and the deep broodings which follow; his interruption, during an attempted breathing trance in the forest, by the reveling Greeks, and the mental recoil it produces in him; the destruction of the monastery by flood and fire when the architect burns it rather than to see it marred by a slight change from its original purpose.

From another point of view the work might almost stand as an encyclopedia of Buddhism, so much does it contain of the history, philosophy and archeology of that religion, woven into dialogue, incident and discussion. Noteworthy are the author's versified renderings of early Buddhist hymns, two of which have previously been printed in *The Open Court* (XIX, 380 and XX, 119). He has also clothed several selections from Greek poetry in new metrical dress. Especial study has been given to the local associations of two ancient cities, Pātaliputra, Asoka's capital, and Rājagriha, the old hill-set town where almost every cave, rivulet and mountain-slope memorializes some tender incident of Buddha's life. The book closes with an epilogue of three centuries later, wherein the preacher of a new religion from Judea hears from a Buddhist abbot the story of Revato. Here is suggested the singular reconciliation in the Nazarene, of these two antithetical spirits, Eastern and Western—life hated and life more abundant. β

A little pamphlet entitled "*India's 'Loyalty' to England*," published by the Indian National Party," without any further address, declares that "the Indian masses are inimical to British rule....as the hated rule of the '*feringees*'.... They [the Indians] have not forgotten the revolution of 1857 which they call the '*first war of Indian Independence*,' nor will they be slow in taking advantage of any opportunity as soon as it presents itself. The British attribute this antagonism to the Indian dislike of all principles upon which Western society, especially that of a democratic country like England, is built up.... The British rule in India is shakier than ever. The present world war and England's troubles with Turkey have made it worse."

In corroboration of the position taken in this pamphlet we need but refer to a recent report from Marseilles (September 7), to the effect that an Indian regiment had mutinied and killed several of its officers.



IN THE WAKE OF THE RUSSIAN RETREAT.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXIX (No. 12)

DECEMBER, 1915

NO. 715

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FOUR ANNIVERSARIES IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

BY C. A. BROWNE.

FOR the lovers of Greek science and philosophy the year 1915, in a most peculiar sense, is a year of anniversaries. In its long history of twenty-five centuries Hellenic philosophy has undergone many vicissitudes. There have been periods of birth and rebirth; of development and transformation; of splendor and decay. Among the occurrences of the past there are certain events which, in their significance for Greek philosophy, loom up like detached peaks. They mark off its history into well-defined periods and give us convenient starting-points from which to explore its boundaries. In its relation to several of these events 1915 deserves to be celebrated as a year of commemoration.

I. THALES PREDICTS THE ECLIPSE OF MAY 28, 585 B.C.

Twenty-five centuries ago, on the 28th of May, occurred a famous eclipse of the sun, which, from its prediction by Thales of Miletus, may be said to constitute the first great event in the history of Greek philosophy. According to Professor Allman¹ "the wonderful fame of Thales amongst the ancients must have been in great part due to this achievement, which seems, moreover, to have been one of the chief causes that excited amongst the Hellenes the love of science which ever afterward characterized them."

It is significant that Thales, in laying the foundations of Greek philosophy, should have marked out in completion almost the full extent of the lines upon which the future structure was to be reared. As a traveler and tradesman it was natural that he should cultivate philosophy for practical as well as for ideal ends. He

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, Vol. XXVI, p. 720.

was quick to apply his discoveries in abstract geometry to the engineering problems of measuring heights and distances, and in astronomy he turned from his studies of the stars to show how this knowledge could be utilized in improving the art of navigation. In matters of government the practical trend of Thales's genius is illustrated by many acts of political shrewdness, while in religion and ethics his speculations regarding the nature of God and man are interspersed with pithy reflections upon personal conduct.

But there were wise men before the time of Thales, and in his own age he was counted as only one of the seven great sages of Greece. It was not, therefore, for his precepts and acts of practical wisdom that the Greeks regarded Thales as the founder of their philosophies. What distinguished Thales from the wise men who preceded him was his effort to unify human perceptions by reducing the manifold phenomena of nature to the operations of one common principle. This principle, the beginning and end of things, Thales believed to be water.

Aristotle suggests that Thales was led to adopt water as his primary principle from observing the necessity of moisture for the generation and maintenance of life. Others have thought that the observance of alluvial deposits or of marine fossils may have given birth to the idea. Others again suppose the conception to be of mythological origin. Homer (*Iliad*, XIV, 201) called Okeanos the father of the gods, and in the old Babylonian mythology the first beginning of things was said to have been a watery chaos.

But, whatever its origin, this conception of water as a first principle is noteworthy as it marks the beginning of that monistic tendency which seeks to unify our explanations of the phenomena of nature. It matters not whether the philosophers who came after Thales substituted the principles of fire or air for that of water, or whether they sought other explanations in the play of atoms or the law of numbers, it was Thales who first adopted the idea of one universal principle or law in the interpretation of nature and for this service he deserves the distinction of being called the "founder of philosophy."

II. SULLA ACQUIRES THE LOST BOOKS OF ARISTOTLE AND THEOPHRASTUS IN 85 B. C.

In the spring of 86 B. C. the Roman general Sulla, during the war with Mithridates, besieged Athens and captured it by storm. After the subsequent campaign and victory of Chaeronea, Sulla returned at the close of the year to Athens, where he stayed until

the spring of 85 B. C. It was on this occasion that Sulla seized as part of his booty the famous library of Apellicon which contained the recently recovered books of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Shortly afterwards, when peace had been concluded with Mithridates, Sulla conveyed his spoils to Rome. This acquisition of Apellicon's library took place exactly twenty centuries ago and its removal to Rome was an event of the greatest significance in the history of Greek philosophy.

Just 250 years previous to this, in 335 B. C., Aristotle left the court of Alexander, the newly crowned king of Macedon, and, returning to Athens, founded his Peripatetic school. During the next twelve years of his residence in Athens the activities of Aristotle were divided between studying, lecturing, writing and book-collecting. In the enlargement of his library Aristotle was particularly zealous; he spent three talents in acquiring the library of Speusippus and much money was also laid out in purchasing or in copying the works of other philosophers.

On the death of Aristotle in 322 B. C. his library, which included the manuscripts of his own later works, passed into the possession of Theophrastus, second head of the Peripatetic school. Theophrastus, like his master, was a collector, as well as writer, of books, and the library which he bequeathed in 287 B. C. to his pupil Neleus was one of the finest collections of philosophical books that has ever been gathered together.

Neleus left Athens shortly after the death of Theophrastus and took the library which he inherited to his residence at Skepsis in Asia Minor. The descendants of Neleus, to whom the library passed, were, according to Plutarch, careless and illiterate men. Although having little knowledge of philosophy, and still less knowledge of the care of books, they seem, nevertheless, to have had some faint idea of the importance of the collection. They jealously guarded their inheritance, and to conceal it from the kings of Pergamus, who were especially noted for plundering the libraries of their subjects, they buried the books of Neleus in an underground chamber. For nearly one hundred and fifty years the precious manuscripts remained in this hiding place, where they suffered no little damage from mildew and worms.

After the extinction of the Attalid dynasty the hidden manuscripts were once more brought to light and the entire collection was finally sold for a large sum to Apellicon of Teos, a wealthy resident of Athens and follower of the Peripatetics.

The books of Neleus, which Apellicon brought to Athens, were found to contain many works of Aristotle and Theophrastus that were unknown to the later heads of the Peripatetic school. Apellicon, who found his manuscripts to be seriously damaged, attempted to remedy things by making new copies in which he filled in any gaps, due to illegibility or the ravages of insects and worms, by emendations of his own. Apellicon, however, according to Strabo, was more of a book-lover than a philosopher, and his new edition of the lost books was corrected unskilfully and contained many serious errors.²

It was most fortunate for the future of philosophy that the library of Apellicon should have been removed at this time to Rome. The fame of Aristotle had already been sounded by Latin writers and the arrival in Rome of his original manuscripts in the very handwriting of the great philosopher himself, excited no little commotion. The books were placed by Sulla under the care of a skilled librarian and permission was granted to worthy scholars to visit and study the collection.

The library of Apellicon was an immense composite. It included not only the books and manuscripts of Speusippus, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Neleus, but it also comprised acquisitions which Apellicon had made from other sources. As might be supposed, the books, which formed a part of the mixed spoils of war, reached Rome in a state of great disorder, and to classify such a heterogeneous mass of manuscripts required critical and literary ability of the highest degree. The task of evolving order out of such a chaos very fortunately was allotted to Andronicus of Rhodes.

Andronicus went about his editorial work with great perfection of system. It was first necessary to disentangle the writings of Aristotle himself, as based upon cheirographic or similar evidences, from the works of Theophrastus and other philosophers. When this separation had been made, the disorder of the collection was further reduced by arranging the pages and different treatises in their logical sequence. When this had been done Andronicus was ready to take up the third and most difficult part of his task, which was to make the necessary restitutions of text where any lacunae or gaps existed. While it cannot be said that Andronicus has given the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus to the world in their original entirety and perfection, the restorations of the dam-

² Strabo, XIII, 609. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀπελλικῶν φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος, διὸ καὶ ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων, εἰς ἀντίγραφα καὶνὰ μετένεγκε τὴν γραφὴν ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἀμαρτάδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία.

aged books were no doubt as nearly correct as the best discernment and judgment of the human mind could make them.

The new edition of the manuscripts, which was published by Andronicus with a tabulated bibliography, forms the basis of our modern editions of Aristotle. In the words of Grote³ "the Aristotelian philosophy passed into a new phase. Our editions of Aristotle may be considered as taking their date from this critical effort of Andronicus, with or without subsequent modifications by others, as the case may be."⁴

III. HYPATIA, HEAD OF THE GREEK SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA, IS SLAIN MARCH, 415 A. D.

This third event, of which 1915 is the anniversary, occurred in March fifteen centuries ago. As the eclipse of Thales ushers in the beginning, and the removal of the lost books of Aristotle to Rome marks the continuation, so the martyrdom of the beautiful Hypatia, last head of the Alexandrian school, typifies the end of Greek philosophy. Practically the whole of Greek learning is comprised within the thousand years between these first and third events.

It is significant that the opening and closing scenes in this great drama of ideas should have taken place outside the boundaries of Greece. Thales and the other philosophers of the Ionic school lived in Asia Minor, the Elean school of Parmenides and the great school of Pythagoras flourished in Italy, while Democritus, the founder of the Atomic school, belonged to Thrace. These fountain systems of philosophy send their rivulets toward Athens where, mingling in the schools of Plato and Aristotle, they gather into two mighty streams of thought, whose current, however, now ebbs away from Hellas to the empire of the Ptolemies. Philo, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and nearly all the great teachers of later renown are connected more or less intimately with the Alexandrian school.

As we approach the old age of Greek philosophy we miss the intellectual ardor of the earlier thinkers. The desire to arrive at one explanation of things begins to fail and the hopelessness of any such solution is more frequently expressed. Philosophers now choose their doctrines from Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, irrespective of school, and what these sources fail to supply they draw from Judaism and the Hermetic wisdom of Egypt. It was a time

³ Grote, "Aristotle," Vol. I, p. 57.

⁴ See also the opinion of Spengel (*Ueber die Reihenfolge der naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften des Aristoteles*). "Erst mit der vielbesprochenen Auf-
findung der Bibliothek des Aristoteles in Athen und deren Wegführung nach Rom durch Sulla wird ein regeres Studium des Philosophen bemerkbar."

of reconciliation when the systems of Egyptian, Chaldean, Jew and Greek were all made to agree. The syncretic philosophers of that age might well exclaim:

"All thoughts, all creeds, all dreams are true,
All visions wild and strange."

But the evidences of failing power, which the Greeks may have shown in philosophy, were more than counterbalanced by the progress that was made in science. In astronomy, geometry, mathematics, mechanics and in other exact sciences the Greek mind, during most of the Alexandrian period, displayed a wonderful vigor. The traditions established by Euclid under the first Ptolemy in the 3d century B. C. continued unbroken for nearly seven hundred years.

Eratosthenes, the many-minded, not only writes upon philosophy, poetry, philology, astronomy, geography, and chronology but he measures for the first time the circumference of the earth. Aristarchus devises a method for measuring the relative distances of the sun and moon and was the first to maintain the revolution of the earth around the sun. Hipparchus, according to Delambre one of the greatest men in the history of science, invents trigonometry and discovers the precession of the equinoxes.

The importance to science of observation and experiment now began to be recognized. We see the first awakening of that scientific spirit which, while recognizing that the life of the individual worker is but brief, does not for that reason despair, but cheerfully records what it is able to observe in the hope that some subsequent worker may thereby be assisted in arriving at the truth. There are few better illustrations of this than the way in which Hipparchus, having discovered the inadequacy of the theories which came down to him, refrained from setting up new hypotheses of his own, but patiently began the collection of new observations that some future astronomer might reap the benefit of his labors.

In the second century A. D. Claudius Ptolemy, the best known scientist of the Alexandrian school, develops the ideas of Hipparchus in his *Almagest*, a book which has exercised a greater influence upon subsequent thought than any other scientific work of antiquity.

After the time of Ptolemy but few additions are made to Greek science, and the labor of scholars, as in literature and philosophy, is devoted more and more to the writing of commentaries. Pappus, the last great mathematician of Alexandria, writes commentaries on Euclid and Ptolemy. Theon, the father of Hypatia, brings out Euclid in its final Greek edition,—the edition which is

in use to-day. Hypatia herself writes commentaries upon the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus.

The rapid decline of Greek learning in the fourth century was due in no small measure to the growing opposition of the church. The attitude of the early Christians toward science and philosophy was at first one of indifference. "It is not through ignorance," writes Eusebius, "but through contempt of such useless labor that we think little of these matters and turn our souls to better things." Basil expresses the same feeling when he says: "It is a matter of no interest to us whether the earth is a sphere or a cylinder or a disk." But as the church increased in power the negative feeling of indifference was succeeded by an active hostility to science. It was declared irreligious to deny that the earth was oblong while those who preferred the astronomical teachings of philosophy to the interpretations of the Bible were condemned as heretics.

Nowhere can the contest of ideals during this period be studied to better advantage than in the life and letters of Synesius, a pupil of Hypatia, who afterwards became Bishop of Cyrene. The Greek intellect of Synesius revolts at the bigotry and superstition of illiterate monks, yet with the easy tolerance of an Alexandrian he sees no opposition between the teachings of Jesus and Plato, and finds it easy to become a Christian. But in adopting Christianity Synesius will not surrender his accustomed freedom of thought and will make no concessions to dogma. In a statement of his difficulties in accepting the appointment of bishop he writes to his brother as follows:

"I must insist upon one other point, beside of which all other obstacles are as nothing. It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to eradicate from one's soul those convictions which have been gained by means of science. You know that philosophy rejects many of those dogmas which are generally accepted as true. I could never persuade myself, for example, that the soul was of later origin than the body; nor would I ever say that the world or any of its parts is doomed to destruction; the resurrection, an object of common belief, is for me only a sacred allegory and I am far from accepting the views which are ordinarily held."

This declaration of belief is the dying challenge of Greek philosophy to the spirit of intolerance which was about to win the day. Fortunately for Synesius he did not live to see the outcome. A last letter, written to his beloved teacher, Hypatia, in 413, describes most bitterly his state of mind and shortly after this he passed away. At the time of his death the fanaticism of the Chris-

tians in Alexandria was reaching its climax. In 412 the dogmatic and intolerant Cyril became patriarch, and under his leadership a violent crusade was begun against heretics and unbelievers.

First of all the Novatians, a harmless Christian sect, suffered the loss of their churches and were forbidden the right to worship. Next a mob of furious fanatics, led by the patriarch Cyril in person, fell upon the Jews in their synagogues and drove them from the city. The hatred of the rabble finally turned upon the teachers of Greek learning.

"On a fatal day," to quote from Gibbon, "in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter, the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics; her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames."

Such was the end of the last bright figure in the history of Greek philosophy. Superstition and intolerance had finally succeeded in extinguishing the lamp of learning; a last effort to revive its flame at Athens was crushed by the edict of Justinian which forbade the teaching of philosophy.

The black curtain of the Middle Ages now falls upon the scene. The very names of that long line of thinkers, whose works had been the admiration of Greeks and Romans, became forgotten. Only in the quietness of their seclusion a few isolated scholars preserved the writings of antiquity for the breaking of a better day. It was not until the Revival of Learning, ten centuries after the martyrdom of Hypatia, that the world was again to resound with the names of those

"Whose myriad fame
Had passed into the night and towards the dawn."⁵

IV. COMPLETION OF THE LIFE WORK OF MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, RESTORER OF GREEK LEARNING, APRIL 15, 1415.

"Again the dawn, again the light,
Again the day doth brightly shine.
After the darkness of the night
Sing thou again, O soul of mine!"⁶

⁵ οὐ τὸ μυρίον κλέος
διήλθε κῆπὶ νύκτα καὶ πρὸς ἄω.
—Theocritus.

⁶ Πάλι φέγγος, πάλιν ἄως
Πάλιν ἡμέρα προλάμπει.
Μετὰ νυκτίφουτον ὄρφναν
Πάλι μοι λίσταινε, θυμέ.
—Synesius, Hymn II.

These opening words from the second hymn of Synesius, which was written on the eve of the extinction of Greek philosophy, might well have been chosen as a song of jubilation by the revivers of learning at the beginning of the Renaissance. And this brings us to the last in this series of anniversary events. The fifteenth of April, five centuries ago, marked the completion of the life work of Manuel Chrysoloras, the man who more than all others was the instrument of restoring Greek science and philosophy to the European world.

Ever since the overthrow of the Greek schools the belief of the church that the spirit of intellectual liberty was hostile to Christianity had kept the minds of men in ignorance and superstition. Only in the pages of a few Latin writers were preserved imperfect memories of the great thinkers of antiquity. The knowledge of Greek in Western Europe was completely extinct. As Symonds has well said, "Greek was hardly less lost to Europe then than Sanskrit in the first half of the eighteenth century."

With the coming of Petrarch in the fourteenth century we catch the first glimpses of the dawning spirit of intellectual freedom. "In my search for truth, I care nothing for sects,"⁷ he writes in one of his letters. Petrarch, in his efforts to free men's minds from the bondage of ignorance, instinctively felt the necessity of reviving the knowledge of Greek, but there was no one in Italy from whom instruction could be received. A gift of a Greek manuscript of Plato was sent to Petrarch from Constantinople, but he was unable to read it. The feeling of possession, however, was something of a joy and he wrote with satisfaction: "*Graecos spectare, et si nihil aliud, certe juvat.*"

The desire for a knowledge of Greek, which Petrarch initiated, was further intensified by his pupil Boccaccio, and to these two men is due the chief merit of having prepared the ground for the seeds of Greek learning.

In 1393 Manuel Chrysoloras, the descendant of a distinguished Roman family which had migrated with Constantine to Byzantium, was sent upon an embassy to Italy by the Greek emperor, Palaeologus, to implore the aid of the Western Christians against the Turks. Although the main object of this embassy was a failure, its consequences in other respects were far-reaching. During his brief visit to Italy the learning and culture of Chrysoloras made a deep impression upon the minds of the Florentines, and so it happened

⁷ Sum sectarum negligens, veri appetens.—*Epistolae Rerum Senilium*, Lib. I, 5.

that shortly after his return to Constantinople he was invited by the Signory of Florence to accept the Greek professorship at their university. The invitation was accepted, and upon this fact hinges the future history of Greek learning.

The enthusiasm which the coming of Chrysoloras aroused in Florence may best be realized from the following passage⁸ in the Commentaries of Leonardo Bruni:

"Letters at this period grew mightily in Italy, seeing that the knowledge of Greek, intermitted for seven centuries, revived. Chrysoloras of Byzantium, a man of noble birth and well skilled in Greek literature, brought to us Greek learning. I at that time was following the civil law, though not ill-versed in other studies; for by nature I loved learning with ardor, nor had I given slight pains to dialectic and to rhetoric. Therefore, at the coming of Chrysoloras, I was made to halt in my choice of lives, seeing that I held it wrong to desert law, and yet I reckoned it a crime to omit so great an occasion of learning the Greek literature; and oftentimes I reasoned with myself after this manner: Can it be that thou, when thou mayest gaze on Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes, together with other poets, philosophers and orators, concerning whom so great and so wonderful things are said, and mayest converse with them, and receive their admirable doctrines—can it be that thou wilt desert thyself and neglect the opportunity divinely offered thee? Through seven hundred years no one in all Italy has been master of Greek letters; and yet we acknowledge that all science is derived from them. Of civil law, indeed, there are in every city scores of doctors; but should this single and unique teacher of Greek be removed, thou wilt find no one to instruct thee. Conquered at last by these reasonings, I delivered myself over to Chrysoloras with such passion that what I had received from him by day in hours of waking, occupied my mind at night in hours of sleep."

The seeds of learning which were so bountifully sown in Florence were scattered also through other Italian cities. After a residence of three years in Florence Chrysoloras opened schools at Milan, Padua, Venice and Rome. But the work of this accomplished man was not confined to Italy alone; in 1408 Chrysoloras was sent to Paris on important business by his emperor, Palaeologus, and in 1413 he conducted an embassy to Emperor Sigismund of Germany. It was during these missions that the influence of Greek learning was first felt beyond the Alps.

⁸ J. A. Symonds, *The Revival of Learning*, p. 110.

In 1414 the aged scholar was delegated by Palaeologus to attend the famous Council of Constance as representative of the Greek church. On his arrival at Constance the delicate constitution of Chrysoloras, weakened by the fatigues of so many journeys, gave way and he died suddenly on April 15, 1415.

Few teachers have played a greater part in the history of letters than Chrysoloras. His influence upon contemporary and succeeding times has been well summarized by Symonds:⁹

"The scholars who assembled in the lecture-rooms of Chrysoloras felt that the Greek texts, whereof he alone supplied the key, contained those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilization of the modern world would be impossible. Nor were they mistaken in what was then a guess rather than a certainty. The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research. Systems based on ignorance and superstition were destined to give way before it. The study of Greek opened philosophical horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen and the monks: it stimulated the germs of science, suggested new astronomical hypotheses and indirectly led to the discovery of America. The study of Greek resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art and literature. It subjected the creeds of Christianity, the language of the Gospels, the doctrine of St. Paul, to analysis, and commenced a new era for Biblical inquiry. If it be true, as a writer no less sober in his philosophy than eloquent in his language, has lately asserted, that 'except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world that is not Greek in its origin,' we are justified in regarding the point of contact between the Greek teacher Chrysoloras and his Florentine pupils as one of the most momentous crises in the history of civilization."

But the humanizing and civilizing influence which Chrysoloras¹⁰ exerted through Greek letters was not altogether immediate. As the turns which are given to a twisted cord unwind themselves on releasing, so it seemed as if the spirit of man, in recovering its freedom from medievalism, must trace backward again its past record

⁹ J. A. Symonds, *The Revival of Learning*, p. 112.

¹⁰ The epitaph of Chrysoloras, composed by his pupil and friend, Poggio Braccioloni, the famous humanist, deserves to be quoted in this connection:

"Hic est Emmanuel situs
Sermonis decus Atticae:
Qui dum quaerere opem patriae
Afflictae studeret hinc iit.
Res belle cecidit tuis
Votis, Italia; hic tibi
Linguae restituit decus

"Atticae, ante reconditae.
Res belle cecidit tuis
Votis, Emmanuel; solo
Consecutus in Italo
Aeternum decus es, tibi
Quale Graecia non dedit,
Bello perdita Graecia."

of cruelty and persecution. Chrysoloras, fortunately, was spared the pain of witnessing the trial and martyrdom of John Huss,¹¹ which was one of the first matters to engage the attention of the Council of Constance. The burning of Huss, however, was only the prelude to the burning of other victims, who, from Jerome of Prague to Giordano Bruno, have dared to proclaim the doctrine of spiritual and intellectual freedom.

It would extend too far the limits of this paper to discuss in detail the influences which the revival of Greek letters exerted upon modern science, philosophy and literature. We may summarize, however, by saying that in each of these fields the chief service of Greek learning has been the incentive which it gave to the spirit of rationalism. Rationalism was one of the last fruits of the revival of learning, yet its origins go back to the first beginnings of Greek science. The chief significance for philosophy of the eclipse of 585 B.C. was that Thales brought under the domain of law an event which men in their ignorance and fear had been accustomed to regard as a manifestation of divine anger.

The glory of Greek philosophy, according to Lucretius,¹² was that it substituted law for ignorance and liberated the mind from the terrors of superstition. His noble lines,

"Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit et extra
Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi"

express the triumphant march of Greek learning in its age-long conflict with dogmatism and intolerance.

The winning for man of intellectual and spiritual freedom has been the supreme achievement of Greek letters and this should be the central thought in commemorating the first and last of these anniversary events—the birth of Greek philosophy under Thales and its restoration under Chrysoloras.

¹¹ Huss was burned in July, 1415, within three months after the death of Chrysoloras.

¹² Lucretius, *De rerum Natura*, beginning of Book I.

A QUESTION FOR ENGLAND.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

WHY are you in this war?

You are the English; you are now, and will continue to be, a great people. You are at present united, with the exception of a few ineffective intellectuals, in a resolve to "crush" Germany, to beat her to her knees, to punish her. Hate, when it permeates a whole people, becomes a terrible political fact. Yet there is no reason why neutrals should sanction and condone British hate any more than German hate, or Mohammedan hate. Hate always blights, never creates, and should hate rule the peace and the settlement, whichever side wins in the field, we shall have a worse Europe than before. It is not, therefore, to your half-crazed wartime mood that I appeal, but to whatever measure of cool reason remains among you. In every crisis a few Englishmen keep their heads; that is one of the sources of British strength. Let me ask them, without rancor, one question.

What are you fighting for?

You may say that the answer is simple; you are fighting for democracy, for liberty, for civilization, for humanity. Permit me to point out that these vague phrases in themselves mean exactly nothing. Each of the belligerents believes it is fighting for "civilization." The idealism of the German people is as sincere, and their earnestness as intense, to say the least, as your own. High-sounding pretensions must be translated into concrete terms to gain significance.

An explanation would come from you in good grace. For, on the face of it, your position in the war is peculiar. You are fighting on the side of Russia, a despotic and half-Asiatic power which has little in common with Western civilization, and whose interests are in no way identical with those of the British Empire, and you are fighting against Germany, a people of the same stock as yourselves, with the same general social purposes, whom the deeper racial and

cultural forces would seem to mark as your natural ally. Indeed, your choice of sides in this struggle is a great historical anomaly, second only to the anomaly of the war itself. How did that alignment come about? Of course there are reasons. But are the reasons those which have been alleged by your statesmen and publicists? Behind this question lies another: What are you striving to accomplish in this conflict? What purposes do you hope to achieve by that victory of which you are still so confident?

This is not an academic discussion. These are political questions of the greatest urgency, both for Englishmen, and indirectly, for citizens of the United States. It is of the first importance that we think rightly on these issues, not merely that we may save our own souls by finding the truth, but that, having embraced the truth, we may save Europe and the world.

II.

Are you fighting for Belgium?

You must admit that for many of the British public Belgium was England's *casus belli*. Hundreds of thousands of your best young men have enlisted in the service of the King, believing that they are taking up arms to defend a little country against a brutal aggression. From your press and platform have come the strongest assertions that England is fighting a righteous war to vindicate the sanctity of treaties and uphold the rights of small nations. No consideration has won you sympathy in neutral countries more readily than this plea.

Do you still insist on the pose of the knightly rescuer? Let me call your attention to two or three incontrovertible aspects of your relation to Belgium.

1. Sir Edward Grey had, in secret commitments, unconditionally pledged the naval and military forces of the Empire to France in case of a European war. These secret agreements, contracted as far back as 1906 and frequently renewed, known to only a few members of the Cabinet, were not announced to Parliament and the British nation until August 3, 1914, when the armies of the Continent were already on the march. They would have thrown you into war in any case, Belgium or no Belgium. It is said on good authority that Sir Edward Grey planned, in event of repudiation by his own Cabinet, to form a Coalition Cabinet in August 1914—as was done months later—and proceed to carry out his “obligations of honor.” That these agreements were contracted in secret, without the knowledge of the British people, does not alter the fact that they were a binding action of the British government.

2. Germany made a definite bid for your neutrality on the score of Belgian integrity. If your Government had been actuated by any idealistic concern for small nationalities why did it not intervene to preserve Belgium when it could? Sir Edward Grey was asked point blank by Ambassador Lichnowsky whether he would keep Britain out of the war if Belgian neutrality were respected (celebrated dispatch No. 123, British White Paper). Your Foreign Secretary answered, no, his hands must be free,—meaning, of course, that his hands already were tied. When war came, Great Britain's action was mortgaged. "If France became involved we should be drawn in" (No. 111). England might have, indeed would have, saved Belgium had Belgian welfare been a primary object of British statesmanship; but it was not.

3. Belgium was used shamelessly as a pawn in the great game between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Your little neighbor, by the accident of its position, is of the greatest strategic importance, either for an offensive against France or an offensive against Germany. Your Foreign Office urged the Belgians to "maintain to the utmost of their power their neutrality" (White Paper No. 115). France pressed armed aid on Belgium before its course was announced. British and French strategists for years had been hatching secret military plans with the Belgian General Staff. These plans did not, it is true, foreshadow direct aggression on Belgium, but surely they indicated the most cynical willingness to use the Belgian army as a first line of defense for the Entente. When war broke out the "plucky Belgians" rendered you a most valuable service in delaying the march of the Teutonic hosts. What, I ask you in all frankness, did you do for Belgium? Belgium was desolated; she was caught and ground to pieces between the huge rival alliances of Europe. The action of your government, playing the game of the balance of power, amounted to nothing less than a ghastly betrayal of Belgian interests.

The above observations, I submit, are based on facts; I do not admit that they are disputable. I give them thus briefly because they have been emphasized already by many British writers. I need mention only the names of Dr. F. C. Conybeare,¹ E. D. Morel,² H. N. Brailsford,³ Ramsay Macdonald,⁴ and Bernard Shaw.⁵ Even the *London Times*, in a leader of March 12, 1915, repudiated chiv-

¹ Conybeare, Letter in *Vital Issue*.

² Morel, Letter to Birkenhead Liberal Association.

³ Brailsford, "Belgium as 'The Scrap of Paper.'"

⁴ Macdonald, Statement in the *Labor Leader*.

⁵ Shaw, "Common Sense About the War."

alry for Belgium: "Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg is quite right. Even had Germany not invaded Belgium, honor and interest would have united us with France."

Yet I know what reply you, the better class of Englishmen, would give to the foregoing. You would say: "This indictment of the past is all very well. I dare say our statesmen juggled with Belgium, and I have never been a partisan of secret diplomacy. That is no reason why we should forsake Belgium now. The bald fact remains that she has been trampled under foot by Germany, that she is now invaded and held in subjection. It is England's duty to fight on until the last invader is cleared from Belgian soil."

I give you full credit for honesty in this sentiment. Your aim is generous; but you have chosen futile means. You wish to avenge Belgium by force of arms. It cannot be done.

Suppose you are successful; that you drive back the Germans, yard by yard, to their own territory. What does that mean for Belgium? Merely a second devastation more terrible than the first. By again making Belgium the world's battlefield, you will scorch her bare. There is a better way out. Why should Germany care to retain Belgian territory? Only as a weapon against *you*. "Antwerp is a pistol pointed at the heart of England." Strategically Belgium has value; politically and financially she would be a liability. As soon as you convince the Germans that England is not perpetrating a huge aggression to destroy her, Belgium will be evacuated without cost to the Belgians; not before. I agree that no settlement of this conflict can be satisfactory which does not restore Belgium's independence and make her such measure of reparation as may be possible. But in that reparation you have a share to pay as well as Germany.

Let us, in the name of decency, drop this twaddle about the rights of small nationalities. Consider your allies. You stood calmly aside when Russia throttled Finland, and when she crushed Persian independence with atrocities more gruesome than the alleged German atrocities. You applauded Japan in violating China's neutrality to march on Kiao Chou. Your Foreign Office actively supported France when she tore up the public law of Europe as embodied in the Act of Algeciras and subjected Morocco to military terrorism and financial strangulation. Do you insist on one moral code for your enemies and approve an opposite for your friends? Your own record in Ireland should close your lips against pious platitudes about small nations. You did not enter this war to protect Belgium. You will never render her effective service until you are

prepared to bargain concessions or colonies to secure her interests. That, apparently, you are not ready to do.

What are you fighting for? Not Belgium!

III.

Possibly you are in this war to safeguard France. *La belle France!* You could not bear to see your closest friend crushed to earth. If that is your motive it is a laudable one. The whole world holds France precious.

You will admit, however, that this deep affection is rather a sudden attachment. For centuries the French and British peoples fought and snarled at one another. You hated France when France was strong. Even within the last quarter century there were three occasions when you stood on the brink of war with her,—over Siam, West Africa, and the Nile Valley (Fashoda). But in 1904 your Foreign Office reached a general agreement with France on all outstanding disputes. In 1906 it came to an understanding with Russia, and so the *Entente Cordiale* was formed. From that day on the peace of Europe was never safe. While the Triple Alliance was the most powerful military force in Europe the dogs were chained, but when a stronger combination (presumably) arose, the politics of Europe steadily underwent a sinister transformation. Let us see what happened.

The British Foreign Office definitely abandoned Salisbury's policy of a Concert for a system of rival military groups. The *Entente* did not confine itself to a defensive league against a possible attack, but began openly or clandestinely to balk and bully and injure its rivals in time of peace. Sir Edward Grey at once signed a general Anglo-French declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco, in which the French government averred that it had no intention "of altering the political status of Morocco." This was followed by the publication of a Franco-Spanish declaration of similar tenor. At the same time that these public declarations of good faith appeared Sir Edward Grey entered into *secret* agreements with France and Spain which provided for the partition of Morocco between the two latter countries and rendered the integrity of the Moorish kingdom a sham.⁶ Germany had vast economic interests in Morocco. What became of them? They were wrested from her. Germany was robbed, underhandedly, and furthermore was humiliated, insulted,

⁶ The Moroccan intrigue served more than anything else to embitter Anglo-German relations, and helped to usher in the present war. The authority for the statements in the text is to be found in *Morocco in Diplomacy* by E. D. Morel, first published in London in 1912, and reissued as *Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy* in 1915. Mr. Morel presents the history of the affair with such a

slapped in the face. Morocco, whose independence was guaranteed not only by the public declarations of 1904, but also by the international Act of Algeciras of 1906, signed by all the powers, was ruthlessly reduced to a French dependency. Morocco in time of "peace" was treated worse than Belgium in time of war.

To all this Germany did not submit without a protest. She intervened twice, once at Tangier in the person of the Emperor, and again at Agidir with the Panther. In these interventions she was entirely within her rights, and in accord with what Mr. Morel calls "the fundamental legality of her attitude." And both times Europe nearly plunged into war because Britain interfered to back up France in an aggression where she was morally and legally wrong. In both instances, mind you, your Foreign Office did not interfere with merely diplomatic weapons, but with the threat of the whole military and naval forces of Great Britain,—offered, in the event of a Franco-German rupture, to mobilize the fleet, seize the Kiel canal and land 100,000 men in Schleswig-Holstein. These facts were laid bare in the Lausanne disclosures of 1905 and the Faber revelations of 1911. One immediate effect was to leave the whole German nation rocking and seething with indignation, and to convince Germany that England would precipitate a European war on the first pretext.

In the end Germany lost all of her interests in Morocco, though a slice of land in the interior of the French Congo was thrown to her as a sop. The secret clauses of the 1904 Declarations finally were revealed in *Le Temps* and *Le Matin*, November, 1911. But Germany had wind of them as early as October, 1904. Says Mr. Morel (remember that he wrote in 1912): "Thenceforth dated the situation which for more than seven years has poisoned the whole European atmosphere, embroiled British, French, German, and Spanish relations, and placed an enormous and constantly growing burden of added expenditure upon the peoples of those countries. Thenceforth dated the situation which Sir Edward Grey, instead of seeking to improve by orienting his policy after Algeciras in a more friendly spirit toward Germany—retaining what was good but rejecting what was bad in the policy of his predecessor—has aggravated and worsened to such a degree that only yesterday we escaped a general conflagration. Veritably the process of being a party to the stealing of another man's land brings with it its own Nemesis. Unfortunately it is the people in whose name, but without whose wealth of detailed proof, with such evident impartiality and with so genuine a concern for the best interests of England and of Europe that I venture to state no fair-minded man can read the book unconvinced.

sanction, these things are done, who have to pay." And again: "I understand that in the current jargon of diplomacy that sort of thing is called 'high politics.' The plain man may be permitted to dub it by one word only—dishonesty."

Yes, it was dishonest diplomacy, just as it was dishonest statesmanship in 1914 to deny in the House of Commons that the country was pledged to France, and then to reveal, after war actually had broken out, secret obligations of honor. England's naval and military power has been mortgaged to France in case of a war with Germany for the last ten years, unconditionally, and without reference, apparently, to the nature of the quarrel and the crisis. It was so in 1905, it was so in 1911, and it was so in August, 1914. The British Foreign Office had become saturated with anti-German feeling, with suspicion and unfairness. This anti-German cabal, typified by such men as Tyrrell, Nicholson and Bertie, did all it could to stultify international good-will, and, through the press, to prejudice and embitter public opinion. Sir Edward Grey worked hand and glove with this cabal, although his anti-Germanism seems to have been diluted with a pale pacifism which made him shudder, at the last moment, on the edge of that catastrophe he had done so much to make inevitable. The culpability of Britain is no less because these machinations were carried on behind the scenes and without the overt sanction of the British people. In foreign affairs the Foreign Office was Britain. And when the great test came it was able to carry the country into war.

For France, then, are you fighting? For the France of gaiety, of beauty, of philosophy? What did your diplomatic intriguers care for the ideal France? They were playing a high and baleful game, the game of the Balance of Power, in which Germany was to be outmatched, the game of the ring-fence. England's creation of the Entente, or rather the way she manipulated her influence after it was accomplished, had an evil influence on the politics of both her allies. In Russia the loans of British gold strengthened a weakening bureaucracy; the decline of the Duma dates from that sinister aid.⁷ In France it caused the fires of *La Revanche* to burn brighter. It gave political power to the French Colonial Party and threw the Republic into the hands of adventurers. It thwarted every movement toward a Franco-German *rapprochement*, inspiring, for example, those influences which brought about the overthrow of Caillaux. Was ever game more stupid, or in the end more

⁷ See *Persia, Finland, and our Russian Alliance*, pamphlet of the Independent Labour Party.

disastrous? As it was diplomacy without honesty, so it was statesmanship without enlightenment. What price Britain pays we already begin to see. It served directly and needlessly to undermine what is one of the greatest interests of true statesmanship, the peace of the world.

And mark you! This France to which you so effectively allied yourself was bound by the strongest of agreements to Russia. Her war policy was part and parcel of Russia's policy. Why is France now at war? Is it because she was wantonly invaded by Germany, or because she is fulfilling her pledges to Russia? Let there be no mistake in this matter. France came into the struggle automatically as Russia's ally. Though there was some silly pose at the beginning—what Americans would call "a grandstand play"—about withdrawing ten kilometers behind the frontier, there never was any doubt as to France's action. "France is resolved to fulfil all the obligations of her alliance."⁸ Yet this quarrel was at first a Russian affair. It was a dispute over the Balkans between Servia and Russia on one side and Austria and Germany on the other. Let me quote another Englishman. G. Lowes Dickinson says:⁹ "So far as Russia is concerned, I believe Germany to be on the defensive." Well, if that is so, then Germany is on the defensive against the world. The nations had strung themselves on a single cord, the handle to which was the Franco-Russian Alliance. When Russia jerked that handle, the nations were all pulled in,—France, Great Britain, Belgium. France was a link; you are really the ally of Russia.

To be the ally of unregenerate, medieval Russia is a national infamy. But you cannot see that.

The attitude of cultivated Englishmen toward Russia illustrates how the partisanship of war warps the mind. At one time you understood the real Russia and dreaded and abhorred that reign of the Secret Police called its government. But an ally can do no wrong. So far as possible Englishmen now mentally turn their backs on Russia, and whenever they are forced to look at her they put on rose-colored spectacles lest they see the truth. Arnold Bennett, in one of the most unsportsmanlike defenses¹⁰ of British diplomacy which has been published, declares that so far as England is concerned, Russia is an accident. An accident! An accident composed of 170,000,000 people which increases at the rate of 3,000,000 a year,

⁸ Statement of Viviani to the French ambassadors at St. Petersburg and London, July 30, 1914. French Yellow Book, No. 101.

⁹ *The War and the Way Out*, p. 16.

¹⁰ "Liberty."

with all those millions conscripted and marshalled by the most soulless, oppressive, unscrupulous autocracy in the world! For the Germans this vast Tatar nation is no accident. "We in the West," as Marcel Sembat pointed out some months before he entered the French Cabinet, "have never quite realized how Germans regard Russia. For us she is a safely distant power. We can afford to think of her novels and her music. We can personify her as a nation which produced Tolstoy and Kropotkin."¹¹ We know her through her exiles. For the Germans she is the semi-barbarous neighbor across the frontier, with the population which is eighty per cent illiterate, and those Cossacks whose name still recalls the devastations of the Seven Years War."¹² Yet the truth about Russia is not hard to ascertain. Since the war started all the forces of reaction have been strengthened. The labor leaders, every liberal element, have been terrorized; the Jews, already ground under heel, have been subjected to new and horrible indignities; all constitutional rights in Finland have been stamped out. The Duma has been prorogued and silenced. Russia uses the support of her liberal allies to slump further back into despotism. This war is the great catastrophe; it overshadows all else. But the next greatest crime against civilization is the fact that the three greatest cultural nations of the West, England, Germany and France, instead of standing shoulder to shoulder against the Asiatic powers, are tearing at each other's vitals, with two of the three arrayed against the third at the behest and in the interest of this unspeakable bureaucracy. Who is responsible for this irrational, this unholy alliance? I leave the answer to you.

IV.

"But away with all this talk of policies and politics," you cry. "Let us get down to the fundamental issue, Germany herself. Why are we at war? Look at our foe for your answer! We could not abide a world forever overawed by this menace of Prussianism! These barbarians! These veritable Huns! This modern Attila! This perverted nation of militarists! This incarnate blood-lust and egotism! This—"

Save your vocabulary. We have heard more than enough of vituperation within the past year. I know that you, the better class of Englishmen—and that is the only sort I am addressing—have had no part in the shameless and cowardly abuse of Germans which has filled your press during the war period. Still it is true, I believe,

¹¹ Kropotkin by all means. See his *The Terror in Russia*, 1909.

¹² H. N. Brailsford in *The New Republic*, July 24, 1915.

that your conception of Germany is compounded in part of fictions. How could it be otherwise? For a decade certain sections of British opinion have made it their interest to slander and misrepresent your great Teutonic neighbor. Within the last months these defamers have used their blackest colors; they do not picture a people at all, but a grotesque caricature of something which started out to be superhuman and ended in being inhuman. Out of the fog of war they have fashioned a bogey, a monster which bears no more resemblance to the Germany across the North Sea than does an image of Moloch to a man. All Englishmen appear to share, in greater or less degree, this bogey-belief.

To refute each canard, to strip bare and expose each fiction, would be impossible. But some categorical statements should be made. Germans are *not* inhuman brutes, delighting in atrocities; in the conduct of this war they have shown themselves no more cruel and brutal than the French, and far less so than the Russians and your brown and black native troops. The Teuton is *not* by nature bestial, bloodthirsty, or merciless any more than is the Briton or any other civilized European, and he yields to the evil passions of war no more readily. Germanic civilization is *not* inferior to French or English or Italian civilization, though different; on the contrary it might well be maintained that the only nation which has abolished poverty, the one whose educational system is the best in the world, whose municipal governments are models, which outstrips all nations in scientific and industrial energy, shows distinct elements of superiority. The Germans are *not* mad with military ambition, nor bent on any career of world conquest, determined to impose the German language and German institutions on unwilling peoples. They asked for a place in the sun. But a place in the sun is not the whole earth.

Come, let us be reasonable. In plain justice you must admire the Germans, even though you do not love them. If Anglo-Saxon civilization is musk in your nostrils, Teutonic civilization cannot be stench. In the arts of peace the Germans challenge emulation. In war they are the astonishment of all history. No other people could have withstood so overwhelming a coalition. Not only in a military and technical manner are they proving their strength, but in a moral and intellectual way too. In England you have an oppressive censorship; and you have lost for the time being many of your constitutional rights. In Germany the censorship confines itself to its proper duty of suppressing military information; there the most unfriendly news is published, including the daily British and French

war bulletins; in any German city one may read the current English and French newspapers, and buy the books and pamphlets written to expose German guilt. Is it so with you? Or in Russia or France? Does this mean anything except that the German people, alone among the belligerents, are allowed freely to face the truth? And there are Englishmen who still speak of this as the Kaiser's war, or a Junkers' war!

For the Germans this is a people's war, in the fullest sense of the term. The great spiritual fact of the struggle is this flaming, unbroken conviction of the German people that they are right. Though your statesmen may have been successful with Russia, France and Italy, they have done very badly with Germany. They have not left a single German, high or low, with the smallest doubt that Britain engineered a conspiracy to destroy its rival. The explanation is simple. The Germans look to history, remote and recent. Englishmen work themselves into a great consternation over what Prussian militarism is *going* to do; and they try to frighten neutrals with pen-pictures of its future depredations. But Germans point to the actual performances of Prussian militarism, and contrast them with the concrete performances of British imperialism.

They point out, for example, that this terrible menace of Prussianism, to which you impute such evil designs, has kept the peace in Europe since 1870; that it never seized a favorable opportunity to precipitate war, and neglected to attack Russia when crippled by Japan, France during the Dreyfus affair, England when the Boers disclosed her weakness. They recall that the German government, in the face of a hostile press at home, sacrificed German interests in Morocco in order to avoid a European conflagration. And they ask, has British imperialism ever refrained from aggression when its "interests" were involved? England has formed coalitions successively against Spain, Holland and France; she has swept from the sea every fleet which dared to rival her own. Her recent attitude toward Germany has been of a piece with this historic policy; the efforts of her statesmen have aimed consistently at the enfeeblement and the isolation of Germany.

One of the British prophets of this war was Professor Cramb. In his book he wrote: "'France,' said Bismarck in September, 1870, 'must be paralyzed; for she will never forgive us our victories.' And in the same spirit Treitschke avers: England will never forgive us our strength. And not without justice he delineates English policy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as aimed consistently at the repression of Prussia."

What are you fighting for?

Here is your answer. The repression of Prussia! Since Germany became a power, and particularly since she began to build a navy, she aroused increasing dislike and distrust amongst you. In 1897 the *Saturday Review* announced the slogan *Germaniam esse delendam*, and that program has been steadily backed by a powerful element of British opinion. Your statesmen have pursued the old, unimaginative politics of annoyances and curbs; they have done their utmost to balk every German attempt at expansion in Africa or in Asia, and sometimes their interference has been nothing short of wantonly malicious, as in the instances of Morocco and of the Bagdad Railway. Militarism in Germany? Of course there is militarism there, and some of its aspects are not bright. But why not? British policy for a decade and more has done all in its power to create a military temper in Germany, to throw her into the hands of the war party, and to lash into being that tigerish ferocity with which she now fights you. Commercial jealousy and irritation in manufacturing circles, blended with imperialistic voracity and certain calculations (or miscalculations) of high politics, have led Great Britain into an anti-German policy and an anti-German war.

You will resent this answer to our question. To declare that England is fighting, not for Belgium, not for France, not for the sanctity of treaties or human rights, but merely for selfish imperialistic reasons, and rather ill-conceived reasons at that, strikes you, I am sure, as grossly distorted. When you look into your own souls you find no such sordid motives. You find only an intense love of England and of England's honor, and a sense of British quality and worth. I know how you feel and I know that the things you cherish are realities. But these noble realities, I submit, have very little to do with the beginning of this war, or its end.

And you could see this too, were you able, even for one brief hour, to throw yourselves into complete sympathy with your opponents, and look at the world through their eyes. Had you attempted any such sympathetic understanding of Germany two years ago, this war, I am convinced, never would have happened. You would have seen that the very future existence of Germany depends on her overseas markets, and that she must be able to guard these at all costs. As it is, you have been applying one logic to Germany and another to England. You have looked upon the German navy as an impertinence and a threat, even though the growth of the German navy has been accompanied by a constant demand for the freedom of the seas (i. e., the abolition of the capture of private

property at sea). But you have never been able to see that the British navy, nearly twice as large, is a threat (to Germany and possibly to others) especially when accompanied by a stubborn and effective refusal to have the seas neutralized. You could denounce colonial greed in Germany, and stand ready to fight her if she acquired an African colony, or a naval base in the Atlantic; but British expansion, though unlimited, seemed justified, no matter at whose expense; and you could applaud when Bonar Law announced in July, 1915, that the Entente Allies had torn from the Teutons 450,000 square miles of colonial possessions. What is meat for you, you declare to be poison for Germany. You tried, in your supremacy, to enforce a dictation on others to which you would not submit for a moment. The worst you can properly say of Germany is that she challenged that supremacy, and that she may yet force you to treat her as an equal.

The vital question remains: What of the future? The past is past; it must bury its dead. To fix the blame, to point the accusing finger, to try to anticipate the condemnation of history, is in itself a fruitless task. After all, the stupidest people in the world are they who—on whichever side—wish to “punish” some one for this war,—this ultimate calamity in which each belligerent shares a portion of the guilt. What strikes one in this gigantic struggle between the British and German nations is not so much its wickedness and its fierceness, as its needlessness, its utter irrationality. Germany is, as I said before, your natural ally; there are a thousand valid reasons for friendship to one valid reason for hostility. Is it too late to hope for a reconciliation between these two great peoples which are so alike in their virtues, however much they may differ in their faults? I think you begin to see what a task you have on your hands in seeking to humble a nation so strong and so indignant as Germany. However the war results, neither Germany nor England can be annihilated. And that is well, for there is room for both in the world. The highest ideal of international development is not a level uniformity, but many divergent cultures, each intensifying its own peculiar merits. Will it be impossible for the English to put their pride—even though it turn out to be a wounded pride—behind them, and make that great effort toward a sympathetic understanding of Germany which should have been made long ago? We may hope that the effort can be made, for in the final restoration of Anglo-German friendship lies one of the world's best hopes, and the strongest guarantee of future peace.

ALLEGED GERMAN ATROCITIES.

ENGLAND'S MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON.

BY J. MATTERN.

Motto: War was declared not only against German soldiers and sailors, but against German reputations.—*The New Statesman*, London, May 29, 1915, p. 176.

THE world has been deluged with stories of alleged German atrocities and with made-to-order evidence of German barbarism and frightfulness. We all know the official reports of the Belgian, French and British "atrocities" commissions, we know Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence*, we know Percy Bullen's *The Hun's Diary*, we know J. H. Morgan's *A Dishonored Army*, and many more of like order. But in spite of the generous advertising which all these have received in the magazines and the daily press favorable to the Allies' cause, they seem to have utterly failed in their mission, at least with those neutrals who do a little thinking of their own. The mode of presentation of all of them is too ostentatious, their manner of representation too crude and perverse to gain confidence and command belief with people who, in these troublous times when hysteria seems to be rampant, have preserved at least a grain of common sense, sound judgment and cool reasoning. These atrocity stories as they appeared in hundreds of gaudy and sensational British and French anti-German war books, pamphlets and the like; these official reports distributed by the hundred thousand and reproduced in almost every political and popular journal, did for a time baffle and stir the heart of every neutral, no matter on which side his sympathies were; but the purpose was too manifest and the effort through which the purpose was to be achieved too grotesque to convince others than those who wished to be convinced. Even in the United States, this hotbed

of pro-Allies sentiment, they are taken with a grain or more of salt by all except the editors of that section of the press which is more British than the British themselves.

However it would be saying too much to state that these atrocity stories, whether of private or official manufacture, have entirely failed in their purpose. To be sure, they seem to be performing a valuable service in the countries where they originated, and the assumption seems well warranted that they were, in the last analysis, doctored up for home consumption. At least that is the view one gathers from G. E. Toulmin's revelation in the March number of the *Journal of the Royal Economic Society*. This is what he writes:

"Statesmen [it is English statesmen of whom he speaks] know in their hearts that in order to brave a democracy to bear the terrible losses and sorrows even of triumphant warfare, a mob-instinct of horror and repulsion must be cultivated and maintained. The word 'Germany' must always be used so as to stir up a complex of anger and disgust."

Mr. Toulmin's admission is corroborated by the *New Statesman*, London, May 29, 1915, which, with apparent disapproval, acknowledges that "War was declared not only against German soldiers and sailors, but against German reputations," and that "if the destruction of German reputations goes on much further we [the English, or the Allies, or the world] shall not be surprised to find the followers of the late Mr. Kensit denouncing Martin Luther as a Hun who was secretly in the pay of the Pope."

A drastic example illustrating how these make-believe stories of German barbarism are made use of in England is found in E. J. Balsir Chatterton's *Appeal to the Nation* which has as its object the winning of a million members for his "Anti-German League." These are Mr. Chatterton's "appealing" words:

"Never before in England's history has the nation been faced with problems so grave and complex. We stand, or rather shall shortly stand, at the parting of the ways. On the one hand lies a road to prosperity and Empire—a road we are opening at a sacrifice in blood and treasure, the like of which the world has never seen—on the other, the resumption of a policy of thrift and apathy, which would again permit the Teutonic leprosy to threaten our very existence.... When offered goods bearing the mark of the beast, I ask you to think of the vast army of phantom dead, of the poor breastless women, of the outraged girls, of the little children torn to pieces, of our brave soldiers with their faces beaten to a pulp

as they lay wounded, and of the sinking of the *Falaba* with over a hundred innocent passengers, amid the jeers of the fiends on the pirate submarine, and the *Lusitania* with hundreds of helpless victims sacrificed to the bloodlust of the Butcher of Berlin. The time for false sentimentality has gone. It is quite useless fighting savages with silk gloves on. Let us get to business and destroy—destroy first of all the fabrics of their fast approaching commercial supremacy—ostracize them socially as a pestilent and cankerous growth—and, lastly, make it impossible for them, with all their knavish tricks and subtle devices, to ever enter our markets again in unfair competition.”

Thus Chatterton's Anti-German League of a “Million members who will preach the anti-German doctrine all over the country” must represent the German as a “beast,” a “leper,” a “savage,” a “pestilent and cankerous growth,” in order to deter the English from trading with him, while Mr. Toulmin propounds the theory that all trade relations must be and are being broken with the enemy in order that he may effectively be represented as the “barbarian and traitor,” the “plague spot” and what not else. For if trade relations of some kind or other should continue, “the word ‘German’ would be redolent,” so Toulmin concedes, “not of hatred but of profitable contracts”; “the reaction caused by the word ‘Germany’ would be lessened, and a valuable stimulus to self-sacrifice and, in a volunteer country, to recruiting would be lost.”

I have just come across an English pamphlet entitled *The Truth About German Atrocities*, and issued by the “Parliamentary Recruiting Committee.” Was it this pamphlet that inspired Mr. Toulmin's article in the *Journal of the Royal Economic Society*? or was it Mr. Toulmin's article that inspired the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee to issue this pamphlet?

For Chatterton the atrocity bugbear is the means of killing German trade and competition; according to Toulmin trade relations with the Germans must be interrupted so that the English, against their own better knowledge, may be duped into believing the horrible accusations lodged against their enemy and, fortified by holy indignation, bear the otherwise unbearable burden of the war, or, what in sober thought would and could not be expected of them, flock to the colors to fight for a cause which they fail to recognize as their own. On the one point however the two, Chatterton and Toulmin, agree: atrocity stories are a prerequisite without which the English government cannot succeed in its management of the war.

The neutral world, including the United States, with the exception noted above, sees the point and accepts these reports, private and official, of alleged German "outrages, crimes, atrocities, and the like" for what they are worth—"an essential part of the war game." However, most of our esteemed British cousins do not realize such discomfoting facts as yet. They are still busily engaged in manufacturing new "war material of this sort" and still more frantically at work making use of this kind of ammunition, the only kind, by the way, that they seem to be able to produce in sufficient quantities and of effective quality.

Every English or French steamer arriving at New York still brings thousands of copies of anti-German war books, all more or less reveling in vivid and perverse descriptions of improbable or impossible crimes laid at the door of the "Huns" or "Vandals." Hardly an issue of a magazine or paper appears without a "spicy" review or an excerpt from the "choicest" scenes. Most of these atrocity stories are so disingenuous, so cunning in their insinuations, so exaggerated in their coloring of the subject, so clearly designed to appeal to the baser instincts of their prospective readers, in short so revolting to the sense of fairness to be found even in the most biased "anti-German neutral" that they positively defeat their own ends. They need no answer, they answer themselves. In this class belong, in addition to those already mentioned, such books as *The Last of the Huns*, by G. Saunders; *Lest We Forget. An Anthology of War Verses*, edited by H. B. Elliott; *In Gentlest Germany*, by *Hun Svedend*, translated from the *Svengalese* by E. V. Lucas, a miserable parody on Sven Hedin's *With the German Armies in the West*; *German Atrocities*, by W. Le Queux; *La Grande Barbarie*, by Pierre Loti; *The World in the Crucible*, by Sir Gilbert Parker; and many, many more.

Still, occasionally one meets with a spontaneous outburst of a natural, and therefore honorable, indignation springing from an unwarranted, but nevertheless real, belief in what the Germans are charged with. This is the kind of criticism—the only kind that deserves and demands an answer—to which Charles T. Gorham's article in *The Open Court* of September last belongs. When I here mention Mr. Gorham I do so speaking of him as a type, and it is in that sense that I shall refer to him in the following. I have stated that I consider Mr. Gorham's indignation natural and honorable, and his belief in the causes for his indignation unwarranted but real. Indeed so childlike seems to be his faith in the Bryce report, that any attempt to shatter his confidence assumes the aspect of an

atrocities of the blackest type. With admirable earnestness he claims that "according to the investigations which have been made [by the Bryce Commission] the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true." But how does the Bryce report prove the charges against the Germans and disprove the charges against the Belgians? By testimony taken under oath? No! "The depositions"—so we read in the introduction to the report—"were in all cases taken down in this country [England] by gentlemen of legal knowledge and experience, though of course they had no authority to administer an oath." Are the names of the unsworn witnesses given? No! "Many hesitated to speak"—so the excuse runs—"lest what they said, if it should ever be published, might involve their friends or relatives at home in danger, and it was found necessary to give an absolute promise that names should not be disclosed." This excuse appears in a rather peculiar light when we consider that most of the witnesses examined by the Belgian and French Commissions did not manifest such tender considerations for their relatives, nor even for themselves.

Thus the Bryce report cannot, as far as its evidence is concerned, even be compared with the reports of the Belgian and French commissions, of which the latter at least claims to be founded "chiefly on photographs and on a mass of evidence received in judicial form, with the sanction of an oath."

But even of these Belgian and French reports a reputable and distinguished countryman of Mr. Gorham, the English labor leader Ramsay MacDonald, wrote as follows: "The use that is being made of the words 'cruelties' and 'atrocities' is in my opinion to be condemned severely. In the first place the so-called documentary proofs of the Belgian and French commissions are no proofs at all. It is absolutely impossible to state accurately what takes place, when one is in the midst of terrible experiences with nerves strung to the highest pitch and the ability to observe carefully and clearly utterly destroyed. A dreadful death becomes a cruelty, and imagination takes the place of observation. I know that, if I myself had undergone what some of these poor people must have suffered, my report of the facts would be neither trustworthy nor objective. It would only describe how the horrors had affected my mind. In addition to this we have had so many cases in which apparently indisputable proof was produced, that nevertheless were pure invention or received another and quite satisfactory explanation, that even the seemingly most trustworthy statements are not always to

be accepted. It is astonishing that legal authorities, Belgian and French—and later even English—have set their names to these reports of cruelties,—reports made under conditions under which even the best judge would give up all pretence of being able to give a clear presentation of the facts. That cruelties, brutalities and atrocities have occurred is self-evident; that the German army is responsible for the greater part of these is likewise a matter of course, for the obvious reason that the localities were for it an enemy's country. But to use these things, which are inseparably connected with war and which have been reported of every army operating in the field, as a means of stirring up hate between the nations and of prolonging the conflict, is abominably devilish and must be condemned by every right-thinking man." According to the *War Chronicle* for February last this letter appeared in the *Voix de l'humanité* published in Lausanne, and it appeared in English, not in French, because Macdonald's views "are decidedly opposed to the point of view of most of its [the *Voix de l'humanité*'s] collaborators, and in order to avoid any mistake in their interpretation."

The same adverse criticism applies, of course, to the Bryce report, and, for reasons enumerated above, to a much greater degree. Yet on the strength of this report Mr. Gorham makes the amazingly naive and sweeping statement that "the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true."

What are the charges brought against the Belgians? I quote from the German *White Book on the Belgian People's War*:

"Immediately after the outbreak of the war in Belgium a savage fight was started by the Belgian civilians against the German troops, a fight which was a flagrant violation of international law and had the gravest consequences for Belgium and her people."

The chief incidents of this "savage fight by the Belgian civilians against the German troops" took place at Aerschot, Andenne, Dinant and Louvain. About eighty depositions by German officers and men, every one sworn before a military court the names of whose members, moreover, are given for every case, prove beyond the possibility of doubt that the German charges against the Belgians are justified. In spite of this I shall not, and need not, ask Mr. Gorham, or anybody else, to accept even such sworn proof, coming as it does from the German side. I shall instead offer the testimony of an American, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin Emerson. His testimony was given voluntarily during an illustrated lecture arranged under the auspices of the German-American Trade Association of Berlin.

Colonel Emerson, being on leave of absence, felt free to express his opinion without restraint, and in the presence of the American ambassador, the consul-general and the larger part of the American colony made the following statement:

"Inhabitants of Louvain admitted to me themselves that their firing at the Germans had been a terrible mistake. They would not have done it, they told me, had they not been secretly informed from Antwerp that a sortie from that city had been successful, and that the Germans were in full retreat on Louvain. When then a small column of tired-out German soldiers happened to enter Louvain that same evening, the deluded populace thought that they were part of the completely routed and fleeing troops of the German army, and at once opened fire upon them. I would here, as a military man, further say that, if I were in war and a hostile civilian population were to fire on my troops, I should proceed in the same way as the Germans did in Louvain. Our American soldiers always did the same in the Philippines. As a literary man I naturally regret that the historically valuable library in Louvain happened to be burned, with other buildings, but in war, fire and sword are always at work, and regrettable losses of valuable things take place in all belligerent countries. I was in Vera Cruz this last spring when our American marines completely destroyed the valuable library of the Mexican Naval Academy. Our officers of course regretted this afterwards very much." (From D. A. W. War Tracts, No. 7.)

But Colonel Emerson, because he spoke at the German capital and because he may be suspected of German leanings, may not prove convincing to some who were not present at his lecture. So I shall let E. Alexander Powell, war correspondent for the *New York World*, relate his experience on the same subject. This is what he witnessed and relates in his work, *Fighting in Flanders*, a book which is anything but a hymn to the Germans:

"We started early in the morning [Powell and Van Hee, the American vice-consul at Ghent, to take dinner with General von Boehn].... And though nothing was said about a photographer, I took with me Donald Thompson. Before we passed the city limits of Ghent, things began to happen. Entering a street which leads through a district inhabited by the working classes, we suddenly found our way barred by a mob of several thousand excited Flemings. Above the sea of threatening arms and brandished sticks and angry faces rose the figures of two German soldiers, with carbines slung across their backs [not directed at the mob], mounted

on horses which they had evidently hastily unharnessed from a wagon. Like their unfortunate comrades of the motor-car episode, they too had strayed into the city by mistake. As we approached, the crowd made a concerted rush for them. A blast from my siren opened a lane for us, however, and I drove the car alongside the terrified Germans. 'Quick!' shouted Van Hee in German. 'Off your horses and into the car! Hide your rifles! Take off your helmets! Sit on the floor and keep out of sight!' The mob, seeing its prey escaping, surged about us with a roar. For a moment things looked very ugly. Van Hee jumped on the seat. 'I am the American consul!' he shouted. 'These men are under my protection! You are civilians [!] attacking German soldiers in uniform. If they are harmed your city will be burned about your ears.' At that moment a burly Belgian shouldered his way through the crowd and, leaping on the running-board, levelled a revolver [!] at the Germans cowering in the tonneau. Quick as a thought Thompson knocked up the man's hand, and at the same instant I threw on the power. . . . It was a close call for every one concerned, but a much closer call for Ghent; for had those German soldiers been murdered by civilians in the city streets no power on earth could have saved the city from German vengeance. General von Boehn told me so himself." (Chapter V, "With the Spiked Helmets," pp. 110-112.)

Still more conclusive than Mr. Powell's anti-German contribution is what I have the pleasure of offering in the following quotations from Belgian, yes Belgian, newspapers, in which the participation of Belgian civilians in the fighting against German troops is heralded and praised as the highest form of duty and patriotism.

Gazette de Charleroi, August 11, 1914:

"The spirit of our revolutionary war is awakened in our districts. A wave of heroism animates our souls. On the roads one meets youths and grown men, some armed with old muskets, others with shotguns, many with revolvers."

Het Handelsblad of Antwerp, August 6, 1914:

"Like madmen and without mercy they fought, and a certain part of the population of the lowlands, whose peaceful labors on the fields are disturbed, was seized by a veritable fury to defend the soil of the fatherland against the treacherous Prussians. . . . From cellar windows, from holes made in the roofs by the removal of tiles, from private houses, from farm buildings and huts, a furious fire was opened against the storming Uhlans and the Schleswig troops."

Journal de Charleroi, August 10, 1914 (from the report of a war correspondent):

"Returning from Brussels I came to Waterloo and there I found the entire population in arms; some had muskets, of one description or another; others pistols, revolvers or simply sticks and pitchforks; even the women were armed."

De Nieuwe Gazet, August 8, 1914:

"The civil population fires on the invaders:"

"In Bernot the vanguard [of the Germans] became involved with the citizens, who, like madmen, shot at the invaders from the roofs and windows of their houses. Even women took part in the shooting. An eighteen-year-old girl with a revolver shot at an officer The peasants and inhabitants maintained a regular fire with the advancing Germans."

In Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence* we find the following passage from the diary of an unnamed German soldier:

"Thus we destroyed eight houses, with the inhabitants. From one house alone two men with their wives and an eighteen-year-old girl were bayoneted (*erstochen*). I took pity on the girl, her face appeared so innocent, but we could do nothing against the excited mob (*Menge*), for on such occasions (*dann*, i. e., under such conditions) men are not human beings but beasts."

What, I ask, becomes of this passage, so convincing to Bédier, in the light of the preceding confessions of the *Nieuwe Gazet*?

But to return to the subject, there are more such Belgian confessions.

Journal de Charleroi, August 8, 1914:

"The resistance offered to the enemy by our peasantry is proof of its patriotic feeling. The indignation at the invasion of Belgian territory, which has seized all hearts, has aroused our entire people and has united them with our troops. . . . Our peasants are ready for the greatest sacrifices."

La Métropole, Antwerp, as late as October 7, 1914:

"To arms! Every able-bodied man take his gun [a gun, or the gun]. Do not serve the barbarians! Go at the enemy!"

These quotations from Belgian newspapers are taken from Richard Grasshoff's *Belgiens Schuld. Zugleich eine Antwort an Professor Wawweiler*, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1915. They are, as

Grasshoff states, only a few of the many in his possession, but these few speak loud enough, these few indeed suffice to invalidate all the Belgian and French and English official reports to the contrary.

And having seen the Belgian civil population convicted by the testimony of Emerson, Powell and their own newspapers of all that the German *White Book* has charged them with, we shall consider what Mr. Gorham ventures to say on the same subject. Thus he writes :

“Before the entry of the Germans into Belgium, orders had been given in every town, village and district of that country that all arms were to be delivered up to the authorities. The evidence shows that these orders were faithfully complied with....In any case the fact of the official order to deliver up arms and the compliance therewith show that no forcible resistance by non-combatants was sanctioned or contemplated. The evidence proves that none took place.”

Here I rest my case. Let the reader be the judge. I am ready to accept the verdict.

The next logical step then would be to admit that the punishment meted out to the “maddened Belgian civilians shooting from houses, from roofs, from cellar windows,” a punishment which I concede was a terrible one, was retributive and not provocative. Hence Mr. Gorham’s accusation that “the German troops left their own country provided with the means for the deliberate commission of cruel outrages” should be amended to read: “The German troops left their own country provided with the means for the deliberate commission of relentless retribution for unlawful attacks by the civil population of any of the enemy countries.” Those ingenious stories that “drunken” or “mischievous” German soldiers had fired the same shots that were laid at the door of innocent Belgian civilians, on the one hand rest on what unnamed and unsworn refugees express as their belief, not their knowledge, and on the other hand are refuted by the sworn testimony of German officers and men whose name and rank are given and who are all in complete agreement as to the details of the occasions on which such shooting is supposed to have occurred.

However Mr. Gorham is of the opinion that, even if Belgian civilians had done all the Germans accuse them of having done, “a generous foe would have dealt leniently with them” and “certainly he would not have avenged himself upon innocent children.” Since particulars of this alleged vengeance practised upon innocent children are not furnished by Mr. Gorham we have to search for such

elsewhere. Document *a* 33 of the Bryce report relates the following:

"Two of the [German] privates held the baby, and the officer took out his sword and cut the baby's head off...."

The Belgian refugee relating this supposed incident in the course of his examination, and referring to the shooting of the mayor of Cornesse in whose village a German soldier had been wounded by civilians, expressed himself in the following manner:

"They found him and placed him against a wall in the courtyard of the school, and four or five German soldiers shot him. He was only hit in the legs, and a German officer came up and shot him through the heart with a revolver. He was an old man and quite deaf. I do not know what his name was. I never heard whether it was true that the German soldier had been shot by an inhabitant of Cornesse; some said it was true and some said it was not. Some people even said the soldier had shot himself so as not to be obliged to fight any more."—"Some said—and some said not"! This is the quality of the testimony upon which the Bryce report is based, and on the strength of such pseudo-testimony—commonly called gossip—the world is asked to believe that three German soldiers, one of them an officer, are capable of murdering an "innocent baby."

On this kind of testimony the London *New Statesman* of January 30, 1915, makes some pertinent remarks which deserve to be reproduced in this connection. The *New Statesman* says:

"What puzzles one in the whole business is the way in which evidence in support of things which have not happened [that is, stories of German atrocities] is invented among perfectly honest people. It is partly, we think, because the majority even of honest people do not hesitate to modify the nature of the evidence as they pass it on. One man passes something on to a friend as a piece of hearsay; the second relates it as something which a friend of his actually witnessed; the next man to hear the story makes it still more dramatic by declaring that he saw the thing himself. And even the third of these men may be, comparatively speaking, honest. He is frequently one of those persons subject to hallucinations, who believe they have been present at what they merely heard about, just as George IV firmly believed that he had fought at the battle of Waterloo."

Referring to the stories of Belgian children being mutilated by the Germans the *New Statesman* in the same issue has this to say:

"It is the same with the myth of the Belgian mutilations. It

was impossible to meet any one who did not know somebody—or at the very least who did not know somebody who knew somebody—who had seen the child with his or her own eyes. Every suburb of London, every town, every village, almost every vicarage, had its Belgian child *sans* hands, *sans* feet. One knew people who knew people who could vouch for it on the very best authority. The mutilated children had been sent in trainloads to Paris and in boatloads to England. To doubt a man's Belgian child soon became as serious a matter as to doubt his God.... Now the real sufferings of Belgium it would be almost impossible to exaggerate, and the story of those sufferings is an infinitely longer and more horrible story than the most longwinded or Sadistic version of the mutilated Belgian child. But apparently the public had to get into its mind some drastic representation of all that horror, some representation which would be an easy and stimulating substitute for the prolonged study of hundreds of thousands of scattered facts. The Belgian child gave the public what it wanted—one of those favorite symbols in war-time when men like to picture themselves as the knights of God, fighting against devils more atrocious than the Devil." Thus the *New Statesman*, more effectively than a thousand sworn denials could have done, disposes of the myth of the "Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet." Likewise, it disposes just as effectually of the baby-killing related in document *a* 33; of the incident quoted by Mr. Gorham, where "a child of two years.... while standing in the street of Malines, was transfixed by a brave German soldier with his bayonet and carried off on the weapon, a song on the lips of its murderer"; of the case found on page 57 of Le Queux's *German Atrocities*, where it is alleged that "the lancer took up his lance and ran it through one of the little girls who was walking along, clutching the hand of her mother. She was a fair-haired girl of about seven or eight years of age"; in short, it disposes of all of them.

But there is one other kind of accusation in Mr. Gorham's arraignment of the German conduct in Belgium, and that is one which I would prefer not to touch, were it not that silence might be construed as admission. "What can you say"—Mr. Gorham asks—"of the public violation of fifteen women in the square of Liège, in the presence of and begun by officers? You will, I trust, disapprove of the appalling savagery deposed to by witnesses *a* 33, *d* 118, *d* 133, and above all, *d* 86. These incidents are so horrible that it must have needed some resolution to print the accounts; but there are hundreds of others nearly as bad!" I volunteer to

add that a still greater resolution is required to read them, provided of course that the imagination of the reader is not already "tuned up" to such a pitch of sensualism by the reading of Emile Zola's or, worse yet, the Marquis de Sade's works. I shall further add that it was accusations of this kind, and the manner of their presentation, that I referred to as perverse and revolting. That there are in an army of millions—be they Germans, Russians, French, or even the purest of the Puritan English—some whose animal instinct is stronger than discipline, self-control and respect for the sex that brought them into this life and has given or is to give life to their own children, no one but a hypocrite will deny. But that things should or could have happened as they are related in documents *a* 33, *d* 118, *d* 133 and *d* 86 is impossible to believe, especially on the basis of such flimsy testimony as furnished in these documents. That the severest penalty is meted out to any soldier or officer who so far forgets himself as to violate or to attempt to violate a woman, is well known and need not be re-asserted here. That the threatened punishment is being and has been meted out to culprits is equally certain.

Mr. Powell in his *Fighting in Flanders*, Chapter V, p. 126, attributes to General von Bochn the statement that "of course, our soldiers, like soldiers in all armies, sometimes get out of hand and do things which we would never tolerate if we knew it," and that "at Louvain, for example, I sentenced two soldiers to twelve years' penal servitude each for assaulting a woman."

Another case of this kind is cited in one of the diaries, alleged to have been found on German dead and prisoners and published by Bédier. The diary in question is that supposed to be written by private Z (more of his name is not given). "Unfortunately"—so the passage reads—"I am obliged to mention something which should never have happened. . . . Last night a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty-five, and a married man, attempted to violate the daughter of a man in whose house he had been quartered; she was a child; and as the father tried to interfere he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast." Here ends Bédier's French translation, but the photographic reproduction of the supposed original writing of private Z continues thus: "Is such a thing possible? But he [the German soldier] is awaiting his due punishment." Why did Bédier suppress these two sentences? Because they defeat any attempt to lay these sins at the door of the German authorities.

For the benefit of Mr. Gorham and his kin I refer to Robert J. Thompson's book, *England and Germany in the War*. Mr.

Thompson was American consul at Aix-la-Chapelle when the war broke out. "Because of the [United States state] department's instruction to make neither investigations nor reports on the serious—and at that time acute—subject of military reprisals"—so he writes in the introduction to his book—"I have withheld all of my observations and reports until my resignation would give me freedom to speak fully and in direct accordance with the facts." In the chapter on "Atrocities on the Field and in the Press" he records the "nurse-with-her-breast-cut-off-by-German-soldiers" story which originated in Edinboro, and he reminds his readers that the "girl who concocted it has since been convicted by the courts of that good town." Mr. Thompson is of the opinion that "the sentence should have included a goodly number of London editors and American correspondents," and he regrets that "unfortunately for the peace of mind of the world, the court fell short of convicting, for libel, the perpetrators of the alleged crime, but rendered judgment because of the grief the girl had caused the parents of the mistreated nurse who, strange enough, was her own sister."

Of late, various efforts have been made to accentuate the alleged barbarous methods of the present-day Germans by holding them up in contrast with the more human methods of their fathers in the Franco-Prussian war. In one of these attempts the writer, one Courtney Kenny, expresses himself as follows:

"The atrocities committed by the Kaiser's troops in Belgium, which are awakening the indignation of the world, afford a startling contrast to the conduct of the fathers of those troops during the invasion of France in 1870. In your issue of October 17 [*The Spectator*] you cite from Sir Thomas Fraser a testimony that the French peasants of 1870 could give their German invaders the credit of 'respecting the women, and doing what was wanted in the way of help.' In more than one invaded part of France I used to hear ladies give similar testimony as to 1870, conceding that their invaders behaved far better than French troops would have done if they had captured German towns. But a more striking testimony fell into my hands by accident recently when I came upon the address which Max Müller delivered before the Germans of London at their festival of peace on the conclusion of the war with France (May 1, 1871). He says in the course of it: 'In no war has there been so little unnecessary cruelty; in no war has every crime been punished so severely: in no war has humanity achieved such triumphs. We are prouder of these triumphs than of all the triumphs of our arms.' " (*The Spectator*, November 14, 1914.)

And still, even in 1870-71 the fathers of the present-day "barbarians" fared no better at the hands of some of their critics. I have before me a book, *The Crime of War*, by His Excellency, John Baptist Alberdi. . . . sometime minister plenipotentiary of the Argentine Confederation to the the courts of Great Britain, France and Spain. From the introduction we learn that the book was written in 1870 and from the title page, that it was printed in 1913 at London and Toronto, by J. M. Dent & Sons. As far as its contents are concerned it might have been written last month, and its author might have been one of our present-day English writers, be it our friend, H. G. Wells, one of the Chestertons, Gilbert Parker, or some other. In proof of my assertions I submit the following quotations:

"It is in the least civilized part of the world that Germany's example in the present war of 1870 will bring about as many evils as in France, by the sanction it gives, in the name of civilization, to the barbarism with which war is waged by less civilized countries" (p. 283).

"Prussia, for example, may gain much in this war which she is waging in 1870; but all her territorial conquests will never be of sufficient value to compensate for what she loses in the opinion of the civilized world, for her acts of incendiarism, and the requisitions, and the firing at and bombardment of inoffensive towns" (pp. 304-305).

"The announcement which the King [in 1870] made in his proclamation inaugurating the war, declaring that he was waging warfare on the army, not on citizens, was taken as a humanitarian favor done to the latter; but, in its application, quite the contrary has happened, since the citizen has been treated worse than the soldier. The military man has been treated as a public enemy, but the citizen as a common criminal, because he performed his patriotic duties of a Frenchman, in a twofold character of franc-tireur and citizen, by defending his country; it matters not in what garb or clothing. To make of the Frenchman's patriotism—which is a virtue—a common crime, is the height of the immorality with which a great country can tarnish its military policy" (pp. 305-306).

Here we have an analogy to the case of Germany's alleged unwarranted cruelties against the "innocent Belgian civilians" who, as some say, did not shoot at all, or as other will have it, if they shot, were right in doing so. Substitute Belgium for France, Belgian for Frenchman, and the analogy becomes an identity. And accepting His Excellency's indictment of the Germans of the Franco-

Prussian war at the same value at which Mr. Gorham accepts the Bryce report, or bringing both down to the same level on which all these private and official atrocity stories must appear in the light of the foregoing argument, one is in fact utterly at a loss to decide whether the "Huns" of 1914-15 are actually any worse than their more humane fathers of 1870-71, or whether the latter were actually in any way better than their much maligned epigones of to-day. I must let the reader wrestle with this momentous question and leave him to find the answer for himself.

Closing my "humble" attempt to show things as they are and other things as they are not, I quote an oracle attributed to Anatole France. Quoth he:

"The Germans have robbed the profession of arms of every vestige of humanity. They murdered peace, now they are murdering war. They have made of it a monstrosity too evil to survive."

To this I add, in form of comment, a single prayer: May they succeed in murdering—or as I would express it—in abolishing war! If they do, mankind will hail and bless them for all the ages to come.

A NEBUCHADNEZZAR CYLINDER.

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

IN recent years the Babylonian Arabs have learned a new industry from the excavators, for when no more lucrative employment is to be had, they become archeologists, and though it is forbidden to excavate for antiquities without special permission, they roam about the desert digging into the ruins at will. A day's journey to the south of Babylon, near the Euphrates, is a ruin mound so small that it has scarcely attracted the attention of the explorers. It is marked upon the maps as Wannet es-Sa'adun, but among the Arabs of the surrounding region it is known as Wana Sadoun. During the past two years this mound has been the scene of the illicit labor of the Arabs.

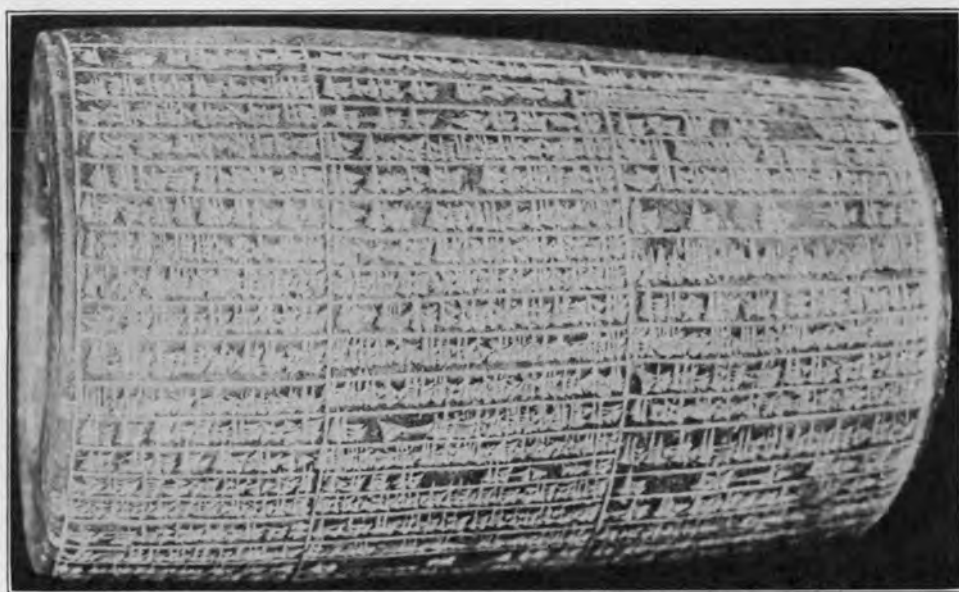
The greatest of all ancient builders was Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon from 604 to 561 B. C. There is scarcely a ruin in all southern Mesopotamia which does not contain bricks stamped with his name, or some other evidences of his activity. He delighted in restoring the ancient temples which had long been in ruins, and in supporting the neglected sacrifices to the gods. He preferred to build new cities and enlarge the old ones rather than to wage war. Few of his records hint of military expeditions, for he was a man of peace, and it is as a builder or restorer of old temples that he should best be known. That his name might be remembered it was his custom, when restoring a temple, to inscribe large cylinders of clay with his building records, and to bury them in the walls of the structure. Some years ago several of the cylinders were found at Babylon, and they are considered among the most valuable of all things ancient.

Recently, when the Arabs attacked the little mound of Wana Sadoun, they came upon the walls of a fallen temple. In the walls they found, not one, but several of the Nebuchadnezzar cylinders in as perfect a condition as when they left the hands of that great king. They all contained the same inscription. The first part of it

is similar to that upon the cylinders previously discovered; the latter part is a new and valuable contribution to Babylonian history.

One of the cylinders discovered at Wana Sadoum has come into the possession of the writer. It is eight and one-half inches high and eighteen in circumference. Though such objects are generally called cylinders, this is in reality a truncated cone. It is hollow like a vase without a bottom, and the finger marks of the ancient potter clearly show that it was formed upon a wheel. The exceedingly fine clay was burned so hard that it resembles a fine hard stone of a yellowish color.

The inscription contains about fifteen hundred cuneiform signs,



THE CYLINDER OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

or one hundred and forty-five lines of writing in three columns running about the cylinder. Every sign is still perfect. In his customary way Nebuchadnezzar begins by telling who he is, and then follows an account of his building operations interspersed with words of self-praise. The translation reads:

"I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the great, the mighty, the favorite of Marduk, the powerful prince, the beloved of Nabu, the ruler who knows not weariness, the protector of the temples Esagil and Ezida, who is obedient to Nabu and Marduk his lords, who does their bidding; the wise lord, the darling and the joy of the heart of the great gods, the first-born son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon.

"When Marduk, the great lord, made me the rightful son, to rule the land, to be the shepherd of his people, to care for the city, to rebuild the temples, he bestowed upon me great power. Tremblingly I was obedient to Marduk, my lord. I completed Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the great walls of Babylon, the mighty city, the city of his exalted power. At the entrance of the great gates I erected strong bulls of bronze, and terrible serpents standing upright. My father did that which no previous king had done. With mortar and bricks he built two moat walls about the city, and I, with mortar and bricks, built a third great moat wall, and joined it and united it closely with the moat walls of my father. I laid its foundation deep to the water level; I raised its summit mountain high. I constructed a moat wall of burned bricks about the west wall of Babylon.

"My father built the moat wall of the Arahtu canal securely with mortar and bricks. He built well the quays along the opposite shore of the Euphrates, but he did not finish all his work. But I, his first-born son, the beloved of his heart, built the moat walls of Arahtu with mortar and bricks, and joining them together with those of my father, made them very solid.

"Esagil, the wonderful temple, the palace of heaven and earth, Ekua, the temple of Marduk, the lord of the gods, Ka-hili-sug, the dwelling-place of Zarpanit, Ezida, the temple of the king of the gods of heaven and earth, I clothed with shining gold, and made bright like the day.

"Ezida, the favorite temple, the beloved of Marduk, I restored in Borsippa. (Col. 2) With gold and jewels I gave to it the beauty of paradise. I overlaid with gold its great beams of cedar, and arranged them by threes to cover Emachtila, the shrine of Nabu.

"I rebuilt and made lofty Emach, the temple of Ninharsag, in the center of Babylon....and E-kiki-ini, the temple of Ninlil-anna, near the wall of Babylon.

"A thing which no king before had ever done!

"To the west of Babylon, at a great distance from the outer wall, I constructed an enclosing wall 4000 cubits in length about the city. I dug its moat to the water level. I walled up its sides with mortar and burned bricks, and I united it securely with the moat wall of my father. Along its edge I built a great wall of mortar and burned bricks mountain high.

"I rebuilt Tabisu-pur-shu, the wall of Borsippa. To strengthen it, I built the wall of its moat about the city with mortar and burned bricks. In Borsippa I rebuilt the temple to Tur-lil-en, the

god who breaks the weapons of my foes. Ebarra, the temple of Shamash in Sippar, Edurgina, temple of Shar-sabi in Bas, E-idi-Anu, temple of Anu in Dilbat, E-anna, temple of Ishtar in Erech, Ebarra, temple of Shamash in Larsa, Egish-shirgal, temple of Sin in Ur, the sacred temples of the great gods I rebuilt and completed.

"The support of Esagil and Ezida, the rebuilding of Babylon and Borsippa, which I caused to be more magnificent than before, I did according to instructions. All my noble deeds in regard to the support of the sacred temples of the great gods, which I did better than the kings my fathers, I wrote upon a stone tablet and fixed for future days.

"May the wise men after me read of all my works which I have written upon a tablet. May they comprehend the glory of the gods. The building of the cities of the gods and goddesses, which Marduk, the great lord, (Col.3) set me to do, and kept urging my heart to undertake, with fear and without rest, I accomplished.

"At that time, for Ninkarrak, my beloved mistress, who guards my life and makes my dreams good, I dug up and beheld the ancient foundation of Eharsagil, her temple in Babylon, which fell to ruins in ancient days, and which no previous ruler had rebuilt . . . but the construction of the temple was not suitable for Ninkarrak. I endeavored eagerly to strengthen the wall of that temple, and of mortar and burned bricks to build a temple worthy of Ninkarrak. Upon the day when it is customary to ask the gods concerning the future, Ramman and Shamash gave me the fixed oracular response, to make three burned bricks sixteen finger breadths in size, and to make an image of burned bricks, as a charm against disease. And so I made three bricks of sixteen finger breadths in size, and an image of baked clay, a charm to drive away disease, and I placed it at the base of the foundation. With mortar and burned bricks I erected the temple mountain high.

"O Ninkarrak, majestic mistress, when with joy thou enterest thy house Eharsagil, the house of thy pleasure, may words in my favor be ever upon thy lips. Increase my days and make long my years. Decree for me a long life and an abundance of posterity. Give peace to my soul. Make my body strong. Protect me and make my visions clear. O, in the presence of Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, command the destruction of my foes, and the ruin of the land of my enemies.

"At that time in the temple of Lugal-Maradda, my lord, in Marad, whose foundation no former king had seen since ancient days, I sought and found the ancient foundation stone, and upon

the base of Naram-Sin, my ancient ancestor, I fixed its foundation. I wrote an inscription and my name and placed it therein.

“O Lugal-Maradda, lord of all, hero, look favorably upon the work of my hands. Grant as a gift a life of distant days, an abundance of posterity, security to the throne, and a long reign. Smite the evil-minded; break their weapons, and devastate all the land of my enemies. Slay all of them. May thy fearful weapons, which spare not the foe, stretch forth and be sharp for the defeat of my enemies. O may they ever be at my side. Intercede for me with Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, and make my deeds appear acceptable.”

The inscription is of value for several reasons. It identifies



THE FOUNDATION INSCRIPTION OF NARAM SIN.

Wana Sadoum with Marad, thus adding another city to the map of ancient Babylonia. It speaks of the restoration of the temples in the Biblical cities of Sippar, Ur, Larsa and Erech. It gives an interesting picture of the belief in the efficacy of the little clay images which were buried in the house walls to drive away disease, but most interesting of all is the mention of the inscription of Naram Sin, which Nebuchadnezzar says that he saw when he had dug to the ancient foundation of the temple at Marad.

The name of Naram Sin has long been known, and several inscriptions have come from him. He was the son of Sargon, the first known Semitic king of Babylonia. Some years ago there was

discovered in the ruins of Sippar a cylinder with a long inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon and the father of the Biblical Belshazzar. The inscription says that as Nabonidus was digging down to the foundation of the old temple at Sippar to restore it, he saw the foundation stone of Naram Sin, the son of Sargon, which no one had seen for three thousand and two hundred years. Nabonidus may or may not have been correct in saying that Naram Sin lived three thousand and two hundred years before his time, yet certainly he had access to the long chronological lists of the kings of Babylonia. Nabonidus was king of Babylon from 555 to 538 B. C., and if his statement is correct, then Naram Sin lived about 3750 B. C. However, most scholars are inclined to believe that he did not live so long ago. Interesting would it be if among the ruins of Sippar the ancient foundation stone, which Nabonidus claims to have seen, could be discovered.

The Arabs who were excavating at Wana Sadoum were so successful in finding the cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar that they dug deeper to the foundations of the temple, and however strange it may seem, they found the very inscription of Naram Sin which Nebuchadnezzar says that he saw; in fact they found the inscription in duplicate, and one of the stones is before me as I write. Originally the inscription was on a round flat piece of yellowish marble about twenty inches in diameter. In the center was a shallow hollow, probably a socket for a door post, for the stone seemed to serve as the foundation of the temple door. The inscription of thirty eight lines was carefully written about the hollow, but for the sake of lightness the Arabs have cut away the uninscribed part. The inscription reads:

"Naram Sin, the mighty king of the four quarters of the earth, who subdued nine armies in one year. When he overcame those armies he made their three kings captive, and brought them before the god En-lil. On that day Libit-ili, his son, the governor of Marad, built the temple of Lugal-marada in Marad."

This long inscription of one of the earliest known kings is of historical importance. It identifies Wana Sadoum with the ancient Marad, and it gives the name of Libit-ili, the governor of Marad.

Of all the stories that the archaeologist may tell, this is as interesting as any. To dig from the ground the royal records of Nebuchadnezzar seems wonderful enough, but to read in those records of inscriptions which he saw, and then to find them, is more wonderful still. And Naram Sin lived as long before the time of Nebuchadnezzar as Nebuchadnezzar lived before our time.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TWO LETTERS FROM DR. BEADNELL.¹

(H. M. S. Shannon, Second Cruiser Squadron. c/o G. P. O.)

October 22, 1915. (At sea).

DR. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois.

Dear Sir: I wrote you a brief note of acknowledgment of your kind letter to me of September 18, but I feel I should be lacking in ordinary courtesy did I not respond at greater length and touch on some of the questions which your letter raises. I am pleased to hear you intend to publish my article, "The 'Open Mind' in 'The Open Court,'" because it is my frank opinion—and I think you can but agree with me—that *The Open Court* magazine has hitherto been devoted *almost* exclusively to furthering the cause of the Austro-Germans. I think it was a pity that a magazine of this nature and reputation was ever put to propaganda work, but, once having been so put, it should not have been so overwhelmingly pro-German, nor should its editor, whatever his private views, have taken up any position other than that of judge and arbitrator of the conflicting views of his contributors. It would have been well, considering that a large proportion of your readers are English and almost the whole English-speaking, and considering that—I quote here from one of America's professors, C. Franklin Thwing, president of the Western Reserve University, in an article of his on "The Effect of the European War on Higher Learning in America"—"the sympathy of at least nineteen-twentieths of all academic people is with the Allies," had you adopted as your guiding motto *In medio tutissimus ibis*. However, you have sown and you must reap, but whether it will be aught but the whirlwind that will figure in your harvest, time alone will show.

Let me take this opportunity of saying that, seeing the article I sent you constitutes a direct attack on yourself and on your magazine, you will, in publishing views and opinions which are so antithetical to those you yourself so warmly hold, be displaying a generosity of spirit we should all do well to emulate.

One or two points in your letter to me call for comment. You say: "I have published Professor Conybeare's letter because I was glad to have a prominent Englishman of international reputation take the same view as I. Professor Conybeare has not revoked his views, he has only regretted having expressed himself in plain English instead of having used stilted expressions

¹ Dr. Beadnell is a fleet surgeon in the British navy. His article, "The 'Open Mind' in 'The Open Court,'" to which he refers, appeared in the October *Open Court*.

and carefully guarded foreign epithets, but there is no retraction in his letter to me published in the August number." Now *if* this is so—and I accentuate the "if"—so much the worse for Dr. Conybeare, for he will meet with the reward usually accorded those gay Lotharios who love, or profess to love, two women at one and the same time. But first let us see if what you say is strictly correct. When you describe him as not having retracted his views I should like to feel positive, before going any further, that we agree as to what it is he has or has not retracted. I mean—and I presume, and will therefore assume, you likewise mean—Dr. Conybeare's attacks on the principal British Ministers of State (notably Sir E. Grey), and his exculpations of Germany. Bearing in mind what Dr. Conybeare had previously said, let us closely examine his letter to you. In it we find the following admissions:

1. Sir Edward Grey is a pacifist.
2. I fancy that Grey's idea was to be able in any crisis to restrain France and Russia, and so keep the peace of Europe.
3. . . . In this case it was certainly Germany that on July 31 was the first to relinquish the attitude of defense for that of offense.
4. Even if Russia threatened her [Germany] by mobilizing, she [Germany] should not have gone beyond counter-mobilization.
5. She [Germany] invaded Belgium, knowing full well that that would inflame us to declare war on her.

Now to my mind the above are "retractions." I grant you their extraction from Dr. Conybeare has been difficult and not unattended by pain, in fact the whole process has smacked of tooth-drawing and Dr. Conybeare has parted with his apologies and admissions as grudgingly as a patient parts with his teeth, moreover, he has the unhappy knack of taking back with one hand what he gives with the other. Thus in his letter to you he "regrets" having used words such as "lies" and "hypocrisies" in connection with English statesmen, but then adds, "I should have used the word 'rhodomontade.'" A little further on he says naively, "I am not sure also that I was not too severe upon Sir Edward Grey," and then he follows this up with "I fear he is a weak man and given to vacillation." Vacillation! Dr. Conybeare!! . . . The irony of it! Almost is one persuaded to emulate the poet and take

"Another and another Cup to drown
The Memory of this Impertinence!"

So much for his letter to you in the August number, but I have not quite finished with your "Darling of the (pagan) Gods." I note you say in your May number (page 309), when quoting passages from Dr. Conybeare's article published in the *New York Nation* of March 25, that "he does not venture to offer his opinion to an English periodical." Just so, thereby advertising both his astuteness and his cowardice. Nevertheless, a little later on, to wit, on July 2, he does make the venture, or rather, public opinion and the anxiety to "save face" force him into the venture, and as you seem to be so swayed by, and to have such faith in, this prominent Oxford scholar, you will perhaps permit me to call attention to a few of the things he did say on this side of the pond, and they will be worth contrasting with what he said on your side. I quote from the *Globe*:

1. My new study [of the published records of the diplomatic transactions] has forced upon me the conviction that, apart from the deplorable tone

of my allusions to Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith, I was quite wrong in imputing the motives which I did.

2. It does appear to me that Sir Edward had in view the peace of Europe.
3. I ought to have set down to the awful contingencies with which he [Grey] was faced many passages which I was guilty of grossly misinterpreting.
4. I was too ready to forget that in the years of the Balkan wars it was after all he alone who, by his patience and conciliatory treatment of the situation, held in check the antagonistic forces which last July he was unable to control.
5. I deeply regret I mistook his aims.
6. In my endeavor to be fair to the enemy, [I] was grossly unjust to him [Grey].
7. I am . . . anxious to undo, if it be still possible, some of the harm which my hasty judgment and intemperate language has caused.
8. If I had only kept my American letter till the morning, for revision, I should first have struck out all the vituperation and all the imputation of motives, and have ended by never sending it at all.

If this is not as complete a right-about-turn-quick-march as it is possible to meet with, then I should like to know what is! It may be said I am, after all, but trying to kill a dead fish and, in a sense, I admit this is so, but my real object is only to impress on you that *some* of your readers, at any rate, see the wires by means of which you galvanize the corpse into a semblance of vitality.

You say you limit your admiration for the English people to the commoners of the Saxon element, and exclude from it Norman aristocracy who have had (so you allege) all the benefit of England's dominion of the seas and the enormous wealth that has been derived from it. You say the war will make Ireland free, will make England a really free country and give better chances to her colonies. This would make quite amusing reading were it not pathetically tragic. Where in the wide universe, I would ask you, is there an "aristocracy" in such sympathetic touch, both in peace and war, with "commoners"? Is it in Germany? Has German aristocracy paid, relatively to total numbers, in this or in any war, anything approaching the high death toll paid by the British aristocracy? Have the German counterparts of English lords been serving in the ranks by deliberate choice? You say the war will make Ireland free. Yes, it will—if we win. Our government was in the throes of grappling with that complex question when Germany made her great mistake of thinking she had caught us "with our trousers off," and that *der Tag* had at last come. Your remark concerning our colonies was, to put it mildly, unfortunate, and one which probably your German friends would ask you not to repeat, for if ever Germany had a thorn in her side it was exemplified in the two words, "German colonies." I suppose I have traveled about the world as much as the average English naval officer, and I have had opportunities of visiting not only the central heart of the German empire but her very finger tips in China and Africa. And what was my impression of those far distant bits of Germany? Dismal failures—and heavily subsidized ones at that. Why, I asked myself, has England so signally succeeded in this direction where Germany has so signally been found wanting? No doubt there are many factors contributing to this result, but the one which impressed me as being the most important was naturally the one which I was able to see and examine

for myself. Let me tell you of that factor because you can draw a parallel from it in connection with the present war. England's success in far distant lands as contrasted with Germany's want of success is due to the fact that she is more tolerant of the natives' ways, customs and religions; because she treats them as human beings rather than as lower animals; because she uses as her weapons making for evolutionary advance, persuasion, appeal to reason and education, rather than force and the suppression of opinion and knowledge; because she has none of that overbearing swashbuckling arrogance that seems to be so inseparable from the German official, be he at Zabern or at Kiau-Chau; because, finally even the naked savage has an aphorism to the effect that he can always rely on an Englishman's word of honor but not on a German's.

You say future events will prove that my view of Germans is absolutely mistaken. I sincerely wish I could think with you, for if one must fight one would like to fight with the knowledge that one was dealing with an honorable and chivalrous foe that knew how to "play the game," but unfortunately *present* events alone have proved that your desired proof is impossible of realization. The dead do not lie, and the damning evidence of German misdeeds found on them in the shape of written letters is too ghastly overwhelming even had a Bryce commission never sat. You ask, Have not these accusations against the Germans "been invented for the purpose of creating a prejudice in the whole English-speaking world, and especially in England itself? No Sir, I can assure you they have not. Well do I remember how, when these atrocities first got whispered about, then appeared in print, my brother officers heatedly refused to believe a word of them. But the rumors grew and grew, like a rolling snowball; heated denial gave place to silent and grave suspicions, and then, as the awful evidence of castrated and crucified men, of outraged women and murdered children accumulated, the last lingering scepticisms were swept away as by an avalanche and we were left with a bitter, sorrowful conviction of the truth.

Only last night, after "turning in"—the only time I allow myself for the perusal of light literature—I was shocked to read in the daily papers of the execution, by the German military, of a lady—Miss Edith Cavell, the superintendent of a Brussels training school for nurses; "the charge against her was of aiding Belgian men to escape to England. It is stated that she hid them in her house, and provided them with money and with addresses in England, and helped to smuggle them across the frontier. The German military court found her guilty, and sentenced her to death by shooting. A firing party of six men and an officer were drawn up in the garden and awaited their victim. She was led in by soldiers from a house near by, blindfolded with a black scarf. Up to this minute the lady, though deadly white, had stepped out bravely to meet her fate. But in the presence of the rifle party her strength at last gave out and she tottered and fell to the ground some thirty yards from the spot against the wall where she was to have been shot. The officer in charge of the execution walked to her. She lay prone on the ground, motionless. The officer then drew his service revolver from its belt, and, taking steady aim from his knee, shot her through the head as she lay on the ground. The firing party looked on. The officer quietly returned his revolver to its case and then ordered his men to carry the corpse into the house. The execution of Miss Cavell has shocked the whole community, who

speak of it as the bloodiest act of the whole war." In the next day's paper I read that four other ladies are under sentence of execution and that both the Pope and King Alfonso have personally interceded on their behalf direct with the German Emperor. You no doubt will again say, "Have these executions (for there are others) not been invented for the purpose of creating a prejudice against Germany throughout the English-speaking world?" Before these words of mine come under your eyes not only yourself, but the whole civilized world, will know the truth, for the government of the United States has instructed its ambassador at Berlin to make inquiries regarding the circumstances of the execution of Miss Edith Cavell. Doubtless the lady had by her conduct rendered herself liable to punishment, possibly to severe punishment, but, as the Marquis of Lansdowne said in the House of Lords, "she might at any rate have expected that measure of mercy which in no civilized country would have been refused to one who was not only a woman, but a brave and devoted woman, and one who had given all her efforts and energies to the mitigation of the sufferings of others."

You say "the English army and navy would scarcely fight if they saw the truth plainly before their eyes." On the contrary it is the horrible and brutal truth that is being unveiled that is causing thousands and thousands of our civil population to give up their peaceful occupations, part from wife and family and take up arms, not for England, not for the British Empire nor for the Allies, but for humanity as a whole. There is no false patriotism in this country, there is none of that my-country-right-or-wrong spirit to be seen; men from all grades of society are flocking to the colors because they realize that a detestable canker has sprung up in the midst of the civilized world, they realize that if this cancerous growth gets mastery of the world body-politic, then it were better for humanity had man never evolved on this planet, it were better indeed had the whole sidereal cosmos been expunged.

Free country? You taunt us about our freedom, knowing what you must know of Germany. I won't ask you why so many Germans leave Germany in the piping times of peace and settle down in America and England (neither of which are German colonies) because I know that you know that I know the answer, but I will ask you another question in lieu. Every single man of our forces, temporary and permanent, ashore and afloat, whether raised in Great Britain, Ireland or the colonies, has enlisted of his own sweet will. Can you say this of Germany? No, you can not. That, in a nutshell, is the explanation of the *bon camaraderie* between our men and their officers, it is also the explanation of the manacling of German gunners to their own guns. Now I come to think of it, there is one circumstance that would stop our navy and army from fighting, and, though it is as inconceivable as the Infinite, yet, as I am writing to one who is openly in sympathy with the Germans, I will mention it. This circumstance is based on the supposition that our officers and men were ordered by those in power to commit deeds akin to those which the Germans have indulged in. An English officer, if ordered to commit a hundredth part of the infamies perpetrated by his German counterpart, would tear his commission into a thousand fragments. An English soldier, before he would allow himself so to degenerate as to shoot in cold blood a defenceless lady lying, fainted, on the ground, a lady who had nursed not alone her own countrymen's wounded but also those of her countrymen's enemy, a lady concerning whom Mr. Whitlock, the American Minister at Brussels, wrote to

the German authorities: "She has spent her life in alleviating the sufferings of others....Have pity on her." I repeat, before an English officer would do this he would turn his revolver on himself and blow his brains out. Should you, Dr. Carus, make further attempts to exculpate Germany for the crimes she is piling one on the other to the horror and disgust of the civilized world, especially for this last act which really has "staggered humanity," let me implore you to do so on some other lines than pleading that Germany has every right to her misdeeds because England committed misdeeds in the past, for such excuse comes especially graceless from an exponent of logic and philosophy. For the sake of argument I am quite prepared to admit that England may have committed misdeeds long ago, but these can only fairly be judged by drawing a parallel with German misdeeds at a contemporary period, and inference will acquaint you that this would be an unwise thing to do. As a consistent evolutionist let me admit to you here and now that it is more than probable that my ancestors pillaged, murdered, sacrificed, raped and even ate one another. But then I am not talking of the Eocene and Miocene, I am not talking of the Stone Age, nor of the Mutiny, nor even of the Boer war, I happen to be talking of the present 1914-1915 war. Like all other nations England has, no doubt, had the sins of her youth, but she has evolved during the years and, at the outbreak of this war she had evolved up to a certain level of civilization and humanity. She gave Germany the credit of having made a corresponding evolution and of having raised herself to a corresponding height above the level of the brute and the beast from which we all originally sprang. But alas—and here lies Germany's shame and England's disillusionment—under a thin veneer of showy civilization Germany still retains the slime of the Saurian. Evolved, Germany has. Yesbut it is the retrogressive evolution of the hag-fish and the tapeworm. England now realizes she is grappling with an atavist.

It is impossible to believe you really condone Germany's manner of conducting war; on the other hand, seeing your ideal situation for taking up a calm, philosophic attitude, and your great facilities by means of your magazine, for weighing the pros and cons of, and meting out praise and blame to, either side indiscriminately, it is difficult to understand your wanton and gratuitous attack on England. Your magazine is written in English and read by English-speaking peoples; why, having committed the original mistake of diverting it from its primary object did you go on to make the unpardonable mistake of using it as a propaganda almost exclusively for one side? Why did you not, as editor, ensure that equalization of opinions expressed in it that one has a right to expect in a magazine of this type? I ask you, Dr. Carus, what will history say of your magazine in ten years time, nay, what will you yourself say when you take up a back number, shall we say that for August, page 500, and read the following lines?—

"In the present crisis there are more pigmies than men. Obscene dwarfs like George V, pot-bellied *bourgeois* like Poincaré, could only become heroic by virtue of some Rabelais magic-wand. Joffre and Kitchener are quiet business-like subordinates with no qualities that can seize the reins of the horses of Apollo. The Czar is a nobody."

You will not even be able to anæsthetize your conscience by pleading that *you* did not write these personalities, for you and every one else will know that an editor, though not responsible for the opinions of his contribu-

tors, is responsible for the tone of their contributions. But in this case you are in very fact actually responsible for the opinion expressed, for in the very same number you pat the author of the words on the back for his anti-English outspokenness. But let me be fair, here is what you say:

"There are a few men in England with backbone who speak out boldly and criticize their government, but they are unpopular at home, and the truth they have to tell is resented. We mention the best of them when speaking of Professor Conybeare of Oxford, the Hon. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge, J. Ramsay Macdonald; and we must not forget Mr. Aleister Crowley who has sent a circular to his friends in which he castigates English hypocrisy under the title 'An Orgy of Cant.'"

From which I gather that Mr. Aleister Crowley, the author of the before-mentioned words, is an Englishman. Really? I confess to astonishment. Present him, Dr. Carus, (with apologies) to the German nation. *Nous n'avons pas besoin de ce gentilhomme*. A man capable of comparing the German emperor to Christ, who portrays him as seemingly "omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, the very angel of God, terrible and beautiful, sent to save the Fatherland from savage foes," compels a certain amount of furious thinking. All would agree such a one had certainly missed his vocation, the only conceivable point of disagreement would be as to whether he should be appointed Chaplain-Royal to the "All-Highest" or clapped into a mad-house.

I fear, Dr. Carus, that like the great mass of the German people, you now see through a glass darkly. For the latter there is some excuse, for they must perforce gain their knowledge from, and base their beliefs on, what their press tells them, and that amounts to just what the German government allow or order. For you, who have access to the papers of every nationality and who could, did you not fear learning the truth of that which you do not wish to be the truth, pay a brief visit to the Continent and ascertain firsthand the truth or otherwise of these atrocities, there is no excuse. But the time is not far distant when the darkened glass will fall from the eyes of the German populace and they will see face to face—then will come the rude awakening. Then will that people realize that not England, nor Russia nor France nor Italy is their real enemy. That enemy is in their midst gnawing their very vitals and it is embodied in that hideous code of Bernhardian ethics, Macchiavellian warfare and Jesuitical religion which the clerico-military-imperialists absorb with their mother's milk and wherewith they have contaminated the whole Teutonic empire.

And now, Sir, I must close. The writing of this letter has affected me with very conflicting emotions, it has caused me sorrow, aye, and pain, pain to think that these words of mine must necessarily cause pain in one who, as the *ante-bellum* Paul Carus, I so respected and admired, for although I had never seen him in the flesh, yet had I come to regard him in the spirit through his many works, as an old and revered friend; it has caused me vexation, grief, yes, and let me say it, downright anger to think that the *durante-bello* Paul Carus should have said and done the things which he has said and done. And what shall be said of the *post-bellum* Paul Carus? I will venture no opinion. There will be plenty of time and ample opportunities for him to re-survey his general reaction to his environment and to ask himself, and answer, the question, "Is my reaction helping or retarding the attainment of what I

conscientiously believe to be the highest and best and happiest type of humanity. I will only comment *spero meliora*.

And now, Dr. Carus, I bid you, for the present, goodbye.

Once more let me thank you for your kind letter and for your generous promise to publish my original "open letter." Do what you like with this one, and please note that I may or may not communicate what I have said to the press, that will depend on circumstances. Your letter to me I shall, of course, regard as private so far as publication is concerned unless you give me express permission to regard it otherwise.

With kind regards, believe me, Yours sincerely,

C. MARSH BEADNELL.

* * *

October 24, 1915....

Dear Dr. Carus:

Since my letter to you of the day before yesterday another mail has arrived on board, and as this puts a somewhat different complexion on the circumstances attending the execution of Miss Cavell and I wish in my comments thereon to say nothing unjust to any one concerned, but only what I believe to be perfectly true, I am sending this rider to my letter of the 22d.

The first accounts that appeared in the press described the officer commanding the firing squad as deliberately shooting the lady through the head with his revolver as she lay in a faint on the ground some few yards away from the spot against the wall where she was to have been shot by a firing party. It also described the firing party as looking on. The later description of this horrible deed, and probably the more correct one, shows that all the sparks of chivalry, sentiment and mercy have not been quenched in some German breasts at any rate. It would appear that the squad *did* fire on the lady, or rather that they purposely fired in such a manner that their bullets missed the human target. One or two of the missiles, however, struck the lady in such way as to wound but not kill, on seeing which the commanding officer went up to her and fired a bullet through her head. Under these circumstances his act was, therefore, an act of kindness and mercy.

It makes one tremble with sympathy to think that any member of the male sex should have been put in such an absolutely impossible and cruel position and made to participate in a deed that will haunt him—and his men—to their dying days. I wish, therefore, to transfer what odium I placed on the shoulders of this officer and the firing squad entirely, and with compound interest, onto the shoulders of the military tribunal who so vindictively sentenced to death this English lady. Their act has done the German nation more harm than any of the many previous ones. The Germans started their campaign of hate and sang their Song of Hate at the very beginning of the war. We had not then and have not since committed a single act calling for hate. We've "played cricket" first and last, and it's been our most deadly weapon against Germany. There might have been some excuse, in view of all the atrocities, for a Song of Hate on our side, but not even now, after this last and culminating dastardly act, is there any hatred. Men shake their heads and set their teeth—that is all.... One cannot hate what disgusts.

I am not going to insult you, Sir, by the very vaguest insinuations that you approve of such deeds for I *know* you detest them. I have attacked you because of your paradoxical attitude, because I believe you are your own

enemy, because I would like to see the *quondam* Dr. Carus restored to us all—rescued, as it were, from Dr. Carus.

Here is the account as it appeared in the papers received to-day:

Amsterdam, October 22.

(From the Antwerp correspondent of the *Telegraaf*.)

"Of the four women recently sentenced to death—namely, the French teacher, Louise Thullier; the Countess Jeanne de Belleville; Anna Benaizet, a tailoress, and Miss Cavell, only the last-named up to now has been executed. The heroism shown by Miss Cavell, and some weeks ago by Madame Louise Frenay, who was executed at Liège, influenced even the German firing squads, of whom the majority did not aim at the victims. The result in the case of Madame Frenay was that she was wounded in the leg, while Miss Cavell was hit by only one of twelve bullets, the commanding officer in each case being obliged to give the *coup de grâce* by shooting the wounded woman with a revolver placed at the ear."

This makes terrible reading which will, Dr. Carus, affect you as it must affect any civilized human being. I see that, owing to pressure brought to bear on him by the King of Spain and the Pope, the German Emperor has ordered the execution of the remaining ladies to be cancelled.

Sincerely yours,

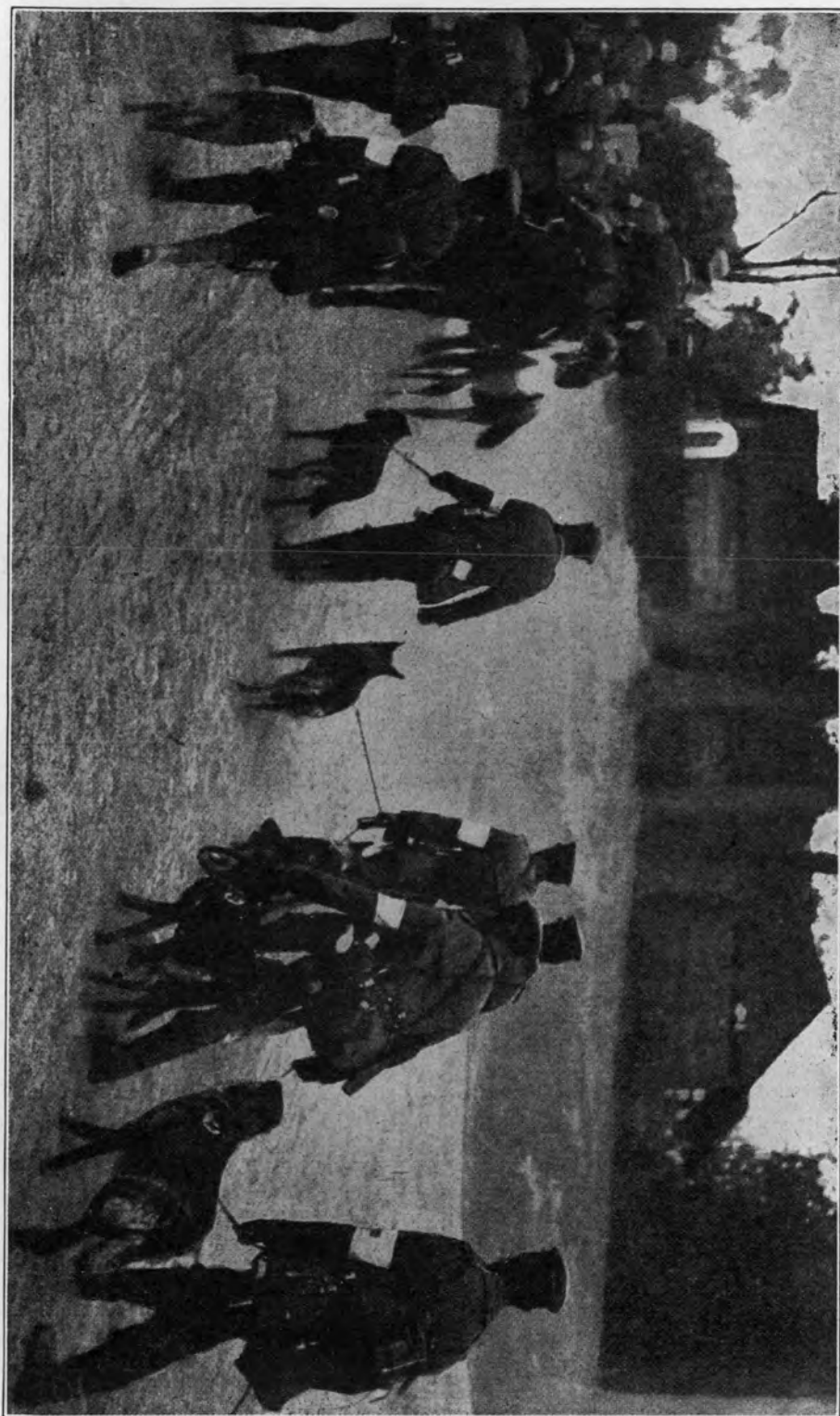
C. MARSH BEADNELL.

DR. BEADNELL'S CRITICISM.

While the current *Open Court* is being made ready Dr. Beadnell's answer reaches me, and I take this opportunity to publish it at once and make special room for it in the current number, even in preference to my own article on the same subject, written in answer to my critics. It but proves to me again that Dr. Beadnell is fully convinced of the justice of the English cause and the viciousness of Germany. I am especially impressed with the case of Miss Cavell, and wish to let my readers consider it in the light in which he so impressively represents it. But has he ever considered that the German authorities are in an extremely difficult position? Surrounded by spies and traitors who use underhand methods, the German authorities in Belgium were helpless against certain individuals who, under the protection of their position and their sex, misused the confidence placed in them and succeeded in rendering the enemy more effective service than the soldier can do in the open field. These are weapons which can become more formidable than regiments. Information sent thus secretly to the enemy is as arrows shot in the dark, and it is an established law over all the civilized world that the misuse of public confidence in such a case is punishable with death. I am sure the German judges did not pass the death sentence without great reluctance, and moreover they did so only because they deemed the execution of such a sentence absolutely necessary for the protection of their country against those persons who, for security in their wrong-doing, relied on the leniency with which they would be treated.

It is peculiar that in this case again, as in the execution of francs-tireurs earlier in the war, the world complains about German barbarism, while if the Allies do the same thing it is considered a matter of course. It does not seem to be known that the French executed two German women, at any rate

THE DOG IN RELIEF WORK WITH GERMAN MEDICAL CORPS AT THE FRONT.



nowhere did either the press of the Allies or any paper of any kind set up the howl of indignation which arose over the execution of Miss Cavell. I refer to Ottilie Schmidt and Olga Mott, the one executed at Nancy and the other at Bruges as German spies on evidence which was not half as strong and facts not half as provoking as in the case of Miss Cavell.

The description of the execution of Miss Cavell, as it passed through the newspapers and is here repeated by Dr. Beadnell, is very romantic and even dramatic, and I wonder who has invented it. The executioners certainly did not publish a report, for they are under oath not to speak about it, and, unless



RUSSIAN GUN EXPLODED BY THE GERMANS.

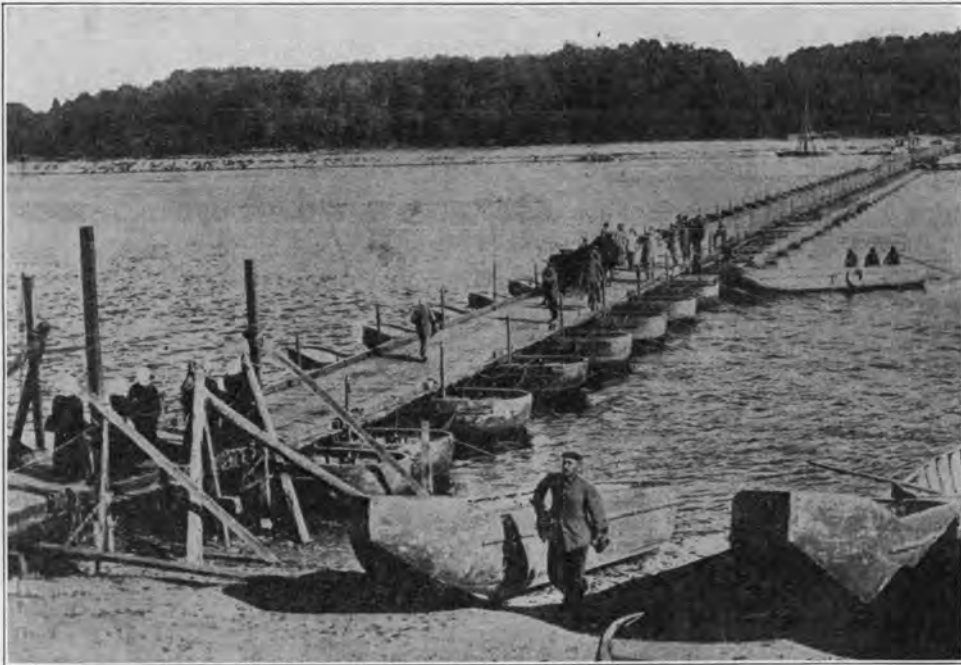
Note how strangely it has been hit by a hostile shell which entered its mouth and burst inside.

I am grossly misinformed, representatives of the press were not admitted. So it seems that we have before us the poetic revery of a French novelist, and in order to know the truth we must wait for the official German report.

I notice that in England, as evidenced not only by Dr. Beadnell but also by Professor Conybeare, much stress is laid upon Germany's offensive attitude in this war. When Germany relinquished her defensive attitude and changed it into a vigorous offensive she was to be blamed, but I wish to call attention to a passage in my first article on the war, in which I explain that Prussia

has always adhered to the policy that every war should be a war of aggression, because the most efficient defensive will always be a vigorous attack. The army that maintains a defensive can never gain a victory and is apt to be beaten, while the offensive army has all the advantages. Prussia is right. Therefore, as soon as Germany understood that war became necessary, I cannot blame her for attacking the enemy unhesitatingly and as vigorously as possible. To make a distinction between an offensive and defensive after war is declared seems to me mere quibbling. Either there is a state of war or there is peace. As soon as war becomes inevitable the best procedure is a vigorous attack.

I do not condone German barbarities any more than the barbarities of



PONTOON BRIDGE RAPIDLY CONSTRUCTED OVER THE NIEMEN

other nations, but certainly I object to the method of condemning Germany for actions which custom tolerates in the case of the Allies.

As to the passage which Dr. Beadnell quotes from the article by Mr. Crowley in the August *Open Court*, I confess that I would have canceled it if I had seen it in time. The writer being an Englishman, I assumed that his article would at least contain nothing actually offensive to English people. But I was mistaken. The royal family of England is of German descent. The late prince consort was highly respected, but I must confess that the Germans are not very proud of his descendants, yet had I been writing a criticism of them, I should have used very different language from that in the passage Mr. Beadnell quotes.

Dr. Beadnell kindly praises me for "displaying a generosity of spirit".... "in publishing views and opinions which are so antithetical to those" I myself "so warmly hold." I hardly deserve this compliment. I hold my pro-German

views because I cling to the principle of fair play, and I would deem it wrong to myself to see those who combat my own views hampered in any way or put to a disadvantage. My critics are to me friends who help me find my mistakes; and if I am mistaken they do me the favor of pointing out my errors. I want to know when I am wrong; I want to discover my illusions even if they are dear to me. I consider every one of my critics as much in search for truth as myself; they help me in my quest, and so I am grateful to them.

DEVASTATIONS IN RUSSIA.

When Napoleon entered upon his victorious Russian campaign in 1812, the Russians lured him into the interior as far as Moscow and followed the principle of laying waste the country so thoroughly that the invaders could



A BRIDGE IN GALICIA BLOWN UP BY THE RETREATING RUSSIANS, BEING INSPECTED BY GERMAN ENGINEERS WITH A VIEW TO RECONSTRUCTION.

not find sustenance for their army. The result was that Napoleon was forced to withdraw from the burning Russian capital in the middle of winter, and his retreat developed more and more into a hopeless flight.

In the present campaign the Russians are bearing in mind their former success in this respect, for they are following the same principle, leaving behind them a hopelessly devastated country. Our frontispiece represents one of the villages of eastern Poland after the Russian retreat. It remains to be seen whether the German advance will be seriously checked by these destructive methods.

One thing seems certain, that this practice is at least as hard on Russian subjects as it is on the German army, for the inhabitants have been expelled

from their villages by force, and large numbers of homeless people are crowded together in cities farther eastward, facing exile and starvation. It is hard to see what will be the outcome of these terrible conditions. The Russian tactics certainly hinder German progress into the interior of the country, but it is difficult to see how the breakdown of the empire can be averted thereby. It is remarkable how the Germans keep themselves supplied with provisions by building temporary railroads as they find the country devastated, thus guarding against a repetition of Napoleon's experience. The loyalty of Poland to the Czar is certainly not strengthened by the Russian disregard of the property and lives of Russian subjects.

A GERMAN PROFESSOR ON TREITSCHKE.

Dr. Rudolf Leonhard of the University of Breslau who studied under Treitschke in his youth writes as follows in a personal letter with reference to the editorial article on Treitschke in the July *Open Court*:

"I was twice a pupil of Treitschke, and he had more influence on me than any other of my teachers. So I know that all that you say about him is absolutely true. We say: 'A professor is a man who always has another opinion.' Thus Treitschke, who had been a member of an Anglomaniac party under the influence of a Jewish press, became an enemy of Albion and of the Jews. Although I loved and admired him very much, I always protested in my heart against his hatred, which seems to me to have been an unconscious inheritance from Slavic ancestors. Such a feeling was not consistent with his fondness for ennobling sentiments, which were a consequence of his liberal desire to transform the mob into a gentry, as Ibsen's Rosmer wished to do. It is very curious that the same Englishmen who are justly proud of their old families have now stirred up the democratic feelings of the American people against the Prussian 'Junkers.' But these excellent warriors who have spread the contagion of their readiness to die for their country among the whole German people, have fulfilled Rosmer's program in this war. When I explained at Columbia University the value of some of the principal ideas of feudalism, I expected to be censured. But on the contrary I observed that the Americans understood me very much better than many people of my own country did at that time. After the war the feeling in Germany will be different.

"But Treitschke's hatred against England is hard to account for. Perhaps he was a follower of Schopenhauer, believing that the English regarded themselves as a chosen people like the Jews of the Old Testament. But the Jews are not the only people to despise all their neighbors. Every young nation has done the same. And Treitschke did so from patriotic motives.

"You are right in saying that modern German hatred against Albion has nothing to do with Treitschke and that his publisher ought to pay a royalty to the English press for making such a fuss about his influence. The modern hatred arose only when England sent black and yellow people against our brethren, and when she instituted her policy of starvation. America could do very much to diminish such an intense hatred, which our chancellor has justly condemned on the ground that what the rulers of a nation do during a war cannot be attributed to their subjects who must obey. Unfortunately not

very much has been done on the part of American Anglo-Saxons to lessen German indignation. I hope it will be better in the future.

"Treitschke hoped, as you explain, to provide for a world peace that would last for some time, by proposing mutual agreements between the nations. But such agreements have no value without a common moral education for the world. Morality does not exist without teachers to make and spread its rules. For this reason I am a sincere adherent of your 'Religious Parliament Idea.' Because there is no longer any hope of uniting the different ethical associations into one religion, the representatives of all better religions should form a permanent board of moral education for the purpose of preserving the moral ideas common to all people and improving their content from time to time, in accordance with the world's progress. What we call moral 'principles' are only the results of a development which can never make any advance or even be preserved without the conscious effort of men."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

MADAME DE STAEL AND THE SPREAD OF GERMAN LITERATURE. By *Emma Gertrude Jaeck*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 358. Cloth.

This interesting and timely work is one of a series of monographs on Germanic literature and culture now in course of publication under the editorship of Dr. Julius Goebel, professor of Germanic languages in the University of Illinois. The author shows the important role played by Madame de Staël in the introduction of German thought and literature to a previously apathetic world, and paints an interesting picture of this versatile and romantic figure of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though French by education, Madame de Staël was of Teutonic stock and a Protestant in faith, and her visits to Germany, during which she met Goethe, Schiller and many others of Germany's greatest, but served to intensify her predilection for the robust intellectualism of Teutonic thought over the decadent classicism of her own country. The fruit of these visits was *De l'Allemagne*, her greatest work and one of the most remarkable appreciations ever written of the genius of one country by a citizen of another. Dr. Jaeck discusses the general ignorance and indifference concerning German literature which prevailed in France, England and America at the close of the eighteenth century, and devotes two chapters to an analysis and discussion of *De l'Allemagne* and two to the effect of the book on the thought and literature of the world.

Our author says in conclusion: "That the leaders of French, English, and American thought gained their knowledge of German culture either directly or indirectly through Mme. de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* is apparent. The study of German now became universal in America—a fact which Bancroft more or less humorously recognized when he wrote: 'It cannot be denied that German literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of Europe and America. We may lament over this fact or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street; it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary journal. All the sciences own the power of that influence; on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly. Theology is putting on such a foreign look that we can

scarcely recognize our old acquaintance under her masquerading Teutonic garb.'

"This change of thought was largely accomplished through the study of Goethe's works, especially of *Faust*, which had been introduced to the world in *De l'Allemagne*. The study of Goethe, in turn, opened the way to an appreciation of the great contemporary German poets and thinkers, such as Herder, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, and Schleiermacher, and finally led to the gradual assimilation of the German spirit and genius. The chief characteristic of this spirit was its modernity. It is the spirit which has become the gospel of our century, the apotheosis of activity and of service to humanity, the cheerful performance of duty and the renunciation of selfish desires and, above all, the development of personality. In the exaltation of eternal love with human activity lies the keynote of our modern religious thought. It is this spirit that has found its most perfect expression in *Faust*, the noblest flower of Teutonic genius, and it is this spirit which is Germany's gift to mankind."

THE GOOD NEWS OF A SPIRITUAL REALM. By *Dwight Goddard*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1915. Pp. 372. Price \$1.00.

This book is practically an edition of the New Testament, giving the author's interpretation of the gospel as the "good news of a spiritual realm." God is interpreted as Sovereign Love, and so the expression "Sovereign Love" in many passages replaces the word "God." In the same sense other changes are made (as "Love Vitality" for "Holy Ghost," and "spiritual realm" for the "kingdom of heaven") and the four gospels are worked into a unit. The language is sometimes lacking in spirit, although the traditional phrases which are apt to offend have been omitted in the attempt to improve on the original, and many sentences are added to supply ellipses in the text. Jesus uses different terms in reproving the Pharisees, and instead of addressing the ruler of the synagogue as "thou hypocrite," he is made to say (on page 207), "oh, you humbug!"

A German-American movement has existed in the United States for several years. It had its inception in the State of Pennsylvania where large districts have been settled by Germans, who, in a strange conservative spirit, have preserved German speech and German customs in that region for a century. Pennsylvania German is quite different from the German of Germany. It has remained essentially German but is greatly mixed up with English words, and its development has been quite apart from that of the German language of the Fatherland. On the 6th of October, 1901, the centennial anniversary of the first German settlement in America was celebrated, and from then the German-American movement dates its origin. It spread rapidly over the country, and to-day counts several million members who feel themselves citizens of the United States but do not mean to forget their German descent and traditions.

Since the present great world war broke out the German-American movement has grown rapidly and bids fair to become a factor in the development of this country. To-day German-Americans stand very firmly united in their protest against the pro-British spirit shown by our administration in its hostility toward Germany and the official protection which the manufacturer of war munitions has received.

Any one interested in the origin of the German-American movement will find sufficient information in Dr. Julius Goebel's book, *Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika* ("The Struggle for German Culture in America," Leipsic, 1914). This book of about 150 pages is a compilation of lectures which Dr. Goebel, professor at the State University of Illinois, has given since 1883, on different occasions. Some of the lectures are of a purely literary nature, as for instance those on German poetry in America, Longfellow as a mediator of German culture, the jubilee of Faust, etc.; others are devoted to the special interests and aims of the German-American Alliance. The lectures touch on almost all phases of German-American life. K

Before us lies a book by George William Hau, entitled *War Echoes, or Germany and Austria in the Crisis*, being a presentation and interpretation of the cause of the Central Powers in the world war. The book is a voluminous compilation from many sources, and includes articles from the pens of such men as Professor Burgess, Judge Grosscup, Dr. Kuno Francke, Prof. Julius Goebel, Prof. James G. McDonald, Prof. Hugo Münsterberg, Professor Schevill, Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler and others, also numerous extracts from the press. It treats of the causes, both remote and proximate, of the war, and discusses fully the diplomatic correspondence, especially that relating to Belgium. Other chapters treat of the present world-family of nations, and of warfare as it is carried on at the present day, and the book concludes with a chapter on the philosophy of war. The illustrations and maps, about seventy-five all told, cover as wide a range of topics as the book, though in point of clearness some of them are not all that might be desired. We must say, however, that, considering the moderate price of the book and the large amount of material included within its covers, the author has done remarkably well. The book is published by Morton M. Malone, Chicago. Pages, xii, 352. Price, \$1.50 post-paid. K

Dr. David Eugene Smith of Teachers College, New York, has prepared a pamphlet containing one hundred and twenty-eight *Problems about War* for classes in arithmetic. It is published under the auspices of the educational division of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the problems are designed to impress upon school-children at the most impressionable age the fact of the economic wastefulness of war. The questions are so framed as to emphasize this point at various stages in the study of arithmetic, and to do it in such a way as to give the pupil not only some valuable work in computation but some facts which will influence his later thoughts and actions on the question of war. The problems are classified as to subject into groups on the cost of war, guns and colleges, war and colleges, war expenses and our pleasures, battleships and schools, financial war problems, cost of saving and destroying life, etc. They are further graded according to the arithmetical operations involved. A number of annotations are added at discretion for the purpose of avoiding possible wrong deductions. The problems are not controversial in the slightest degree and the statistical data employed are thoroughly reliable. P

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In his concluding chapter, Dr. Rohrbach gives the attitude of Germany to her foes as follows:

In spite of the hatred toward Germany, a hatred which the French have been nursing for over forty years, there is no need of reducing the rank of France as a world power. Territorially this would mean that her continental boundaries be left undisturbed and the greater part of her North-African possessions untouched. Financially, however, the indemnity imposed upon her can scarcely be too large.

Russia, with her population of one hundred and seventy millions, must at all hazards be reduced, and her ability to attack Central Europe diminished. It will not be difficult to carry out such a plan as large stretches of western and southern Russia are inhabited by non-Russian peoples who would hail their release from the control of the czar with every show of satisfaction.

But the real enemy of Germany, and not only of Germany but of the culture and civilization of all Europe, the enemy who for the sake of his own commercial profits delivered Germany into the hands of the Muscovite and conspired to rob Germany of her rightfully earned place among the nations of the world, that enemy is—England. Peace with England is impossible until her power to do harm has been broken for ever. It would be premature to discuss the ways and means which lead to that end. Let it suffice to say that those ways and means exist, and that Germany is resolved to use them in due time. Then, and then only, Germany's future will be assured. To display leniency toward England is now but to commit an act of treason against the future of the German Empire.

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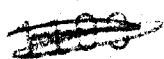
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